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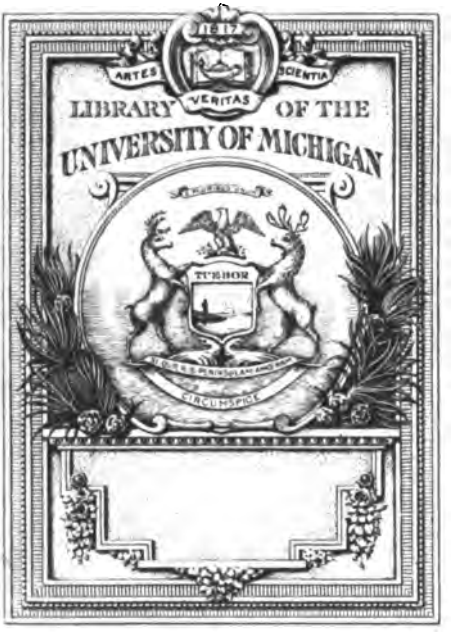
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THE

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Neque enim quæro intelligere ut credam, sed credo ut intelligam.—*Anselm*

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THE

MERCERSBURG QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1856.

Art. I.—BOARDMAN ON THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.

The Christian Ministry not a Priesthood: A Sermon preached at the opening of the Sessions of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in Nashville, Tenn., on Thursday, May 17, 1855, by the Rev. Henry A. Boardman, D. D., the Moderator of the previous Assembly. Published by order of the Assembly. Philadelphia. Presbyterian Board of Education. pp. 84.

This sermon, when delivered, carried away with it a venerable assembly of learned men. It also produced a sensation in the community at the time. Dr. Boardman's sermon,"—says a correspondent of the Presbyterian Herald—"is spoken of everywhere in terms of high admiration." It was immediately ordered to be published with the Assembly's *Imprimatur*, not only without one voice of dissent, but with much unction of enthusiasm. It was likewise at once issued in a political paper in the city where it was delivered. It appeared also, as soon as possible, in the Presbyterian papers with the highest editorial commendation: "The lovers of sound doctrine, well set forth, will find the opening sermon by Dr. Boardman none too long for their tastes." By the direction of the Assembly it is now published in a neat little book, with large and beautiful type, by the Board of Publication. Thus this sermon—now a little book—comes to us well certified, and fitly clothed to inspire respect.

We are not surprised that this sermon felt its young life so joyously at its birth, and so strongly drew from its surround-

ings the silent smiles of favor, as well as the louder public joy of those that heard it, that published it, and that now read it. It is written in fine English, for which its author is distinguished. Besides, he is accustomed to deliver himself in a very happy manner; which was as much in its favor at the time of its promulgation, as the fine large type and beautiful white paper are in its printed form. Then the theme was in its favor. Such a subject, at such a time, in such an assembly, at once prepared for itself good ground in the minds of the hearers. The ancient enemy is to be slain!—a thousand blessings upon him who lifts his arm for the mighty stroke. Where hearts are gathered there is a feast. Where love travels the way is easy. There are no hard places unto love. It follows bravely on in blissful blindness to the dangers of the way and the blemishes of its hero. Then the whole structure, style, and momentum of the sermon are all adapted to catch and carry away such as are "sick of love" for their own opinions, when one more eloquent than they pronounces them in their midst with due authority and solemnity. The discourse also carries an air of confidence and triumph, which is as a watch-word to wheel the waiting into the ranks. It goes leaping over the mountains of theological difficulty, before which earnest men have stood in deep humility and reverence, and skipping upon the Bether-hills, which have divided the most profound men in the Church of the past, "like a roe or a young hart;" and turns back at the end of every bound, with manifest complacency to greet the smiling multitude that have followed from sympathy in the theme. Many a sentimental dreamer has followed with full and sweet flow of soul the song of Moore,

> "Flow on thou shining river,
> But ere thou reach the sea,
> Seek Ella's lover, and give her
> The wreaths I fling to thee,"

without ever thinking of the absurdity of sending a river on such a mission, to such a place, or imagining for a moment the muss which would be created by a river flowing into Ella's bower! So we opine many will read this sermon, so pretty in

its style, so smoothly flowing in its stream of eloquence, so plausible in its pleasant theological ease, without ever asking their judgments to detect and adjust its half hidden contradictions, or becoming alarmed at the hideous theological monstrosities which are called into life to serve in the war—which is as often with windmills as with a real enemy.

We were not in the crowd which smiled on this theological disquisition, nor are we any part or parcel of the element in which it floats. The little book came to us quietly, and we have examined it calmly in the midst of the sober atmosphere of our study, in the spirit inspired by "the General Assembly" of the earnest, learned, and pious spirits of the silent dead as they look down upon us from the shelves, and speak to us from out venerable volumes of theological truth. Here the restless and noisy present is shut out; hither those popular prejudices which move the masses do not come except in the faintest echoes; here in the spirit of the commandment that hath promise, we sit humbly and in deep reverence before what is older than we are; and here we propose to make war upon this little book, preferring to the popular voice, an appeal to the strength of this tower of the past, "builded for an armory, whereon there hang a thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men."

We have seldom met such a complete specimen of speaking the truth in unrighteousness as the one afforded us in this little book. It sounds like truth. Here and there is truth forcibly stated; which, however, itself becomes error when held in its connections. An error is boldly stated, and then it is covered by truth handled deceitfully. Again an error is made the occasion for presenting correct inferences. The discussion has no scientific basis; the argument, so far as it deserves the name, is a mere *ad captandum* play upon the surface, the thread of discourse ever accommodating itself to side currents of low prejudices for effect, pleased to touch and tickle the fancy of mere nature. It is strongly sprinkled with subdued sneers and sarcasm at the Episcopal and Roman Catholic communion; and even at what thousands of men, as deeply learned and pious as the preacher, have most devoutly regarded the "awful and tremendous" "powers" and "mysteries"

of the Church or Christianity. The first is highly uncourteous; and the last is inexcusably irreverent, and sinfully profane!

Let not this be regarded as a harsh judgment. We make these declarations as sadly as severely; and we engage to show that they are fully deserved.

Before we proceed to an examination of the doctrine of this discourse, we will just specify a few of the modes of unfair and sophistical dealing which are current in it, and which are adapted, if not designed, to cast dust into the eyes of the unsuspecting and cursory reader.

First: the preacher does not adhere to his own definition of a priesthood; making it less or more as it suits his purpose. Now he elevates it to the very pitch of sacerdotal pomp, to make the contrast great between it and the simplicity of the New Testament sacred office; and now again he sinks it to the most purile level, to hold over and above it the dignity of the New Testament ministry.

Again: he ever confounds the idea of Priest, and High Priest; using these as convertible terms, when it suits him. Sometimes the ministry is contrasted with the high priesthood, to show that to attribute it to a priestly character, would disparage Christ: making the ministry in the New Testament answer to the High-priesthood in the Old Testament, instead of seeing the High-priesthood fulfilled in Christ, and the common priesthood in Christ's own ordained ministry. This he may have learned of Dick,* who imposes upon himself in the same way. A moment's reflection will show any serious truth-seeking mind, that this converting of terms must lead to inexcusable unfairness, and hopeless confusion, of which we have a mournful specimen in this little book.† Is *he* prepared to speak—does *he* deserve to be heard, on this solemn subject of the nature of the Christian ministry, who does not see, or cannot feel, the force of the vast difference between Priest and High-priest, both in the nature and functions of these offices, and in their typical significance. Who ever contended that the New Testament ministry was a High-priesthood?

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* Dick's Theo. Vol. II, p. 47. † Boardman, p. 5, 21.

Again: He is constantly confounding rites with the functionaries who celebrated them: sacrifices with those who present them: sacraments with those who offer and administer them. He speaks of the men as being *in themselves* media, instead of being such *in their offices* and the *rites* they celebrate and administer.* He that has jugglery enough in this way to turn one thing into another before the eyes of a grave Assembly of Divines, without their seeing the trick, has a basis from which he may rant in the highest style of ridicule and sarcastic eloquence against "heirophants," "bold pretenders," "sacred castes," "arrogant" and "audacious" officials who "interpose *themselves*" between God and man, "arrogating a power which the Apostles themselves would not dared to have assumed."

The preacher, too, has always before his eyes the Levitical and Roman Catholic priesthood, as though these, with their form and contents, were *the only conception* of a priesthood; attributing, moreover, ever to these, attributes which, every theologian—who has power at all to transfer himself beyond the prejudices and traditions of his own narrow sect, and thus do justice to a system not his own—knows do not legitimately belong to them.

Once more: In this sermon, the ministry, which he owns, is itself made more or less, something or nothing, as it best suits the argument. It rises or sinks, like the "governors" which regulate an engine, according as the steam is up. In showing his hearers that the ministry is "*not* a priesthood," he shows so many things which *it is not*, that when they are summed together it has been demonstrated that it is *nothing at all.* This we will show at the proper place. The reader will see, during this review, that all these modes of unfair and sophistical dealing run glaringly through the whole treatise.

Is the Christian ministry, in its true sense and substance, a priesthood, in the true sense and substance of a priesthood?

The question is not as to the outward form, but as to the inward power—not of the objective contents, but of its true

* Page 32.

and essential essence. The question is not, as to a mediation of either Levitical or Roman priest, by a lamb, by blood, or by transubstantiated bread and wine; but it is, whether there is, in the Christian dispensation, *any* mediation, by means of *any* rites, performed by *any* class of men—these rites, and the men who officiate in them, *divinely constituted*, and *alone* entrusted with their administration. The question is not whether there is a mediation in this or that form; but whether there is any mediation at all. The question is not, whether there is in Christianity a Levitical or Roman priesthood; but whether there is in it the SUBSTANCE of which Judaism had the shadow; and the TRUE, of which we Protestants believe the Roman priesthood, in the contents which it claims in transubstantiation, is a corruption.

What is a priest? "One who performs the sacred rites." It is not necessary to a priesthood that it present offerings that in themselves take away sin, or make an atonement. This even the Levitical priesthood could not: "For it is not possible that the blood of bulls and goats could take away sins." Heb. 10: 4. These offerings, even those of the High-priest himself, were not *in themselves* mediators, nor were the priests or High-priests in themselves such. They only shadowed the true substance, were only to sinners a test and testimony, pointing them to the true High-priest and the true atonement. Yet they were priests, offered sacrifices, and their functions were those of a priesthood. So far from offering sacrifices, whether bloody or not, constituting essentials of a priesthood, these offerings could be made, in the Old Testament, by persons who were not Levitical priests—it was done by Abel, Noah, Abraham, and Job; yet they were not priests.

A priest under any religion, is one who by authority not given to others, performs the sacred rites, which are appointed and proper under that system of religion: one, therefore, who, in his office stands between God and man, doing that by God's authority, which God has appointed to be done by him for the reconciliation of God and man.

We accept fully the definition of a priesthood given by Dr. Boardman; or rather, which is in part at least, quoted by him

from some one whose name he has not given. "The radical idea of Priesthood, is that of mediation between God and man." A priest is "one who stands as a mediator between God and the people, and brings them to God by virtue of certain ceremonial acts which he performs for them, and which they could not perform for themselves without profanation, because they are at a distance from God, and cannot, in their own persons, venture to approach towards him."

We accept this also as a correct definition of the Christian ministry. It is this fully, in form and in substance; and in going on to prove that the ministry is not what this definition calls for, Dr. Boardman would prove, were his arguments sound, that there is no ministry. If ministers do not mediate between God and the people—if it is not their office to bring the people to God—if they do not bring the people to God by virtue of certain ceremonial, or sacramental acts, which they perform for them—if the people can empower or authorize any one to perform these ministerial acts, or *can* perform these ministerial acts themselves, or can authorize and empower any one to do it, because they stand in the same official nearness to Him —and if the people can approach God in their own persons without these intervening ministrations of the word and sacraments—if all this is so, pray what is the ministry? It is nothing but what the people have themselves; and all that God does by ministers is not necessary to salvation. How truly has Dr. Boardman said, in the second sentence of this sermon: "The controversy respecting it involves the very nature, as well as the constitution of the Christian ministry." Yes, truly; and it involves its very existence. In this view we most devoutly thank God in the name of all Christians, that this sermon, endorsed by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, is the boldest and most sweeping heresy promulgated in any age of the Church. The very Anti-Christ that sweeps away every vestige of our Saviour's institutions, denying thus that He has come in the flesh, and that He is carrying on any mediation in His Church on earth by stewards of his mysteries. "Let it be anathema;—and let all the people say, Amen!"

Is it too strong to say that Dr. Boardman entirely demolishes the ministry? Let the following extract be considered, in which he professes to exhibit the "monstrous assumptions," the "grossness" not only of "Rome," but also as "elaborately vindicated by a large number of so-called Protestant prelates and clergymen, on both sides of the Atlantic."

"They constitute, with the priesthood of the other heirarchies, the only legitimate channel of spiritual communion between this world and heaven. If men would worship God, they must wait upon their ministrations; for they alone, have free access to the mercy-seat. If they would be pardoned, forgiveness comes only through their intervention. If they would obtain renewing and sanctifying grace, they must receive the sacraments at their hands. For, they only, have "the gift of the Holy Ghost;" they are the stewards of the Church—the depository of Divine grace; and this grace, it is their prerogative to dispense in baptism and the Lord's Supper."

The powers and functions here mentioned, Dr. Boardman teaches do *not* belong to the ministry. Now let the reflecting reader just *reverse* the language quoted, and apply it to the Christian ministry, and he will at once see that there is not a vestige of a ministry left. Thus: If men would worship God, they must *not* wait upon their ministrations! If they would be pardoned, forgiveness comes *not* through their intervention —no sacraments needed. If they would obtain renewing and sanctifying grace, they must *not* receive the sacraments at their hands—they can come to God and be saved without baptism and the Lord's Supper, even while they wilfully reject them! They have not alone the gift of the Holy Ghost officially, though this is the very power which was breathed upon the disciples at first, in the way of earnest, (John 20: 22;) for which they were to wait at Jerusalem, (Luke 24: 49;) which actually came upon them on Pentecost, (Acts 2,) and which is communicated, as the unction and soul of their official functions, by the laying on of hands. (2 Cor. 3: 8.) They are *not* the stewards of the Church! giving the direct lie to the Apostle, who says, they are "stewards of the mysteries of God." They are not the depositories of divine grace: though they

have the ministry of the word, (Acts 6: 4,) of the Spirit, (2 Cor. 3: 8,) of righteousness, (2 Cor. 3: 9,) of reconciliation, (2 Cor. 5: 18,) and of the administration of the sacraments. It is not their prerogative to dispense this grace in baptism and the Lord's Supper! Thus there are no means of grace —not one of the ministrations of the ministry is a means of grace; and a sinner can find his way back to God without any mediation of *actus ministerii*, which the ordained ministry alone have power and authority to perform! Thus, in demolishing the priesthood of Rome and of "so-called Protestants," he demolishes every conception of a ministry, leaving not one stone upon another. No wonder if, after this strong wind, earthquake and fire, tearing down mountains of long-established faith, and breaking rocks of ancient orthodoxy, there would have been heard, in that grave Assembly on this Presbyterian Horeb, a "still small voice," coming forth from their own venerable symbols, crying against such zeal for the Lord, in mild, but keen reproof: "What dost thou here Elijah?"

The following extract is in the same spirit as the one already quoted. Putting the words, Lord's Supper, for "mass," and ministry for "priest," and avoiding the false issue slyly raised, which implies that the mediation claimed in the case, is through the *men*, instead of being through their *office* and *acts*, you will see that the extract strikes at the very root of all conception of a ministry. It is the very language which infidelity would adopt as its own, against the entire idea of the Christian system, as represented in the Church, or kingdom of God on earth. Here is the extract:

"They stand where the Aaronic priests stood, between God and man. There can be no acceptable approach to God except through them; no pardon, except through their impetration and the sacrifice of the mass. Whoever would be reconciled to God, whoever would be cleansed from sin, whoever would receive an answer to his prayers, whoever would triumph over death, must invoke the mediation of the priest. The sacrifice he presents and the sacraments he administers, are clothed with an efficacy which meets every want and provides for every exigency of our moral nature. And no one need

fear for the result, who is willing to confide the whole business of his salvation to his priest."

Mark the sneer in the last sentence! Yet is it not virtually a sneer at the truth? Will not he be saved who submits in obedience to the direction of one of Christ's ministers? Will not he who repents as directed, believes the truth as proclaimed, trusts in Christ as held up, is baptised by one authorized, and receives the holy Supper in the true spirit of it, and leads an obedient life in faith—will not he be saved? Can he be saved without this? Would Dr. Boardman so tell a sinner coming to him, asking the question, "What must I do to be saved?" Would he tell him you can get to heaven without anything that I can do for you, by virtue of my ministry? No. He would say to him repent, believe, be baptised, receive the holy Supper, and be devoted in your life. If the man would answer him: I wish to be saved without the Church, without baptism, without the holy Supper, without Church authority over me, without any ministerial help or direction you can perform. Boardman would answer him, *not in the Presbyterian Church can you do this!* Behold a priest!—a mediator between God and a sinner!—ministerial intervention—and this in the person of Dr. Boardman himself.

In being "very jealous for the Lord" against the Roman Church and priesthood, he strikes away the foundations beneath himself, and the whole Assembly before him, as well as the very substance of the ministry, and "the entire structure of the New Testament." Hear him again:

"Rome has transferred this element, (the priestly) the very heart and core of the Mosaic dispensation, into the new economy. *The priesthood is perpetuated* in the Christian Church."

Did not the *heart* and *core* of the Old Testament economy pass into the New? Did Christ come to destroy? No. He came not to destroy, but to fulfill. The High-priesthood passed into Himself, and was fulfilled, and continued, in Himself. The sacrifices ended in Him, because they were fulfilled in Him. The common priesthood, passed away in the ministry because it was fulfilled in it. The shadow disappeared in the substance. Was then the shadow something, and the sub-

stance nothing? The office of High-priest, which belonged to the Holy of Holies, "behind the veil," is now continued in heaven itself: "For Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true; but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us." The priesthood, however, the offices of which were confined to the holy place, (Heb. 11: 6, 7,) is continued in its substance, in the Church on earth, in the ministry. When Jesus our High-priest, had offered himself a sacrifice "without the gate," he ascended to the Holiest in heaven; "far above all heavens, that he might fill all things." But did he leave no order of men behind him to carry on the stewardship of the mysteries of his grace in the Church? Yes: "He gave some, apostles: and some, prophets: and some, evangelists: and some, pastors and teachers." For what purpose? "For the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ." How long: "Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." Eph. 4: 10–14.

No fault, then, is to be found with the Roman Church for transferring "the heart and core of the Mosaic dispensation into the New Economy." Would that they had transferred *no more* than this. Their error pertains not to the priest, but to the offering: making that the Lord, which is only the Lord's body and blood: making that the Saviour, which is only his saving sacrament: offering him still "without the gate" who has already been offered, and has passed behind the veil "into heaven itself:" offering Him often, as the High-priest did the typical sacrifices which cannot be done: "For then must he often have suffered since the foundation of the world; but now ONCE in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself." Heb. 9: 26. Here is the mistake of the Roman Church; not in transferring the heart and core of the priesthood; but in making the offering a Saviour instead of a saving medium.

Our Saviour did not only take up in himself, fulfill, and continue the High-priesthood, but also the Prophetic and Kingly

elements of the Old dispensation. These also have been transferred to, and are continued in, the Christian dispensation. In the Church on earth He has left the Prophetic, Priestly, and Kingly elements, and powers: and of these, his ministers are the embodiments in the Church, holding these, opening them, and administering them to the people. This is the "structure of the New Testament."

Does our Saviour make any exception in regard to any one of these offices and elements when he constitutes his ministers his vicars? Does he say that he communicates to them, and reposes in them, the Prophetic, to teach: the Kingly, to rule: and not the Priestly to celebrate the sacred rites, and administer as stewards the "mysteries of God?" There is no such limitation or exception. Let Dr. Boardman, and the General Assembly, look at the papers of commission, and then say what right they have to say that Christ's ministry has received the Phrophetic and Kingly, but not the Priestly. "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained." John 20: 21–23. To this passage Dr. Boardman replies thus:

"To this it is a sufficient reply, that whatever the power of binding and loosing may denote, the efficacious remission of sin is not a sacerdotal, but a judicial, function. We need not, therefore, stop to inquire whether the right of absolution appertains to the Christian ministry; for even if they had that right, (which they certainly have not, in the Romish sense of the term,) it would not prove them to be priests."

The "remission of sin is a judicial function!" This is the first time we have heard of a Judge holding the power to pardon! We thought the power of a judge, like that of the law which he administers, did not go beyond deciding, or judging and sentencing. We thought remission was by blood, by atonement, over which the priest presides. The preacher "needs, therefore, stop to inquire whether the right of absolution appertains to the Christian ministry." Suppose even that it did belong to the judicial or kingly function, it still lodges

somewhere in the ministry, for Christ solemnly placed it there; and thus against Dr. Boardman and the General Assembly, places the ministry between God and the people.

The same three offices, with those corresponding powers were entrusted to the ministry in the last formal and solemn commission, just before he "ascended," (Eph. 4: 11,) and gave the ministry to the world as his ascension gift, to be his presence unto men. (Math. 28: 18–20.) The reader will observe in this commission these three elements: power to *rule*, which is the kingly; authority to *baptise*, the priestly; and command to *teach*, the prophetic. "And Jesus came, and spake unto them, (the eleven) saying, All *power* is given unto me in heaven and on earth. Go ye *therefore* and teach all nations, *baptising* them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; *teaching* them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am *with you* always, even unto the end of the world. Amen."

This position of office between God and the people, with the true functions, are awarded them in the very names by which they are called.

1. The Prophetic office is indicated by the name, Evangelist, Pastor, and Teacher, Eph. 4: 11. Comp. Jer. 3: 15. 1 Peter 5: 2, 3, 4.

2. The Priestly office is indicated by the names, Ministers, Stewards of the mysteries of God. 1 Cor. 4: 1. The word "mysteries" evidently refers to the Sacraments, which he alone can celebrate, and by them open to the people access to grace, and God through them—the highest idea of priesthood. Dr. Boardman's and the General Assembly's own highest authority speaks in relation to the ministry and this passage, thus: "As he *dispenses* the manifold *grace* of God, and the ordinances instituted by Christ, he is termed steward of the mysteries of God."*

3. The Kingly office is set forth by the names, Bishop, Presbyter, or Elder. Acts 20: 28. 1 Peter 5: 1. 1 Tim. 5: 1. 17: 19.

* Constitution of the Presbyterian Church, Chap. 4, page 349.

The Christian minister is also called "ambassador," in which is included his whole power, in all these offices, by which he goes forth with plenary authority to treat with men. 2 Cor. 5: 20. Eph. 6: 20.

Each of these offices, as set forth under these names, make the Christian minister mediator between God and the people. As bishops, presbyters, rulers, they must be *over* the people. As ministers, they *must have that in charge* which is to be administered; and as stewards, they must be "rulers over his household, *to give them their portion of meat* in due season." Luke 12: 42; or, according to the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church, they must hold in their official hands, the "manifold *grace* of God, and the ordinances instituted by Christ," to "*dispense.*" That there is, in "the right use" of the sacraments, "grace not only promised and offered, but really exhibited and *conferred* by the Holy Ghost, to such as that grace belongeth unto," even the Presbyterian Church *used to believe!* The same ancient work just quoted, also teacheth that baptism is properly administered "by a minister of the Gospel, lawfully called thereunto."* The names, evangelist, pastor, and teacher, also indicate that those visited, led, and taught, shall receive the Evangelist with reverence, follow the leadings of the Pastor submissively, and hear the teacher in that which he does teach. To say that any of these names indicate anything less than an official mediation and intervention between God and the people, is to turn the whole solemnity in which these offices are referred to, as well as the very idea of an office, into absurdity. It is the silliest exhibition of theological childishness, when men suffer themselves, like children, to be frightened out of all their wits, by what their alarmed fancy supposes to be grim and dangerous monsters frowning out of the dreadful shades of Romanism. If Romanism has become superstitious, that is certainly no reason why we should ignore our Protestant foundations in "General Assembly."

Once more, we find that the Apostles always claimed this position between God and the people. Paul speaks of him-

* See Westminster Confession of Faith, Chap. 28, vi. Also Chap. 29, 7. Ibid. Chap. 28, 2.

self as "*separated* unto the gospel of God." Rom. 1: 1. Again: "Paul an apostle, not of men, neither by men." Gal. 1: 1. Again he declares his irresponsibility to the people: "With me it is a very small thing that I should be judged of you, or of man's judgment." 1 Cor. 4: 3. He suffers no contradiction in that which he teaches, no, not from an angel. Gal. 1: 8–10. He is teacher from God—not they, not man, no nor angels. They *must* hear him. In reference to the priestly dispensation of the Lord's Supper, he holds the same position. 1 Cor. 11: 23. In regard to the transmission of the office to others the same position of the ministry is recognized. Paul reminds Timothy that he had received a gift—the gift of ministerial authority—from the laying on of the hands of the presbytery. 1 Tim. 4: 14; 2: 2. Also Titus 1: 5.

Thus we see in the Christian ministry every element of a true priesthood. There is mediation between God and the people—he brings them to God by virtue of certain ceremonial, sacramental, or rather prophetic, priestly, and kingly acts, which the people cannot perform for themselves, because they are not in the same official nearness to Him, and cannot, in their own persons, without these services—teaching, baptism, the holy supper, pastoral care and rule—approach Him unto salvation. We ask not that the word be retained. With the "judicious Hooker," we are willing rather that it shall pass away, as being somewhat easy of abuse. Let the New Testament terminology be used, which, as we have seen, embodies the heart and core, the sum and substance, designating a truly divine order of officers, with truly divine and supernatural functions, having in charge the administration of saving rites, graciously and livingly from and in Christ, which are the only means and way by which sinners are reconciled to God.

In regard to the nature of the ministry, Dr. Boardman says:

"The doctrine held by our own Church, and by most of the Protestant Churches, is, that the Ministry has been constituted to feed, and, in conjunction with the representatives of the people, to govern the Church; that their chief functions are, to preach the Gospel and administer the Sacraments of Bap-

tism and the Lord's Supper, together with the exercise of discipline; and that "their power is wholly moral, or spiritual, and *that* only ministerial or declarative."*

By this quotation Dr. Boardman would make the impression, that it is the teaching of the Presbyterian Church that the ministerial official power is, *in all its functions*, "only ministerial and declarative." It does not so teach, as any one can see, by reference to that document. The language quoted has reference only to the *judicial* function in the exercise of discipline. It refers to the exercise of the kingly function, and not to the prophetic and priestly. It is a deceitful handling of that document when it is thus brought in to father the sentiment of the quotation which evidently is, that the ministry is a mere representative embasage from God to man, having no reflex function from man to God. If even this were the only conception and force of the ministry, it would not help the argument against which we are contending. For in that case the ministry would still be between God and the people—the one sent would intervene between the sender and those to whom he is sent. Whether he comes from God to teach or to rule, as prophet or king, he is still a mediator. Thus can the prophetic and priestly offices both rest at last in the priestly. It is the *middle*, the *central* function. It is between the two, a daysman, laying its hands upon both. The altar, sacrifice, mediation is the central idea in all religion. Aaron is in the mount when the law is proclaimed, and in the council where transgressors are judged. The prophets and the kings must alike bow at his altar and bring offerings to him. When the people recognized in Christ only the Prophet and the King, crying "This is that prophet," and "Let us make him a King," he withdrew, "and departed again into a mountain himself alone." John 6: 14, 15. He was both these, a prophet and a king, but he could be neither of these to those who had not seen in him the priest. The central, ruling function was pointed out by John the Baptist: "BEHOLD THE LAMB OF GOD, which taketh away the sin of the world."

* Form of Government of the Presbyterian Church, Chap. 8.

The earnest question, however, still comes up, Does the nature of the Christian ministry involve nothing more than that hinted in the extract just quoted? Is the New Testament minister one whose official activities only turn from God to, and terminate on, the people? Is the office only to bring God to the people, or is it also to bring the people to God? Does God only approach the people by and through his official acts, or do the people also come to God by these acts? Are its functions only declarative from God to man, or also restorative and remedial of man to God? Does God only seek the people through their ministerial acts, or are the people also to seek God through these media?—by their aid, intervention, and the acts which they are alone appointed and authorized to perform for them, and with them? These questions need only be asked to elicit the true answer from every thinking mind. To say that the office turns one way and not the other, is to impose upon ourselves an absurdity. Any one who reflects for one moment, will grant, that, in the New Testament, there are rites, as baptism and the Lord's Supper, which the minister, appointed of God, authorized by Him, and separated from the people for that purpose, alone dare perform, and these are performed *for* the people, by way of opening to them, as in baptism, the way into the covenant and grace of God, and carrying forward or nourishing the life of grace in them to fitness for heaven, as in the Holy Supper. The idea involved in the keys—make of them anything we may, short of nothing at all* —only not forgetting that they were given by God to His ministers to be used by them in referencc to the people—at once shows that their power is to open *back* towards God as well as forward toward the people; for they are not the keys to hu-

* "The most remarkable power which these ministers have claimed, and that on account of which the greatest homage has been paid to them, is the power of *absolving* or *setting free*. This claim has in a manner been universal. Luther believed that he was to absolve as well as Tetzel. Every person who says that the sole office of a minister is to preach the Gospel, says so because he believes *this is the way to absolve*. There are most serious differences about the nature of the power and mode in which it is to be exercised, none at all about the existence of it, and about its connection in some way or other with the Christian ministry."

Maurice's Kingdom of Christ, p. 344.

man hearts, but they are "the keys of the kingdom of heaven."† Math. 16 : 19. Paul is not afraid of "monstrous assumption," when he says that he labors "to *present* every man perfect in Christ Jesus." Col. 1 : 25. See also 2 Cor. 11 : 2. He also fears not to say, "In Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the Gospel." 1 Cor. 4 : 15 ; 9 : 2. The same Apostle calls the ministry which Christ had given them "the ministry of *reconciliation.*" 2 Cor. 5 : 18. But why do we speak on this subject further, when the very idea of an office implies the double relation of its functions to him from whom it is held, and to those for whom it is held.

After what has now been said in regard to the nature of the Christian ministry, as involved in "the entire structure of the New Testament," it is hardly necessary to make answer to an argument built upon "the most remarkable and significant circumstance, that in passing from the Old Testament to the New, we should leave behind the whole vocabulary of terms proper to a sacerdotal system." We need only ask, is this all that we leave behind when we pass from the Old Testament to the New? The whole chrysalis of outward Judaism is left behind. See the fossil remains of a former stadium in the new creation half hidden in every chapter and verse! The eternal life that lived in the way of hope and promise under these

† It was to dispense this blessing (the remission of sins) to us, that the keys were given to the Church, (Math. 17 : 19 ; 18 : 18.) For, when Christ gave commandment to his apostles, and conferred on them the power of remitting sins, (John 20: 23) it was not with an intention that they should merely absolve from their sins those who were converted from impiety to the Christian faith, but rather that they should continually exercise this office among the faithful. In the communion of saints, therefore, sins are continually remitted to us by the ministry of the Church, when the presbyters or bishops, to whom this office is committed, confirm pious consciences, by the promises of the Gospel, in the hope of pardon and remission ; and that as well publicly as privately, according as necessity requires."

Calvin's Institutes, Vol. II, p. 242.

"To these officers (church officers) the keys of the kingdom of heaven are committed, by virtue whereof they have power respectively to retain and remit sins, to shut that kingdom against the impenitent, both by the word and censures ; and to open it unto penitent sinners, by the ministry of the Gospel, and by absolution from censures, as occasion shall require."

Westminster Confession of Faith, Chap. xxx. ii.

What will Dr. Boardman say to this? This once belonged to Presbyterianism. It furnishes some ground for Milton's line:

"New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large."

ceremonial coverings, slumbering as under dark shadows of night, toward the dawn of the coming morning, has awakened to a glorious birth. The dispensation of life is ushered in. The ritual that now remains is not to show life coming, but to bring us into communion with life that has come. Now answer, —Because so much is left behind, beside sacerdotal terms, is therefore the New Testament not an unbroken continuation of the same gracious dispensation from God to man? If some things are left behind, should we, therefore, leave *all* behind? Is the substance changed, except in the way of evolution and development? Is it now another thing? Not a whit more than an infant passing on from an embryo state into the external world by birth, is another being—no more than a child loses its identity, or any elements of its being, when it grows up to manhood, because it then leaves behind those things proper to childhood, now proper no more. As the same life which lived in the larva, at a later period, drops its heavy covering and soars with wings, so the new eternal life, flowing freely in the Christian ritual, and by God's direction, dispensed by the Christian ministry, may well lose its onward appendages while the substance is the same.

The same argument by which the priestly is here denied to the Christian ministry, would also deny the High-priestly to Christ. For other terms and titles are also applied to Him; the term High-priest being applied to Him, only when it is required in showing that he is his true anti-type;—the common names applied to him being altogether different. Nor did he offer the same sacrifices, nor in any way do we find carried over into the New Testament, the sacerdotal appendages characteristic of the High-priesthood.

The second argument upon which Dr. Boardman relies, to establish his view of the Christian ministry, and on the ground of which he denies all priestly elements to it, is this:

"The doctrine of an official human priesthood in the Church, *is in a high degree derogatory to the Lord Jesus Christ* as the only priest of the new Dispensation."

His whole argument under this head is entirely neutralized by the confounding which we specified in the beginning of this

article, as running through the whole treatise: namely, presenting the Christian ministry in contrast with the *form* of the Levitical priesthood, and not recognizing in it its inward substance and outward completion—and in using the words Priest, and High-priest, as *convertible* terms, using one and the other, as it suits him. The intelligent reader need not be informed what the difference is between these two offices—they differ as the holy place differed from the Holy of Holies, and as the Church on earth from the Church in heaven. They differ so much, that the Priest was not permitted to go into the High-priest's places of offering on pain of instant death! Is it answered that Christ is also called a Priest? We answer, Yes: the higher includes the lower, but the lower does not include the higher—the High-priest was priest, but not *visa versa*. Keeping his eyes clear from the dust cast up by this confounding, the reader will feel that the whole pretended argument under this head, rising at times into the heights of sarcastic eloquence, is merely disgusting *ad captandum*, entirely unworthy of Dr. Boardman.

The priesthood was the medium by which the people came to the High-priest; the High-priesthood was fulfilled, and is continued in Christ, the priesthood, in its substance, in the Christian ministry—through word, sacraments, and ruling power the ministry mediates between Christ and the people, brings Christ to them, and them to Christ. The Christian ministry can, therefore, no more be derogatory to Christ, than the Priesthood was to the High-priesthood. Christ, the High-priest, is within the veil, in heaven itself: his ministry is on earth; and by them, and through them officially, he carries on his own mediation in the Church on earth—in all his offices: as prophets, he teaches by them, as priests: in the sacraments which they alone can dispense, he offers his body and blood, "not corporally, or carnally in, with, or under the bread and wine; yet as really, but spiritually, present to the faith of believers in that ordinance, as the elements themselves are, to their outward senses;"* and by them, "the grace promised is not only offered, but really exhibited and conferred, by the

* Westminster Confession. Chap. xxix. vii.

Holy Ghost to such as this grace belongeth unto:"* as kings, he rules by them and divinely ordained elders, the Church, having given them power "to govern well in the house and kingdom of Christ,"† admitting and excluding, opening and closing the door of the church.

Instead of a derogation to Him, they are the proper representatives of His honor—as the priests were to the High-priest —as under officers are to a king—as smaller planets, that move brightly around, are to their glorious central sun.

This answers abundantly Dr. Boardman's questions: "What place is there for an earthly priesthood *now?*" since "the antitype has appeared?" "What remains for a priest to do? What powers can he exercise, what offices can he perform, without invading CHRIST'S prerogative and impugning the perfection of his Priesthood?" (HIGH-priesthood, the old sophistry!)

To avoid the conclusion that the true fulfillment—not the destruction, except by fulfillment—of the Old Testament Priesthood is to be sought in the New Testament, Dr. Boardman finds the completion of the Old Testament Priesthood in itself!—makes it a *real* instead of typical priesthood!

"Its priesthood was a real priesthood, and, within the prescribed sphere, their rites had a genuine efficacy—*because* they pointed to the Great High Priest and the true sacrifice."

"Its priesthood was a *real* priesthood!" What a direct flying in the face of every profession of the Old Testament, and of every declaration of the New. "Their rites had a *genuine efficacy!*" Hear Paul: "For the law having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things, can never with those sacrifices which they offered year by year continually, make the comers thereunto perfect. For it is not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins. And every priest standeth daily ministering and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices, which can never take away sins." Heb. 10. He adds, that they had a genuine efficacy, "*because* they pointed to the great High-Priest and the true

* Westminster Confession, Chap. xxviii, vi. † Form of Gov. of Pres. Ch. Chap. iv.

sacrifice." Hence they were shadowy or typical and not real: the genuine efficacy was in that to which they pointed, not in those rites. The very fact that all the Old Testament shadows have become substance in the New,—that the High-priesthood was taken up and made real in Him who was at once Priest and Sacrifice!—this very fact gives true dignity, power, and reality to the Christian ministry as a real (and not a shadowy, or merely representative) mediation. It is this that the great Apostle feels to be the true power of his ministry, when he stands between Christ and the people, exclaiming, as His official organ, with an unction that moves heaven and earth, God in Christ, and man, toward each other: "Seeing then that we have a great High-priest, *that is passed into the heavens*, Jesus the Son of God, let us hold fast our profession. For we have not an high priest which cannot be touched with a feeling of our infirmities: but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin. Let us *therefore* come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need." Heb. 4: 14–16. Here is reality. Here is a mediation that has genuine efficacy. Here is Jesus Christ come in the flesh; a mediation that touches our nature. Here is a ministry, mediating between man and true powers. Here we are come to a real, saving constitution, to the Church of the first born, the body of Christ, and to a ministry which rests in this body, and is a living organ from Christ. Here is a mediation from Him who though passed into the heavens, reaches the people through his human nature, and in human nature, in the persons and official power of a human ministry. Here is a Christ, the hem of whose garments a poor sinner can touch in the Church. Here, in the Church, are God's transactions with men in sacraments which do not only represent grace (this is Judaism,) but confer it. Here is a ministry that does not only "serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things," like their prototypes, but which stands before "an altar, whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle," and opens the true substance of grace to the people—administers the true washing in baptism, and gives the "communion" of the true life in the Lord's Supper, so that in the

excellent language of the Assembly's Larger Catechism, "they that worthily communicate in the saerament of the Lord's Supper, do therein feed upon the body and blood of Christ, not after a corporal or carnal, but in a spiritual manner; yet truly and really."* The rites of the New Testament are thus true means of grace; they are not the Lord, but the Lord's body—they are not saviours, but saving: those who alone by God's appointment preside over them, stand in real official mediation between God and man, and in their office and acts, and rites, we have the true fulfillment, substance, essence and continuation of the priestly function.

Dr. Boardman states his third argument thus: "In the third place, the scriptures exclude this theory, by teaching *that men may come to Christ and be accepted by him, without the intervention of any human mediator.*"

On this point, the preacher continues his discourse farther, thus: "In the mouths of professsd Protestants, who hold the sacerdotal theory of the ministry in its mildest form, it means, 'ministerial intervention that sins may be forgiven.'† This, it is alleged, is 'the essence of priesthood;' and this is declared to be indispensable under the present economy. If it were simply designed to teach, by this language, that in the ordinary administration of his government over the Church, God is pleased to employ the agency of the ministry in bringing men into a state of salvation, there would be no room for controversy. But this is not the idea. It is intended that the Christian ministry occupies a position analagous to that of the Aaronic priests: that like the latter, God has constituted them a sacred *caste* to stand between himself and our race; that he has made it obligatory upon all men to approach him *through them;* that he will accept the worship of a sinner only as *they* present it, and that however humble, penitent and devout may be his spirit, he has no more ground to expect forgiveness and renewal, so long as he refuses to avail himself of their mediation, than a Jew would have had to expect his sin-offering to

* Page 291.

† See Bishop Whittingham's two discourses on "the Priesthood in the Church."

be accepted, who, instead of bringing his victim to the priest, sacrificed it with his own hand upon his own altar. *This* is the doctrine. And if it be not clearly "another gospel," it will at least be difficult to show how the fundamental truths of the Gospel can coalesce with it."

Does Dr. Boardman mean that God has established any other than an "ordinary administration" in his Church by which to bring man into a state of salvation? If so, what is that other way? We know of none. The ordinary, and the *only* way, is by preaching,† the sacraments, and government: which powers he has *only*, and *absolutely* deposited with the ministry; and those who would come into a state of salvation must come *through these rites*, and submit to these functions —functions, in spite of Dr. Boardman, placed by divine apointment nowhere but with "a sacerdotal *caste* to stand between himself and our race"—as the preacher sneeringly alludes to this "awful and tremendous" truth!

It is farther said in this extract, that it is held by the theory against which he contends, that God "has made it obligatory upon all men to approach Him through *them*," that is, through these priests. This he knows to be a false issue. He knows that even the Old Testament saints did not come to God through the *priests*, but through the *rites* and *offerings* of the priests. How unfair! Who pretends that men are to come to Christ through the ministers? No one—not even a Roman Catholic. But who denies that men *must* come, and *can* come to Christ, alone through the rites of Christ's institution in His Church? Who denies it, but fanatics, Quakers and rationalists.

† "The power to save resides in God, but, as the same Apostle (Paul) testifies in another place, he displays it in the preaching of the Gospel. That we may know, therefore, that we have an inestimable treasure *communicated to us from earthen vessels*, (2 Cor. 4: 7) God himself came forward, and as he is the Author of this arrangement, so *he will be acknowledged as present in this institution*. As formerly he was not content with the written law, but appointed the priests as interpreters, at whose lips the people might inquire its true meaning, so in the present day, he not only requires us to be attentive to reading, but has appointed teachers for our assistance. Though the power of God is not confined to external means, yet *he has confined us* to the ordinary manner of teaching, *the fanatical rejecters of which necessarily involve themselves in many fatal errors.*"

Calvin's Institutes, Vol. II, p. 225, 226.

The preacher, in this extract, teaches correctly that a Jew could not expect to have his sin-offering accepted, if he, "instead of bringing his victim to the priest, sacrificed it with his own hand upon his own altar." No—God would not suffer his order, and his rites to be thus set aside. But he teaches, in the same extract, that a sinner "humble, penitent, and devout," may "expect forgiveness and renewal," though "he refuses to avail himself of the mediation" of the Christian ministry in the rites which they celebrate and dispense by the appointment and authority of Christ. That is, a sinner, "humble, penitent, and devout," may go slyly to some stream and baptize himself with his own hand, and go into some closet and devoutly celebrate the Lord's Supper by himself on his own table, and thus be his own bishop, presbyter, and pastor!—and all this he would do by Dr. Boardman's direction, lest by any means he might seek Christ through a mediator! Suppose now that Dr. Boardman should undertake to correct this man in this fanatical and foolish conduct, telling him that he must receive baptism and the Lord's Supper, teaching and discipline, at the hands of an ordained minister, the man would reply to him sharply in the Doctor's own strong language: "We brand this dogma as contravening the express teachings of the New Testament, which invites and requires men to look *directly* to Christ for the pardon of sin and other blessings. It claims that we can approach the Mediator himself, only through *another* mediator. The bare statement of this flagrant heresy must revolt any intelligent man not already steeped in Romish errors. One is at a loss how to stigmatize it; whether as more derogatory to the Saviour, or more discouraging and tyrannical towards man!" In the language of this sermon we say with all our heart: "If this be not clearly 'another Gospel,' it will at least be difficult to show how the fundamental truths of the Gospel can coalesce with it." Another Gospel?—no, it is no Gopel at all!

Hear farther: "When we examine the four Evangelists, we constantly find the Saviour inviting sinners to come directly to Him. When we turn to the book of Acts and the Epistles, we hear the Apostles, in one voice, and in addressing people

of all tongues and nations, repeating the same lesson: 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.' Never do they say, 'come to *us* and we will obtain forgiveness for you.'"

They invite sinners to come directly to Christ. Where? How? Come to him how? Without ordinances? Believe on Him without submitting to ordinances? No. The Apostles never invited any sinner to come to Christ, except through sacraments—sacraments, too, which none but they themselves were authorized to administer. Invited them to come and "believe on the Lord Jesus Christ:" and is that all? No. Here is the grand sophistry, which we have over and over exposed in this review. Besides inviting them to repent and believe, they also invited them to be baptized and receive the other sacrament, on pain of reprobation! The gift of the Holy Ghost unto sanctification is ever and only promised on submission to baptism. This is the order in which our Saviour himself taught Nicodemus, placing baptism first: "Water and the Spirit." John 3: 5. This is the order in which Peter replied to the direct question of penitent sinners, "What shall we do?" "Repent and be baptized—and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." Acts 2: 37, 38. Paul was astonished when he heard that the converts who had been baptized at Ephesus had not received the Holy Ghost. He knew that there must be something wrong, for this must follow; but the whole mystery was explained when they told him, they had only been baptized with John's baptism. "Then they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus. And when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came on them." Acts 19. Paul in his Epistle to Titus, has the same order, "The washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost." 2 Titus 3: 5. Thus the enjoyment of the influences of the Holy Ghost, and consequently all acceptable worship, are only possible as flowing forth from sacraments. There is no direct coming to Christ, that is acceptable to him, possible on the part of any one who wilfully separates worship from sacraments. Christ demands that his ordinances be honored: and any one who, under the plea of any invitation to come

directly to Him, sets these aside, to bring to him emotions, and prayers, and praises, doing it knowingly, insults instead of pleases Him. He enters not in at the door, and is a thief and robber. Calvin somewhere says truly, 'if God is not bound to his institutions, *we are.*' We challenge Dr. Boardman to bring one respectable theologian from the almost innumerable "cloud of witnesses" that from the Reformation till now bend down over the interests of protestant truth, who does not teach the same thing.

Moreover, the invitations to sinners to come to God, are the same in the Qld Testament as in the New. There they were invited to come to God, not through the priests, as though they had personal grace to give, but always through the rites which they celebrated; and their prayers, and worship, were to be heard in virtue of these sacrifices. In the New, there must be a drawing nigh to God by the covenant made and sealed in sacraments; and here is the true basis and warrant of all acceptable worship. The sentiment "that men may come to Christ and be accepted by him, without the intervention of any human mediator," is a far-reaching heresy, setting Christ against his own institutions, and making both the ministry and the sacraments a mere sham—or rather an array of "arrogant assumptions," between Christ and sinners—hindrances instead of helps to grace. It is a blessed thing that even in the Presbyterian Church, yea, even in that Church over which Dr. Boardman presides, the tradition is better and stronger than the theory; and so far from finding their way into heaven "without, the intervention of any human mediator," and the rites which one in his official station alone can administer, there is not one in that fold who has ever found his way into that "Church militant" without such "intervention and mediation."

In the prosecution of his argument, Dr. Boardman gives us the following: "The validity of this argument will further appear, when it is considered that the sacerdotal theory of the Christian ministry *is subversive of all true views of the nature and design of the Church.*"

Now the misfortune is that he gives us no definition of his

theory of the Church. This is the misery of this whole treatise. It is negative. One is reminded on almost every page, of the definition which Satan is made to give of himself in Gœthe's Faustus:

"Ich bin der Geist der stets verneint!"

We can, however, gather what his idea of the Church is from what he tells us that it is not. Let the following extracts, in which he describes the spurious Church, be seriously pondered. In the beginning of the first extract, the reader will please excuse a somewhat uncourteous strike at the Episcopal Church, after which he will find some things which Dr. Boardman thinks the Church is not:

"It has been repeatedly intimated that the doctrine of an official human priesthood in the Church, is interlaced with a corresponding hypothesis as to the nature and functions of the Church itself. The Church, according to this system, is a Hierarchy. It consists of a single society, (now unhappily in a somewhat divided state,) placed under the government of Diocesan Bishops, who derive their authority from Christ, through an unbroken prelatical succession. These Bishops, indeed, with the inferior clergy, properly *constitute* the Church —the *people* being a mere appendage to the ministry. For the doctrine that the clergy are a priesthood, carries with it the prerogative of exclusive mediation. But to assume to be the only mediators between God and the *Church*, would have been too glaring a usurpation of Christ's office, to be ventured upon in the early stage of this heresy. The *Church*, however, might mediate between God and the *people*, and so the clergy gradually transformed their 'order' into "the Church." To this Church are confided the gifts of salvation. It stands in the place, and is clothed with the authority of Christ, as his Vicar. It is the storehouse of grace, and this grace it communicates through the sacraments, which must be duly administered by sacerdotal hands. In baptism sinners are regenerated, and by the eucharist, in which the faithful partake of the real body and blood of Christ, they have their forgiveness sealed to them."

Again, according to Dr. Boardman's view, the spurious

theory of the Church holds that, "The priesthood being the stewards of the grace deposited in this 'store-house,' they dispense it exclusively through the sacraments."

The powers claimed for the Church in the following extract, are commented upon by the preacher in one flippant sentence of ridicule, thus: "'Awful and tremendous' these powers are; and we agree with the writer, that 'if not conferred by God, they are blasphemously assumed by man.'"

Here is the extract: "'These powers of the Church,' another eminent apologist of the system has observed, 'are very great—they are even awful; if not conferred by God, they are blasphemously assumed by man. The power of communicating to man the divine nature itself, of bringing down the Deity from heaven, of infusing the Spirit into the souls of miserable mortals—this, which is nothing more than the every day promise of the Church, every time that the priest stands at the font, or ministers at the altar—is so awful and so tremendous, that we scarcely dare to read it, except in familiar words which scarcely touch the ear.'"

We do not intend to endorse the views of the Church which are here exhibited in these extracts as spurious, and even ridiculous, in the *form* in which they are set forth; but we will say, that in setting them aside wholly, Dr. Boardman annihilates all idea of the Church, as fully as he has all conception of the ministry. The very fundamental attributes and powers of the Church are here ridiculed. Let us notice a few.

1. It is here denied that the Church mediates between God and the people.

That the Church mediates between God and man is not only one of the plainest, but also one of the most glorious and consoling truths ever revealed from heaven to earth. To deny it, is not as good as Judaism; for no Jew ever dreamed of getting to heaven except through "the Church in the wilderness." Even David knew that all saints are "born in her;" and that God "when he writeth up the people" will count only those that were born in her. Ps. 87. Ps. 92: 13.

The Apostle calls the Church "his BODY, the fulness of him that filleth all in all." Eph. 1: 23. Col. 1: 24. See also 1

Cor. 12: 12, 13. Eph. 2: 18–22. Eph. 4. What does this favorite figure of the Apostle mean? Where does it place the Church? It represents Christ as the *Head*, the Church as the *Body*, and Saints as *Members* of the body. The members are united with the head only through the mediation of the body. Hence the primitive Christians knew of no Christians separate from the Church. "The Lord added to the Church daily such as should be saved." Acts 2: 47.

The Apostle by one stroke sets this question fully at rest: "Jerusalem which is above is free, WHICH IS THE MOTHER OF US ALL." When Dr. Boardman has once found children who have *no* mother, or who were *before* their mother and constituted her, or who sprang from a father without the mediation of a mother,—then he may go seeking saints who are children of God, united with Christ, and heirs of heaven without the mediation of the Church. But lest the Apostle's words, after the convenient fashion of modern theologians, to whom Church Symbols themselves are treated as figures, should be pronounced "only figurative," and then evaporated into nothing, we will give some words of comment on this figure from JOHN CALVIN, an eminent divine of a past age—a name that has some authority in the Presbyterian Church. In the Institutes of Calvin, a work published by the same "Presbyterian Board of Publication" which has published this sermon, there is a chapter with this heading: "The true Church, and the necessity of our union with her, being the mother of all the pious."* In this chapter, the whole of which we earnestly commend to Dr. Boardman for its richness, Calvin discourses as follows: "But as our present design is to treat of the *visible* Church, we may learn even from the title of *mother*, how useful and even necessary it is for us to know her; since there is no other way of entrance into life, unless we are conceived by her, born of her, nourished at her breast, and continually preserved under her care and government till we are divested of this mortal flesh, and "become like the angels." (Math. 22: 30.) For our infirmity will not admit of our dismission from her school; we

* Calvin's Institutes, Vol. II, p. 220.

must continue under her instruction and discipline to the end of our lives. It is also to be remarked, that out of her bosom there can be no hope of remission of sins, or any salvation."* Let it not be forgotten, that this is said in reference to the *visible* Church, as he distinctly informs us at the beginning of the extract; as though he feared some of his followers, as is only too much the fashion, should evaporate his testimony into spiritual sublimation, by referring his words to an invisible Church, as if *one Church*, visible and invisible, could be separated.

This same Calvin also alludes with approbation to the strong and beautiful sentiment of one of the Fathers, in reference to the absolute necessity of union with the Church in order to salvation: "For it is not lawful to 'put asunder' those things 'which God hath joined together;' that the Church is the mother of all those who have Him for their Father."† Let these awfully solemn words be first branded as heresy, before a Presbyterian Assembly, properly glorying in this great name, endorses the flippant ridicule of the sentence: "The *Church*, however, might mediate between God and the people!"

Again, Calvin holds this strong language: "Nor is it small praise, that the Church is chosen and separated by Christ to be his spouse, 'not having spot or wrinkle," (Eph. 5: 17) to be 'his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all.' Eph. 1: 23. Hence it follows that a departure from the Church is a renunciation of God and Christ. And such a criminal dissension is so much the more to be avoided, because, while we endeavor, as far as lies in our power, to destroy the truth of God, we deserve to be crushed with the most powerful thunders of his wrath. Nor is it possible to imagine a more atrocious crime, than that sacrilegious perfidy, which violates the conjugal relation that the only begotten Son of God has condescended to form with us."‡

But behold a greater than Calvin is here! What will Dr. Boardman say of these words: "The *visible* Church, which is also Catholic, or universal under the Gospel, (not confined to one nation, as before under the law) consists of *all those* through-

* Calvin's Institutes, Vol. II, p. 224. † Idem. p. 221. ‡ Idem. p. 232.

out the world, that profess the true religion, together with their children; and is the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God, *out of which there is no ordinary salvation.*"*

Among the genuine old wine of the first generation of Reformers there is no other voice heard. Any quantity of testimonies could be furnished. Lest Dr. Boardman should think that the Presbyterian Church alone taught this doctrine, we will add one from Dr. Ursinus, to show that the German Reformed Church is equally sound on this point. He meets this question firmly thus: "No one can be saved out of the Church: 1. Because out of the Church there is no Saviour, and hence no salvation. 2. Because those whom God has chosen to the end, which is eternal life, them he has also chosen to the means, which consists in the inward and outward call. Hence although the elect are not always members of the *visible* Church, yet *they all become such before they die.*"†

2. Dr. Boardman, in the above extracts, pronounces that a false view of the Church, which teaches that to it "are confided the gifts of salvation."

This is a heresy as deadly as the one just routed by the help of the Scriptures, Calvin, the Presbyterian Symbols, and Ursinus. The same arguments and testimonies just presented also overturn this erroneous view. For if salvation is only found in the Church, then the gifts of salvation must be confided to her. The same mother that gives spiritual birth to the saints is not without the neeessary nourishment. Calvin is severe enough to say, "That all who reject the spiritual food for their souls, which is extended to them by the hands of the Church, deserve to perish with hunger and want."‡

In regard to the word, which is eminently a gift of salvation, Calvin says, "God has deposited this treasure with the Church."‖ In regard to the sacraments, he says: "First of all he has instituted Sacraments, which we know by experience to be means

* See Westminster Confession of Faith, Chap. xxi. ii. For the same doctrine, see also Larger Catechism. Ques. 60.

† Ursinus' Commentary on the Heid. Catechism. Translated by the Rev. G. W. Williard. p. 292.

‡ Calvin's Institutes, Vol. II, p 225. ‖ Idem. p. 221.

of the greatest utility for the nourishment and support of our faith. For as, during our confinement in the prison of our flesh, we have not yet attained to the state of angels, God has, in his wonderful providence, accommodated himself to our capacity, *by prescribing a way in which we might approach him*, notwithstanding our immense distance from him."* The Larger Catechism of the Presbyterian Church, places among other privileges of the visible Church, "the ordinary *means of salvation.*"† Grace and life are all in Christ and from him; and if the Church is "his body," his life and grace must be as certainly only in the Church, as our physical life is in our bodies. As the members of our bodies have life only in the body, so saints have life only in the Church. Hence, what Dr. Boardman sets down as a heresy to be ridiculed, we set down as a most necessay and blessed truth to be believed, and the Scripture, and Calvin, and the Presbyterian Symbols say—Amen: "To the Church are confided the gifts of salvation. It is the store-house of grace."‡

3. Dr. Boardman rejects the doctrine that the gifts of salvation, confided to the Church, as a store-house of grace, "it communicates through the sacraments," and that thereby "they have their forgiveness sealed."

It is a matter of the utmost surprise to us, that any intelligent Presbyterian should reject either of these propositions. Are sacraments *means* of grace? Who denies this? If one thing is plainer than another in the whole tenor of Scriptures, it is that Baptism receives us into a gracious relation to God; "plants" us into the soil of grace; through it we "put on Christ;" it "saveth us" as the ark did Noah: we are "born of water" and the Spirit: it is "the washing of regeneration," according to the Apostle's teaching.§ "By the right use of

* Calvin's Institutes, Vol. II, p. 221.

† Larger Catechism, Ques. 176.

‡ What does this language mean? "Unto this Catholic visible Church, *Christ hath given* the ministry, the oracles, and ordinances of God, for the gathering and perfecting of the saints, in this life, to the end of the world: and doth by his presence and Spirit, according to his promise, *make them effectual thereunto.*" *Westminster Confession, Chap.* XXV. iii.

§ That too low views—lower than the teaching of their Symbols—are alarmingly prevalent in the Presbyterian Church, is beginning to be deeply

this ordinance the grace promised is not only offered, but really exhibited and conferred."* As to the Lord's Supper it is evidently a nourishing and quickening ordinance, as this is set forth in bread and wine. It is for the "spiritual nourishment and growth in him," unto all "true believers."† "Worthy receivers, outwardly partaking of the visible elements in this sacrament, do then also inwardly by faith, *really* and *indeed*, yet not carnally and corporally, but spiritually, *receive* and *feed upon Christ crucified*, and all the *benefits of his death*."‡ Let Dr. Boardman settle that difference between himself and the Symbols of his own Church.

* Westminster Confession, Chap. xxviii, vi. †Idem. Chap. xxix. 1. ‡. Idem. xxix. vii.

felt by many in that communion. In proof of this, we give the following earnest words from the "Presbyterial Critic," Vol. I, No. 10:

"Since the publication of the Minutes of the last General Assembly, a number of curious items have been gathered from the Statistical Tables, by persons skilled in such exercises, and have been sent the rounds of the papers for the edification of the Church. It being one of the objects of this Periodical to call attention to existing facts and doings in the Church, we have taken the trouble to look somewhat closely into the statistics of Baptism, especially of Infants,—a sacrament, which, according to our excellent and churchly standard, 'doth signify and seal our ingrafting into Christ,'—and we deem it of far more importance that the Church should know to what extent this holy ordinance is observed or neglected, than that she should know which are the largest Synods, or who have the largest Churches.

In a Church with a genius and constitution like our own, the Baptism or non-Baptism of the children of the Church, may be safely taken as an index of her internal vital state, at least in certain very important respects. From the relation in which our Confession of Faith makes baptised children to stand to the Church and the covenant of grace, we are warranted in regarding Infant Baptism as the pulse by which to test the soundness of the Church, according to the laws of her own peculiar life. Just in proportion as Infant Baptism falls into disuse, is it a sign that *something* is wrong. It is an evidence that the Church is proving false to her organic constitution and life; is sliding away from her own standards; is loosing from her ancient moorings. Now, if this be true, the statistics of the Church for the present year, may well excite serious inquiry, if not alarm. From an examination of them, it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that in certain portions, and in those the oldest, and in some respects most important portions of the Presbyterian Church, infant baptism is sadly *undervalued* and *neglected*. * * The same thing which we have discovered in the case of certain Synods, we find to be still more surprisingly true in the case of certain Presbyteries and particular churches. The Presbytery of Londondery reports one baptism (infant) to 64 communicants: the Presbytery of Buffalo city the same; the Presbytery Rochester city, 1 to 46; the Presbytery of Michigan, 1 to 77; the Presbytery of Columbus, 1 to 80. In the Presbytery of New Brunswick, there are three churches which report thus: one reports 848 communicants and 8 baptisms; another reports 340 communicants and 2 baptisms; another reports 315 communicants and 2 baptisms; and there are several others in the same

As to the other point, whether believers "have their forgiveness sealed to them" in the sacraments—who denies this? It is the object of Christ in the sacraments, among other blessings, "to confirm our interest in him."* Baptism is "a sign and seal of remission of sins."† The Lord's Supper is to "true believers" "the sealing all benefits of Christ's death."‡ Calvin asks Dr. Boardman: "And what is there that ought to give any man much offence, if we teach that the promise is sealed by the sacraments?"§

* Westminster Confession, Chap. xxvii. i. † Idem. xxviii. i. ‡ Idem. xxix, i. § Calvin's Institutes, Vol. II. p. 456.

Presbytery not much better. In Philadelphia one church reports 303 communicants and 2 baptisms; another reports 320 communicants and 7 baptisms; another reports 287 communicants and 1 baptism. Such instances might be gathered by the score. Now why is this? * * * Why are pastors and people thus negligent respecting one of the sacraments of the Christian Church? Every effect has its cause, and this thing is not the work of chance. It springs, we are *afraid*, out of low views,—insufficient, inadequate, unchurchly views of the nature and importance of the ordinance itself. We can imagine no other cause. Parents would not neglect it so amazingly, and require such repeated promptings from faithful pastors,—pastors would not neglect to enforce the duty, if such were not the case. Its high, solemn import, and deep significance, such as it had for the minds of our fathers, as embodied in the Westminster Symbols, and as exhibited in the former practice of the Church, seems to be *dying out* of the minds of the Church of their sons and daughters, and an unsound, un-Presbyterian laxity of opinion and feeling, respecting the ordinance, seems to be taking its place. Those pastors, who are themselves awake to the subject, feel this to be the case among their people. The Church, *in this respect*, does not reflect the teachings of her standards. Her old sacramental and churchly spirit is becoming diluted. In a Church with a scriptural constitution this will always show itself first in the sacramental ordinances. And from this, if not checked, it will invade and undermine the whole frame work of the Church. Nothing, we conceive, is more certain than that if Presbyterianism loses her sacramental and churchly spirit, she will fall a prey to latitudinarianism and rationalism in some of their forms. The canker-worm will eat out her vitals. The prevalent neglect of infant baptism in the Congregational Churches of New England, has long been a well known fact; and it is also well known how rapid have been the inroads of latitudinarianism and rationalism upon them. * * Brethren in the ministry, are you faithful in this vitally important matter? We have examined this subject in deep earnestness and concern, and to you we commend it. Ponder the tendencies that are to make the future of our beloved Church. Do you ever preach upon the subject of Baptism, except when the peace of your flocks is disturbed by some innovating Baptists? Or is it not important enough for our ordinary ministrations? And when you do preach upon it, are you *more careful to urge* upon your people the nature and significance of the ordinance as "a sign and seal of the covenant of grace, ingrafting into Christ, of regeneration, of remission of sins," (see Con. of Faith, Chap. 28) than to warn them against superstition, by telling them that it is a *mere* sign? Let not the bugbear of Romanism or Episcopacy drive us into an equally fatal error on the opposite side."

A truly devout and earnest spirit—a spirit that has faith to feel the solemn mysteries of the world to come as they lie hidden in the "Church of the first born," to which "we have come"—must be filled with a reverence that is not too strongly called "awful and tremendous!" The supernatural born into the natural, the heavenly and eternal revealing itself in power and glory in earth and in time, silently transforming men and the world into the image of the heavenly, while the angels bend down and "desire to look into" mysteries which were never seen in heaven; "principalities and powers in heavenly places learning by the Church manifold wisdom" which before they never knew; while all the hosts of heaven shout in joy, as in the progress of the history of the Church, seal after seal is opened, and trump after trump announces new victories, until, when the last shout of triumph is heard over vanquished death and hell, one grand chorus shall fill all heaven, "as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying Alleluia: for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth." Before such powers, now lodged and working in the Church, our faith stands in humble and silent reverence, and says, in the very words ridiculed by Dr. Boardman, which we most fully and devoutly make our own: "These powers of the Church are very great—they are even awful; if not conferred by God, they are blasphemously assumed by man. The power of communicating to man the divine nature itself, of bringing down the Deity from heaven, of infusing the Spirit into the souls of miserable mortals—this, which is nothing more than an every day promise of the Church, every time that the minister stands at the font or ministers at the altar—is so awful and tremendous, that we scarcely dare read it; except in familiar words which scarcely touch the ear!" We envy not the man—we fellowship not, no not for a moment, his orthodoxy—whose tongue falters in pronouncing these words, and to whom they are not as full of devotion as a prayer. Is not the Lord's Supper, which he administers "a communion" of the saint with the entire Christ, as now divine and human in one, in our nature? Is not baptism the sacrament which is joined by

God's word with the renewing of the Holy Ghost? Is not the Church, with its ordinances, the very form in which God, in Christ, and the Spirit is graciously present with men, through which alone they become partakers of the divine nature?

It is urged as a last argument against the idea of the Christian ministry, combatted in this little book, "that it is fraught with ruin to the souls of men."

So far as this remark applies to the Cultus of the Church of Rome, in its partial suppression of the Prophetic office, and in its allowing an overstraining of the priestly and kingly functions, we acknowledge its force. But in his representations of this evil feature in Romanism, so much precious wheat is blown away with the chaff, that we can as little choose to stand with him, where there is neither wheat nor chaff, as with his antagonists, where wheat lies covered by the chaff. We are not confined—and we are thankful for it—either to the one extreme, with its abuses, or to the other, with its negativeness, its infidelity to Church, its anti-sacramental rationalism, and its cheerless, helpless, and hopeless level with mere nature. It may be true: "It is the lordly pretensions of an ambitious priesthood; which brings the ministry into disrepute, and fills Churches with formalists and hypocrites;" but it is equally true, that it is the promulgation of such views of the Christian ministry as those presented in this sermon, which drives the earnest and serious entirely away from the Church, and chills the hearts of those who remain.

That is a sad sentence, in Dr. Boardman's sermon: "By far other means than these, must the ministry conciliate the respect and confidence of the world." Must then the ministry of Christ conciliate the confidence and respect of the world, by ignoring its truly divine official standing, power and commission, and stepping down upon the democratic level? Did Christ—did the Apostles do so? No, that is a better word: "I magnify my office." Undue respect for the ministry is not the fault of this age. Men are little careful how they "touch the Lord's anointed." Even children catch the spirit of irreverence which surrounds them, and have, in many instances, boldness to manifest in his presence the rudest familiarity.

There must be a cause for this growing spirit of irreverence. Where is it to be found but in the spread of sentiments which disrobe the ministry of its divinely official character? It is to be traced to the sentiment, now heard from many lips, that the minister is a man like other men, losing sight entirely of the fact, that though he is like other men, as a man, he is not so as a minister of Jesus Christ. The solemn words of our Saviour, "He that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me," are not now remembered in their true solemnity.

If men are to respect and reverence ministers, they must see in them more than themselves—must see the office in the man. They must hear them because they are the commissioned of God; and honor them as those whom Christ has honored. The bitter fruits of this low view of the ministry are beginning to reveal themselves sadly in many of our cities and larger towns. The way in which a minister is at present to command respect and "conciliate the world," is not by his office, but by his learning, his eloquence, his gift to tickle the popular ear. To this end he must be a man of tactics. He must "get up his name." He must "draw crowded houses." He must lay aside the old themes: they are trite. He must rummage the "curiosities of literature," to keep up "freshness and variety." He must preach series of "sermons for the times." He must "encompass land and sea" to find a "striking theme," and then give due notice in a newspaper. If he is "gifted" in a way that will combine all these requisites he may "conciliate the world;" and draw the "lawyers," and the "merchants," and the "prominent men," to hear him. Thus a few will draw attention, not by their official ministry, but by "conciliating" the worst spirit of the world; while the many, either because they have not the key to popular favor, or disdain to prostitute their high and holy office, find the crowd rushing by them and their ministrations, with scarcely a single nod of respect. Would that this picture were not too sadly true! We find the seeds of this noxious growth in just such low views of the sacred office as those promulgated in "Dr. Boardman on the Christian Ministry."

The beautiful plea which is brought in towards the close of this sermon, for "the chartered rights and privileges" of the sacred office is all in vain. It is like green vines over ruins. The misery is in the broken down foundations beneath. It reminds one of striking down a traveller upon the highway, breaking his bones and mangling his body, and then comforting the bleeding victim with music and perfumes!

We close our article by summing up the results of this discussion. We do so by turning all Dr. Boardman's negative propositions into positive ones, in substantially his own language. We stand at opposite poles. We have shown that the view of the Christian ministry against which he contends:

Is in full harmony with the whole structure of the New Testament.

It is in a high degree honorable to the one perfect and unchangeable Priesthood of the Lord Jesus Christ.

It accords with the emphatic teaching of the Scriptures, that no sinner is authorized to come directly to Christ for pardon, without the intervention of an official mediation.

It establishes and confirms all true views of the nature and design of the Church.

It is fraught with good to the souls of men.

The intelligent reader shall decide whether we have established these points against Dr. Boardman's sermon, by Scripture, by Calvin, and by the highest symbolical authority in the Presbyterian Church.

Lancaster, Pa. H. H.

Art. II.—SKETCHES OF A TRAVELER FROM GREECE, CONSTANTINOPLE, ASIA MINOR, SYRIA AND PALESTINE.

VI. MY TRAVELS IN SYRIA.

II. BA'ALBEK.

Now call unto me all the prophets of Ba'al, all his servants, and all his priests; let none be wanting: for I have a great sacrifice to do to Ba'al. And all the worshippers of Ba'al came, and the house of Ba'al was full from one end to another. And Jehu said to the captains and the guard: Go in and slay them, let none come forth! And they smote them with the edge of the sword, and cast them out, and brought forth the images from the house of Ba'al and burned them, and brake down the temple, and made it a draught-house to this day.—2 Kings 10: 19–27.

The distance between Damascus and Ba'albek is eighteen hours, or forty-five miles, and is generally accomplished in two days. The road winds through the valleys and plateaus of Jebel-Zebdany, the northern part of the Anti-Lebanon, a country more fertile and interesting than that through which the traveler passes on the caravan route by Demas. The morning of the 24th of May was cool and agreeable. We left the Italian hotel at an early hour, and following the road through the suburbs and gardens, we, on the height of Salahieh, took our last farewell of the happy plain of Damascus. The ascent above Salahieh is rough and deeply furrowed through the limestone rock. On our left was the pass of Rabah, through which the foaming Burrada forces its passage towards the Ghutah. A frightful precipice, several hundred feet high, here overhangs the glen, to which we descended by a circuitous road; and in an hour we arrived at the large village of Dummar, where we crossed the river on a stone bridge. The abundance of water which is led off through the gardens by numberless channels, the rich, loamy soil, and the deep indenture of the valley, protected on the north and west by ridges of the Anti-Lebanon, give a tropical luxuriance to the vegetation. Immense plantains, poplars, and fig, walnut, and chest-

nut trees, interlaced with vines, overhang the banks of the river, and continue for miles to form a dense and beautiful grove along the road. But instead of following the sinuosities of Wady-Burrada, we once more crossed the stream, and ascended to the barren and dreary table-land el-Jedid. The wind blew freshly down from the snow-topped Mount Hermon, and we again experienced one of those astonishing transitions in temperature from the Egyptian heat of the valley, to the Alpine chilliness of the plateau. We were surrounded by distant mountains. North-west the high ruddy peaks of Neby-Abel gradually rose on our sight, as we in four hours approached the village el-Huseiniyeh, lying on the steep offset of the mountain, in an elevated position above the valley of the Burrada. On its opposite bank, amidst groves of fruit trees, appeared the convent of el-Kanum and several villages. This place is clebrated in Arab tradition. Cain, say the Arabs, having slain his brother, at the altar of Kashioun, in the Ghutah, north of Damascus, where the first parents then dwelt, took the corpse on his shoulders, and not knowing what to do with his brother, whose profound sleep did not yield to his exertions to awaken him, he wandered lamenting along the banks of the river. There he saw a raven scraping, with his beak, a hole in the earth, in which he buried one of his own species; and this suggested to Cain the idea, that the rigid sleep of his brother required a different couch from usual. He then dug a grave on the mountain as a resting place for the dead. A monument on the top of the mountain was supposed to be the tomb of Abel.

After an hour's delay at the mill of el-Huseiniyeh, we continued our route between the mountain and the steep bank of the river, and soon arrived at the highly romantic pass of Suk-Wady-Burrada. In the very mouth of the defile are situated two villages in an elevated position above the river, which runs between them. The houses on both sides stand grouped on terraces descending rapidly to the channel of the boiling and foaming river below. Through a dark and narrow street, the only passage, we turned to the left and arrived at the strait of the pass Suk-Burrada, where an arched stone bridge crosses

over to the left bank. Bare and cleft rocks of an immense altitude inclosed us on all sides, and only a narrow path on the river side, where a few resolute men might stop a whole army, led nothward through the defile to the open plain of Zebdany. On the precipitous flanks of the mountains are many sepulchral chambers excavated in the rock, which seem inaccessible without the application of ropes and scaling ladders. The portals of these sepulchres or Troglodytic dwellings are ornamented with columns and mutilated statues in relief. Near the bridge is a staircase cut in the rock, and many fragments of columns and square blocks are scattered about. This appears to have been the *necropolis* or cemetery of the ancient city of Abila, which in antiquity defended the pass of the Chrysorrhoas. It was the residence of the *tetrarchs* or princes of Abilene, a principality extending over the Anti-Lebanon, and the northeastern parts of Palestine, together with the Auranitis (Hauran) and the plain of Damascus. Herod the Great afterwards took possession of the southern districts of Abilene, while Lysanias the tetrarch, was circumscribed to the northern part of the Anti-Lebanon. Abila was a strong fortress in a nearly impregnable position.* Interesting ruins of the castle, of an ancient temple, and other large structures, are still to be seen on the summit of the mountain above the pass, and have, no doubt, given rise to the Arabian name and tradition of Neby-Abel.

It was a pleasant afternoon. The deep shadows of the barren, reddish-brown precipices in the depth of the defile, and the brilliantly illuminated heights, rearing their peaks in strange and fantastic forms against the azure sky above, rendered the Suk-Burrada the most sombre and wild-looking, but at the same time the most picturesque spot we had yet seen in the whole range of the Anti-Lebanon; and we would have been glad to stop in the village, if we had not expected to find still better quarters among :he hospitable Christians of the pretty little town of Zebdany further on in the plain.

We now arrived at the northern opening of the pass; the

* St. Luke 3: 1; Joseph. Antiq. Jud. 20: 7; 17: 11; 19. 5. The city was called *Abila of Lysanias*, to distinguish it from another of the same name, situated on the banks of the Hieromax in Perœa.

mountains at once receded, and a verdant, well-cultivated plain extended before us. Here the Burrada flowing in a broad and quiet bed from the upper plain, forms a beautiful waterfall and rushes chafing and roaring into the deep, rocky, channel of the glen.

We now left the muleteers with the luggage behind, and pressed on at full speed on a broad, level road, which appeared to be in as good a condition as any on the continent of Europe. It runs among fields of maize, dhurra, and wheat, inclosed with hedges of briar-roses, hawthorn, or sycamores, often interspersed with poplars and fruit-trees. This sight is so rare in the East, and so contrary to the usages of its indolent inhabitants, that I almost fancied myself transported back to the rural scenery of England or Germany. The landscape became more and more cheerful and animated; herds of cattle and sheep were grazing on the banks of the Burrada; Mudaya, Ba'a-ain, and other hamlets were here and there situated on the distant heights of Jebel-Zebdany. Nowhere in the Anti-Lebanon does the traveler meet with so much industry and prosperity as in this happy plain, which forms, as it were, an oasis of verdure among its bleak and desert regions. The inhabitants till their fields by oxen; they stable their cattle during winter, and irrigate their orchards by artificial ditches, which they lead across the fields with much labor and expense. The gardens now thickened to a forest, and beneath a canopy of pear and walnut trees, we entered es-Zebdany, the principal town of the plain It has a delightful situation on the banks of the small river Zebdany, which a few miles below unites with the Burrada. Our Arabs told us that there was no caravan-serai in the village. Since the destruction of Ba'albek there is but little communication between Damascus and the northern coast of Syria by the valley of Zebdany. We, therefore, stopped at the house of the Sheik Heby Tall, a kind-looking old man, with a snow white beard floating over his bosom. He received us with the courteous "*Marash-ba-bik, Hawadjes!*"—Welcome to you, gentlemen!—and presently offered us a small, dark, but clean room, opening on the court and garden in the rear of the house. Our drivers soon came

up with the sumpters, and all was now bustle and activity in the quiet house of the old sheik. According to my custom, I ordered my own tent to be pitched beneath the peach-trees in the garden, because I always preferred to spend the cool and fragrant nights *a la belle etoile.* The sheik's house stood near the bank of the rivulet, which winds through the village, and is led off through the gardens around. In front of the house the stream forms a small cove, overhung by immense knotty and far-spreading plantains, where a wooden platform, covered with carpets and cushions in the Oriental style, has been raised in the river on piles fixed in its bed. This is a charming place, where the worthy sheik would often pass the sultry hours of the day, smoking his nargiles, and enjoying the refreshing coolness and pleasant murmurs of the brook. Here, too, we received the visits of the well-dressed and good-natured villagers, who were as inquisitive as the Maronites of Mount Lebanon, but less ignorant and troublesome.

Heby-Tall was an intelligent and talkative man. He told me that his family for many years had ruled this village, containing six hundred souls, and some other districts of the plain. He bitterly complained of the exactions of the Turkish Governor of Damascus, though he appeared to have suffered still more during the military occupation of Ibrahim-Pasha, by the continual forays of his troops, quartered in the neighboring plain of Ba'albek. The morning of the 25th of May was fresh and lovely. The atmosphere was filled with the perfume of the small yellow flowers of the oleaster or *zizyphia*, as the Greeks call it, which fences the gardens all around the village. The sheik took me to the terrace of the house where the silk worms are kept, the raw silk of which is a principal source of revenue to the inhabitants of Zebdany. The view over the plain and distant mountain was most delightful. The sun had just risen above the steep and rugged Kurun-es-Zebdany, or "*the horns,*" and skirting the broad valley on the east, glowed on the huge snow-capped crest of the majestic Hermon, soaring high above all the nearer ridges on the south. On our return, Mustapha had served our excellent breakfast, consisting of coffee, fresh milk, eggs, and hot cakes, beneath the fruit-trees of the garden, while the muleteers were preparing for departure.

Taking leave of our hospitable landlord, we continued our route in a northern direction towards the last ridges of the Anti-Lebanon and the valley of Ba'albek. We followed the banks of the Zebdany river, which we at the time supposed to be the Burrada; but we learned on the road that this river has its head-source in the western mountains, at a distance of three miles from the village. We then approached the rugged Kurun-es-Zebdany, where a stream forms a fine waterfall, descends foaming and splashing into the valley below, drives several water-mills, and joins its more quiet companion in the plain. In an hour we ascended to the high table-land of el-Sorgheia, and passed another well-built village, surrounded, like Zebdany, by mulberry groves, orchards, and cultivated fields. It lies on the water-shed of the Anti-Lebanon, four thousand feet above the level of the Mediterranean, though according to appearance, several ridges seem to divide it from the plain of Ba'albek. Before us on the north lay the blooming valley of Yafufeh, to which we now descended through a steep and romantic pass. Another copious brook here forms a cascade; and following the sinuosities of the mountains, it forces its passage through a gap in the western ridge, and discharges itself in the Litany, (Leontes,) near el-Merdj, on the caravan route to Beirut. The Wady-Yafufeh soon straitened to a narrow dell, encompassed by precipitous, dark-colored rocks. The river flowed through a thicket of plantains, willows, and poplars, which often blocked up our passage, and forced us in many places to ford the stream. In an hour and a half, we at last emerged from the forest on a small and verdant plain, in front of the last high and rocky barrier of the Anti-Lebanon, overhanging the plain of Ba'albek. This last mountain-belt burst upon us quite unexpectedly, as we had anticipated an easy descent to the Buka'a, but now, to our astonishment, found another barren and rugged ridge before us. The sun was extremely hot in this *cul-de-sac*, and our horses were so much jaded from the long and toilsome passage through the copse-wood, that we encamped beneath the trees at a short distance from the ruinous and abandoned village of Yafufeh. The whole distance from the plateau of Sorgheia down to the

Buka'a is uninhabited, and we did not meet a single human being on the road.

In the afternoon we climbed the steep ascent on our right. The path ran in sharp and short turns to a considerable height. The summit was bleak and bare, appeared as if rent by an earthquake, and was strewn over with immense detached rocks, between which a most lovely view opened upon the broad valley of the Buka'a and the more distant Lebanon. Light fleecy clouds were covering the summits of Jebel-Sunnin; yet, far off in the north-west, the huge Jebel-Makmel pierced boldly through the vapors hanging round its flanks, and pointed out to us the direction of our route to the cedar-forest and the city of Tripolis. The nearer offsets of the Anti-Lebanon cut off the prospect towards Ba'albek, but the lower plain, with the silver stripe of the river Litany winding along its verdant fields, was distinctly visible for many miles.

There is a highly remarkable difference in the aspect of these two parallel mountain-ridges. Some of the higher regions of the Anti-Lebanon are covered with forests, while those of Lebanon are totally bare. The general outline of the former is nearly uniform, except on the *south*, where the gigantic Jebel-es-Sheik, forming in reality the central mass of both ridges, rises high above the loftiest summits of the Lebanon, being elevated more than nine thousand feet above the level of the Mediterranean. Its huge *dome* is covered with snow during the greater part of the year, and in its chasms this never disappears. This mountain forms the most striking object in the scenery of Syria. It is seen far off on the sea and from Mount Garizim in Samaria, at a distance of more than eighty miles. It appears as an immense giant, stretching forth towards the north both his mighty arms, the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. The direct breadth of the latter is only one day's journey on the caravan route by Demas, though the more circuitous road along the Burrada to Ba'albek is double that length. The western slope of the Anti-Lebanon towards the Buka'a is steep, and in some places precipitous. The eastern, on the contrary, forms a succession of narrow plateaus, which are furrowed by fertile valleys, and descend gradually down to the

plain of Damascus, the last terrace, whose numerous streams lose themselves in the desert.

The Lebanon, on the contrary, has quite a different physiognomy. Throughout its full length from north to south, it presents a high barrier, terminating in a narrow and sharp ridge of a grayish lime-stone, which on both sides, towards the plain of the Buka'a and the Mediterranean, has a very steep descent. All its lateral valleys are deeper and more narrow than those of the Anti-Lebanon, and its culminating point, Jebel-Makmel, having an elevation of seven thousand feet, is situated near its *northern* boundary, while the Jebel-es-Sheik rises on the *south;* and the whole ridge of the Anti-Lebanon gradually sinks down northward to the sandy plain of Homs, where it disappears altogether.

While contemplating this grand and beautiful landscape from the heights of the Jebel-es-Zebdany, a thunder-storm had gathered on the opposite heights of Mount Lebanon. The thunder began to roll, and the blue lightning flashed incessantly through the sombre clouds, which had now gathered in heavy masses around the snow-capped peaks of Jebel-Makmel. The tempest moved across the valley and threatened every moment to burst against the precipitous rocks of the Anti-Lebanon, on which we were standing. We therefore hastened our descent along a zigzag path, conducting us in a quarter of an hour to Neby-Sheet, a small village, inhabited by Metawileh Muslims, situated on the slope of the mountain, immediately above the plain of Ba'albek. The thunder-storm had now reached the side of the mountain; one clap followed another, and the rain began to pour down like a deluge, when we arrived at the door of the Arab sheik. The poor man seemed quite embarrassed at our sudden appearance, as his house was occupied by some Turkish officers, who were going to Damascus. But all difficulties were instantly removed. The Ottoman Bimbashis politely offered us their room during our short halt, and while the storm was raging outside, drenching our mules and baggage, we were quite comfortably reposing on the divans among the arms and accoutrements of the Turks. The indefatigable Mustapha, in the mean time, prepared our dinner; and when

the thunder-shower had passed over, we, in the refreshing coolness of the evening, continued our descent to the plain. Yet sunset overtook us at two hours' distance from Ba'albek; we, therefore, took up our quarters for the night at the village of Bereitan, situated on a spur of the Anti-Lebanon, commanding a beautiful view towards the plain and the opposite range of the Lebanon. This village is likewise inhabited by Metawileh, whose low, mud-walled houses were clustering on the steep sides of the hill in such a manner, that the *flat roofs* of one range formed the *street* of that above. The villagers, men, women, and children, came thronging around, and followed us to the sheik, who assigned us one of the best houses in the village. The inquisitiveness of the crowds around became now very troublesome, when a handsome young Arab, gaily dressed, and accompanied by some well-equipped horsemen, came galloping up to us, announcing himself as Sidi-Mahmudh, the son of the Emir of Ba'albek. When he saw the despair of Mustapha at not being able to pitch the tents and arrange the baggage, owing to the vexatious curiosity of the idlers around, and the impertinence of the urchins of the village, even beginning to fling stones at the Frank travelers, he threw himself from his horse, and with his whip soon cleared the avenues. He then politely told me that the Emir, his father, invited me to see him at the Kula'at—the castle. Taking Mustapha with me, I went to the outskirts of the village, where I found the Emir sitting on a carpet before an old tower, smoking his nargiles. He was surrounded by four or five handsome Arabs, whose glittering arms and splendid dress contrasted most strikingly with the squalidness and misery of the rest of the inhabitants. The young warriors wore large white turbans, light blue jackets, and trousers richly laced with gold; and their beautiful steeds, as gaudily accoutred as their riders, were picketed in the adjoining court-yard. The present Emir of Ba'albek is Mar-Kandjar, of the old family of Harfush, who were the feudal lords of the Buka'a, and nearly as independent as the chiefs of Mount Lebanon. Mar-Kandjar is a venerable-looking man, with a flowing white beard and a shrewd countenance. He enjoys the reputation of being a brave

warrior. The followers of Ali were defeated and almost annihilated during their bloody feuds with the Druzes of Mount Lebanon, as I mentioned in another place. Their beautiful plain was afterwards ravaged by the army of Ibrahim-Pasha, who had quartered the wild tribes of his Bedouin cavalry in the environs of Ba'albek. At last, in 1840, when the Anglo-Austrian fleet appeared on the coast, and Turkish proclamations called on all the mountaineers to revolt against the Egyptians, Emir Mar-Kandjar again armed the bands of his daring horsemen, who were still dispersed among the villages of the Anti-Lebanon, and uniting with the Druzes and Maronites, attacked the retreating Egyptian army and contributed his part to expel it from the country.

It seemed to me as if those handsome young horsemen, the sons of the Emir, were the last of that enterprising people, who, with thousands of warriors, had swept the plain and extended their conquests to the coasts of the sea. I wondered that the old Emir offered me coffee, a pipe, and a seat on his divan, which are rather unusual compliments with the fanatic Metawileh, as all travelers assert that they never invite strangers of another belief, nor think it proper even to touch vessels or utensils used by them. But the late war and the continual intermixture with European travelers have done away with many prejudices, and begun essentially to change the manners of the East. Mar-Kandjar bade us welcome to his country, and told me that we might at our leisure and with perfect safety visit the monuments of Ba'albek. He then drew forth from his girdle an English telescope, a present which he had received during the war from his British allies, and requested me to put the glasses in order.

Early next morning, the 26th of May, we departed from Bereitan, and descending to the plain, took a northern direction to Ba'albek. Ridges of swelling hills, the last undulations of the Anti-Lebanon on our right, still for a while cut off our view in front; but on our crossing the last height, the stately temple-ruins in their commanding elevation, like a Gothic castle of the middle ages, and the white dwellings of Ba'albek, with its shattered mosques and broken minarets, now appeared

above the surrounding grove at a distance of three miles. Nearer, on our left, was seen a circular ruin supported by columns, on a hill behind the village of Duris. We then arrived at the ancient quarries, where the immense blocks of hard limestone had formerly been excavated for the foundations of the temples. Many stones lie perfectly formed for use; others are half cut out from the mountain; and a huge rock, seventy feet in length, though not yet detached from the quarry, is shaped off in an oblong form, and seems to have been designed for the substructure of the larger temple. The city of Ba'albek now lay before us at a short distance. The ancient city walls, which were defended by large square towers, are demolished; but large heaps of stones and dilapidated turrets still indicate their direction along the eastern heights, and their northward curve inclosing the town. A clear, purling brook, descending from the fountain-head of Rasel-Ain, a couple of miles north of the city, passes around the base of the castle, and taking a south-western course through the plain, discharges itself in the Litany. This rivulet and a scattered grove of walnuts, willows, poplars and plantains covering its banks and the environs of the temples, highly contributed to enhance the beauty of the scenery; nor is it possible to describe the pleasant sensations it at once called forth. Here we instantly dismounted, and ordering Mustapha to take our horses and attendants to the Greek convent in the town, we crossed the rivulet, and ascended to the temples.

They form together with the spacious courts, sanctuaries and porticoes, an *entire acropolis*, elevated on an oblong platform, which extends twelve huudred feet in its longest diameter from east to west. The foundations of this platform consist, in some places, of gigantic freestones, between sixty and seventy feet in length. In their enormous dimensions and the similarity of their workmanship, they have a striking resemblance to the substructions of the great platform of the ancient Jewish temple on Mount Moriah at Jerusalem, and thus seem to corroborate the old tradition of the Orientals, Christians as well as Mohammedans, of their having been a work of the times of Solomon, King of Judah and Israel, who built Hamath

and Tadmor in the desert. The outer wall on the north is admirably preserved; it is thirty feet in height. It runs parallel with the platform of the temples, and incloses a deep court or moat, two hundred feet in length, and forty-five in breadth, which is supposed to have served as a *vivarium* or inclosure for the wild beasts, who were kept for the worship of Ba'al, the Sun-god, and even in later times, for the cruel combats of the sight-loving Romans.* These lions' dens remind us of those kept by the kings of Media and Babylonian in the times of the prophets. The Saracens, after the conquest of Damascus in 636, strongly fortified the temples of Ba'albek. The outer walls were raised higher and strengthened by battlements; on the east, the principal entrance and portico were walled up and flanked by square towers. During the crusades, Ba'albek was bravely defended by the Saracens, and the Christian knights never succeeded in permanently establishing themselves in the Buka'a. It is, therefore, very probable that these early fortifications, and their elevated and strong position, may have saved the temples from that destruction to which other more exposed monuments have so frequently been subjected. Indeed this Saracenic military architecture of square and octagonal towers, with pointed arches and battlemented pinnacles, though in opposition to the more gigantic and graver monuments of Imperial Rome, do not a little contribute to the inexpressibly picturesque and romantic effect which the castle, as a whole, makes on the beholder on his first approach.

The principal entrance was from the city on the east, but it is at present obstructed and closed up by the more modern walls. In front of it was the first or hexagonal court, which is now very ruinous; but the larger quadrangular or inner court is in better preservation. From thence the prospect opens upon the remaining columns of the immense Pantheon, directly in front, and the smaller, but wonderfully preserved temple of Ba'al farther off to the left, while the distant snow-clad ridge

* Lucian, describing the temple of Juno in Hieropolis, says: "In the court of the temple are kept a great number of bears and lions, which feed together, and are never known to attack or hurt any one; being set apart for the sacred rites, they are always tame." Lucian, de Dea Syr.

of Jebel-Makmel forms a glorious background to this beautiful picture. Both courts present a series of large recesses, alternately square and circular, which seem to have been designed for sanctuaries, and schools of the philosophers and priests, who perhaps had their dwellings in the chambers which are distributed at the angles of the courts.* They are all enriched with architectural decorations, with porticoes of four or six columns, tabernacles for busts and elegantly ornamented niches for statues, while a beautiful frieze of bull's heads and wreaths of flowers and fruits, with a boldly projecting cornice above, gives union and firmness to the whole structure.

Over heaps of rubbish and broken columns, nearly hid among luxuriant shrubs and flowers, we forced our way to the great Pantheon, which according to an inscription on the exterior portico was dedicated to Jove and the great gods—diis magnis. This then was the magnificent temple built by Antoninus Pius about the middle of the second century of our era. John of Antioch says, that it was dedicated to Jove and considered one of the wonders of the world. It appears to have been a *decastyle*, with ten columns in the pronaos and posticum, and nineteen in each of its flanks, after the Roman manner; the whole number being fifty-four. The height of the columns is sixty feet, exclusive of the architrave, and with it seventy-two; their diameter seven feet; and the dimensions of the temple were two hundred and ninety feet in length by one hundred and sixty in breadth.† No vestige of the cell or body of the temple now remains. Only six beautiful columns of the rich Corinthian order, forming part of the southern peristyle, are still standing. The others were thrown down by an earthquake in 1759; their bases may be seen on the platform, while the

* "A great number of priests wait in the temple, some of whom slay the victims, others pour out the libations; some are called *fire-bearers*, others attendants on the altar. When I was there above a hundred of them assisted at the sacrifice. Their garments were white, and they had hats on their heads, except the high priest, who is clothed in purple and wears a tiara: he changes every year." Lucian de Dea Syr.

† The Olympeion at Athens was larger, being a *dipteros decastylos*, with one hundred and twenty-eight columns of the Corinthian order. It measured three hundred and fifty-four by one hundred and seventy-two feet; the shaft of the remaining columns is sixty feet, and their diameter seven and a half feet.

shafts have rolled down below. The columns have not only preserved their Corinthian capitals, but even their architrave and a highly elaborate cornice. They consist of two or three blocks of a red and black granulous granite, and are so perfectly joined together that their junction can scarcely be discovered. These gigantic ruins stand on an elevated platform on the north-western angle of the castle-wall, where three immense blocks of sixty-five feet in length seem to have excited the admiration of ancient as well as modern writers.*

At the distance of fifty yards stands the second temple, supposed to be that of Ba'al, the Sun-god. It was not inclosed within the great court, and forms now the south-western corner of the castle; the Saracens having fortified it like the courts and porticoes with towers and battlements, and a strong traverse, which obstructs the view to the elegant door-way on the eastern front. This temple is still in excellent preservation. It had sixteen Corinthian columns, forming a double row on its eastern and western façades, and a peristyle of fifteen on each side, making in all fifty-four, of which twenty-three, with their epistylia, are standing at the present day; while the bases and lower frustra of many others are either indicating their place or lying in wild confusion around the platform.

The outer row of six Corinthian columns on the eastern portico, the principal entrance, is demolished, and its fragments cover the broad staircase leading up to the temple. But the second colonade is entire, and presents the highly remarkable feature, that the *corner columns* on the sides are *fluted*, while the six central shafts are plain. One column, perhaps overturned by an earthquake, is still leaning *unbroken* against the southern wall of the cell, thus proving the extraordinary solid-

* These blocks are sixteen feet in breadth and thirteen feet in height. Such an enormous mass contains, according to Professor Russegger, fourteen thousand five hundred and twenty cubic feet, and weighs about one million two hundred thousand pounds.

The Chronicon Alexandrinum, page 808, says that Theodosius converted the great and renowned sanctuary at Heliopolis, that of the *Three Stones*, το τριλιθον, into a Christian Church. This epithet, no doubt, had reference to the immense substructions of the great Pantheon, thus distinguishing it from the smaller temple of Ba'al.

ity and skill with which the ancient architects united the shafts of their columns. The elevation of column and capital is fifty-one feet, eight inches; the diameter five feet. The temple is two hundred and thirty feet in length and one hundred and sixty in breadth.

It is composed of a glossy white limestone, quite resembling marble, which in the course of time has assumed that beautiful golden hue, so well suited to enhance the picturesque effect of ancient architecture in the warm coloring of a Syrian sky.

The roof of the temple has fallen in; but the coffers of the peristyle—the *lacunaria*—are still lying in their places, and are ornamented with quite a variety of portraits of Roman Emperors and entire figures from the Grecian mythology, such as Leda caressing the swan, Jove with Ganymede, and Diana armed with bow and arrows. The high door-way on the eastern front leading into the body of the temple is twenty-five feet high by twenty feet broad. Its mouldings and ornaments are of an exquisite and exuberant workmanship, representing beautiful *genii* among wreaths of fruits and flowers. On the lintel, in excellent bas-relief, is seen an eagle with expanded wings grasping a caduceus in his talons, and holding in his beak the joined ends of two rich garlands, each of which at the other end is held by a winged victory. At the tremendous earthquake in 1759, the keystone of the lintel forming the eagle gave way, and sinking down eight inches it again became fixed, and is still seen hanging in this threatening position.

The interior of the *cell* is in better preservation than that of any temple I saw in Greece or Italy. It is well known that the only Greek temples which have preserved their cells are those of the Olympian Jove at Akragas, in Sicily, of the Theseum and Parthenon at Athens, and of the Appollo Epicurius in Arcadia, in which latter we still admire the beautiful half-columns in the interior. But in the temple of the Sun in Ba'albek, the four immense *pilasters* of the corners and the twelve fluted three-quarter Corinthian columns, with the intervening niches and tabernacles, surmounted by a rich and elegant entablature adorning the inner wall, give a more distinct idea of the interior cell of an ancient heathen temple; while at the

western extremity, the *adyton*, is seen the raised stage with its arch or canopy, supported by two Corinthian columns, which seem to indicate the marble couch—the sacred *thalamos*—in which the symbol of Ba'al was screened from the gaze of the adoring multitude.

The worshippers of the Sun-god, who from all parts of the eastern world flocked by thousands to Emesa and Ba'albek to offer their precious oblations at the shrine of Ba'al, says Herodian, the historian, had no engraven image, *χειροποιητον εικονα*, no statue of a human form representing their deity, like the Greeks and Romans. Ba'al was worshipped under the name *Helagabal*, the procreating god, in the form of a black conical stone, which it was believed had fallen from heaven into the sanctuary of the great temple at Emesa. The color and general appearance of this stone, and the tradition of its having fallen from heaven, evidently proved it to have been a meteorolite. The Emperor Heliogabalus afterwards carried it with him to Rome.

Grecian architecture had been my favorite study during a residence of several years at Athens; and my conceptions, therefore, of the monuments of Syria were not very great. Yet, summoning up the different impressions left on my mind from the contemplation of the gigantic architecture of Ba'albek, I must confess that it by far exceeded my expectations in the comparatively pure taste and excellent workmanship of the ornaments and the imposing grandeur of the masses; though it would be improper of course to compare monuments of the age of the Antonines, when the Roman architecture was fast verging to its decline, with the master-pieces of the glorious days of Greece. The noble monuments of the Periclean era stand to this day alike *unrivalled* in their different characters of varied excellence—the most tasteful elegance combined with the most pleasing simplicity—and the vast superiority of the Pentelic marble to the limestone of the Anti-Lebanon! I will, nevertheless, readily subscribe to the judgment of a distinguished traveler, who observes with regard to the temples of Ba'albek, that their architecture, though groaning beneath the weight of its own luxuriance and exhibiting in the numerous

chapels, niches, friezes and cornices, a display of that minutely finished workmanship, which, neglecting the noble proportions of Hellenic construction, betrayed the decline of art among Greeks and Romans—still leaves a deep and pleasing impression on the traveler, and fascinates his eyes alike by the grandeur of the forms, the exquisite finish of the details, and highly picturesque effects of the general scenery.

All travelers describe the ruins of Ba'albek as superior to those of Palmyra and Gerasa.

On our return we passed through the subterranean vaults which run beneath the large platform, supporting the sanctuaries and the courts. They are built of immense square stones, and are two hundred paces in length and twenty-five in breadth, and communicate with each other by passages. Large apertures for the admittance of air from above, render them dry and cool; and from this cause they were formerly used as an armory and magazine by the Saracens, though they are now neglected and so much obstructed by rubbish and stones, that we had some difficulty in finding our way through their dark recesses to the moat of the castle.

On the south-east of the temples towards the city of Ba'albek, stands a circular building with six projecting columns of the Corinthian order, which support a curious cornice, ornamented with Cupids, holding garlands of flowers and fruits.—This little rotunda, which may have belonged to the famous ancient temple of Venus Astarte, the powerful Syrian goddess, was surmounted by a cupola; part of its arched soffit still remains. It is of a white marble or limestone. The workmanship is excellent, but the taste of its architecture very bad, and so affected and odd that it involuntarily reminded me of the *rococo* style of the age of Louis XIV, in France. The Greeks formerly used it as a Christian church, having dedicated it to the Santa Barbara; but since the earthquake of 1759, it is in a tottering condition.

At noon we returned to the Greek convent, inhabited by the bishop, the only Christian minister in Ba'albek. A few rooms, open and airy, with a delightful view towards the temples, the plain, and the distant Mount Lebanon, had been provided for us, and Mustapha now attended with an excellent dinner.

In the afternoon we took a ride through the desolate city of Ba'albek, which, nearly abandoned to decay, still exhibits traces of its former importance. Its ruinous mosque, with broken minarets and sunken cupola, has a fine portico of red granite columns; its tanks, fountains, and baths are desolate, and the dark cypresses in the courts seem still to mourn over the fate of the devoted city.

The early history of Ba'albek or Heliopolis, is enveloped in almost impenetrable darkness. David, King of Judah, conquered Damascus and held the sway of Syria. Solomon was said to have built Ba'albek and Tadmor (Palmyra) in the desert.* Heliolatry, or worship of the Sun-god, existed there, says Macrobius, in the most remote antiquity; yet the most flourishing period of these cities, the time of the erection of the gorgeous temples, and of the power and wealth of the proud priesthood of Ba'al in Heliopolis, Emesa, and Palmyra, falls within the first two centuries of our era. Syria had then an exceedingly large population, and was full of rich and flourishing cities. Gaza, Ascalon, and Ptolemais, were celebrated mercantile ports. Aelia Capitolina, the venerable Jerusalem, though interdicted to the exiled Jews, began slowly to recover from its destruction, and was re-built by Hadria. All professions, which reqnired talent, ingenuity, and practice, were flourishing in Syria, and her intelligent and enterprising sons were dispersed over every part of the Roman Empire. The most distinguished musicians, stage-actors, mimics, and dancers, were found in Cæsarea, Tyre, Berytos, and Heliopolis. Laodicea was proud of her inimitable horsemen; Lydda of her purple-dyers. The Syrian linen manufactures vied with those of Egypt. Gaza and Ascalon enjoyed the greatest export of wines and fruits. Science and philosophy flourished in Tarsus and Berytos, where the young Romans crowded the celebrated colleges of law and jurisprudence. The beautiful and populous Antioch was the proud capital of the East, while Tyre and Sidon still exhibited the wealth, ease, and luxury of their more golden days. Emesa and Heliopolis were the great centre of

* And Solomon built Gezer and Beth-horon the nether, and *Baalath* and Tadmor in the wilderness.—1 Kings, 9: 17, 18.

the worship of the Sun-god, and nowhere was Oriental beauty more admired than in the charming priestesses of the great temple of Venus Astarte here in Ba'albek. The victorious campaigns of Trajan in Mesopotamia, the destruction of the Parthian empire, and the re-opened commerce with the countries beyond the Euphrates and Tigris, contributed to the sudden rise of Palmyra, that wonderful city of the desert, which, by her impregnable situation, and the talents of her great rulers, Odenathus and Zenobia, soon formed an independent and powerful empire on the banks of the Euphrates.

This period of two centuries and a half, when all the beautiful countries around the shores of the Mediterranean were consolidated in the well organized and mighty Roman empire, is generally considered as that of the highest civilization in antiquity; and the peaceful reign of the Antonines, (A. D. 117–180) as the most *happy era* of mankind. And yet—bright, glorious, and peaceful as these times may appear—they were those of the deepest corruption and grossest superstition! History does not present us a picture of greater depravity and degradation among the proud Romans, than that of the triumphal entry of the monster Heliogabalus and his sun-priests into Rome in 218.

When the rebellious legions of Syria, says the interesting Greek historian, Herodian, had raised the high priest of the sun, Bassianus, the son of Soemias, to the imperial throne, the beautiful and vain youth immediately took the sacred name of *Heliogabal* himself, and the triumph of the god of Ba'albek, over all the religions of the world, became the great object of his fanatical zeal and superstitious gratitude. In a solemn and glittering procession he entered the city of Rome. The way was strewed with gold-dust, and the *black stone*, the symbol of Ba'al, set in precious jewels, was placed on a chariot drawn by six white steeds, richly harnessed. The young pontiff held the reins, and, supported by his sun-priests, was drawn slowly backwards that he might continually enjoy the divine presence! A magnificent temple had been built on the Palatine Mount, where sacrifices were celebrated to the Sun-god with all the pomp and extravagance of the East. The most extraor-

dinary victims and the choicest aromatics were consumed on his altars, around which beautiful Syrian maidens performed their graceful dances; while the gravest personages of the Roman state and army, clothed in the long flowing robes of the Phœnicians, officiated in the meanest functions with affected zeal, but their hearts burning with secret indignation! Thus the high priest of Ba'al was the ruler of the world! But the reign of superstition and Asiatic extravagance and perversion was of short duration. The most influential revolution in the spiritual progress of mankind was at hand. The Christian Church had developed itself in its primitive obscurity, and in spite of poverty, contempt, and persecution, had spread throughout Orient and Occident. The Christians were particularly numerous in Antioch, and in all Syria. Constantine ordered the glittering temples of Ba'albek and Emesa to be closed. The re-action was complete, and—although paganism, during the short reign of Julian the apostate, again raised its banner, and the worshippers of Ba'al, at Heliopolis, once more abused the transcient moments of their prosperity—nevertheless the final victory of the Christian faith was triumphantly proclaimed by Theodosius the Great.

The pompous sacrifices at the altars of Ba'al then ceased, the priests vanished, and the zealous Christian rulers of the Church now no longer contented themselves with the shutting of the temples, the seizure of the instruments of idolatry, and the abolishment of the privileges of the priesthood, but began a pitiless war, of destruction against the most beautiful monuments of Grecian antiquity. In Syria, Marcellus, the bishop, animated with apostolic fervor, says Sozomenos, the historian, took the field against "the powers of darkness," and accompanied by a numerous troop of soldiers and gladiators, attacked with fire and sword the pagan villages and the stately temples of the diocese of Apamea. Idols, columns, and sanctuaries, now went down in a common ruin; the most precious monuments of ancient art perished, and the temples of Ba'albek, no doubt, would have shared the same fate, if Theodosius, himself an admirer and protector of architecture, had not interposed his powerful commands, and ordered the Syrian fanat-

ics to desist. The great pantheon and the temple of Ba'al were thus preserved and transformed into Christian churches. One hundred and forty-six years later came the Saracens. The Christian sanctuaries of Heliopolis, which by the Arabs again was called by its ancient Syrian name Ba'albek, became the residence of an Emir, and were built up into a strong fortress, which repelled all the predatory incursions of the Crusaders in the plain of the Buka'a. The terrible Timour-Khan, with his Mongols, stormed and took Ba'abek in 1401, on his march to Damascus. He found there immense stores of provisions and arms for the troops of the Mamluke Sultans of Egypt. The town continued flourishing even so late as the middle of the seventeenth century. Its central situation between Damascus, Beirut, and Tripolis, must have secured it some profit from the extensive trade carried on through the interior of Syria to the coast of the Mediterranean. The Chevalier d'Arvieux, who visited Ba'albek in 1660, gives an interesting description of it in his memoirs of that time. The city was then large, and defended by walls and towers, which the hand of time and the indolence of the Osmanlis were leaving to decay. The houses were, on the contrary, though ancient, still in excellent condition. It seemed evident to the Chevalier that they had been built with taste and care by a people who had an affection for architecture, and knew how to appreciate its beauties. "We were all comfortably quartered in the khan," says he, "and we visited several houses belonging to our Arab acquaintance, where the arrangement of the apartments, and their distribution, embellishments, and furniture, were all kept up in the ancient Roman style. The inhabitants were Greek Christians. They had an archbishop, and several churches. The greatest number of them were cotton-weavers and dyers, who sent their manufactures to Damascus and Tripolis."

The well-known English pilgrim, Henry Maundrell, passed through Ba'albek in 1697, but appears only to have visited the ruins.

"The city," says he, "enjoys a most delightful and commodious situation on the east side of the valley of Bocat. It is of a square figure, compassed with a tolerably good wall, in

which are towers, all round, at equal distances. It extends about two furlongs on a side. Its houses within are all of the meanest structure, such as are usually seen in Turkish villages."

In the year 1751, Ba'albek had still five thousand inhabitants; but it was nearly destroyed by the tremendous earthquake in 1759, which demolished a great part of the temples. The continual feuds of the Emirs Jusuf and Diezzar brought new misery over the fair plain. The sudden prosperity and rapid conquests of the wild Metawileh terminated with their defeat. Emir-Beshir, and his victorious Druzes, laid Ba'albek in ashes, and forced the Islam heretics to seek refuge in the Anti-Lebanon.

Thus the twelve hundred miserable inhabitants, whom M. de Volney saw in Ba'albek, are now reduced to a few families. During our stay there in 1844, we hardly met with a human being. There were neither bazars nor khans, but heaps of rubbish and ruins everywhere. Even the present Emir Mar-Kandjar has retired with his family and few retainers to the more populous village of Bereitan. According to the barometrical observations of Prof. Russegger, the city lies 3,490 feet above the level of the Mediterranean. Its site at the base of the Anti-Lebanon is picturesque and romantic in the highest degree; its climate is healthful, and its territory well watered by the Litany and other rivulets, extends twelve hours through the upper plain towards the desert of Homs and the termination of the Anti-Lebanon. This more hilly part of the soil is stony and less fertile, but the southern tract towards Zahleh was formerly covered with cornfields and vineyards, which in the latter years have been destroyed during the encampments of the Egyptian troops in these regions.

It had been our intention to ascend Mount Lebanon by the road to Ainaiteh and the ancient cedars; but the Greek bishop, who, besides an elderly woman, was the only denizen of the convent in which we lodged, dissuaded us from undertaking this route, not only because the passage of Jebel-Makmel was still covered with deep snow and no traveler had yet descended to Ba'albek by that road during the spring, but particularly because rumors had spread of a rebellion in that part of the

mountain against the Turkish government. He, therefore, advised us to take the road to Zahleh, where on learning the true state of affairs in the country, we might cross the mountain by the easier pass of Jebel-Sunnin. Another difficulty arose: Mustapha, our dragoman, had never visited this part of Syria: he was therefore ignorant of the road, and we could not get any other guide in Ba'albek. We consequently resolved to pass through the plain to Zahleh. Having spent the whole evening and next morning most delightfully, among the temple-ruins, we took leave of our hospitable bishop and left Ba'albek at eight o'clock. We then crossed the rivulet, which in the plain unites with the Litany, descending from its head-spring at Tell-Hushbein, a hill three miles west of the town. At an hour's ride from the temples we stopped a few moments near a curious octagonal building called Kubbet-Duris, which is evidently a modern fabric, made up with excellent materials from the ruins. It is surrounded by eight columns of a fine red granite; some have been placed with the upper part down. The architrave formed an octagon, and the cupola had fallen in.

The seven hours' ride through the Baka'a to Zahleh, situated in a narrow deep dell of the Lebanon, is exceedingly pleasant. The morning was bright; a light breeze swept across the open fields. Not a tree was to be seen, but a rich verdant carpet, checkered by brilliant flowers, covered the whole expanse. In the distance these fresh green tints were changed into a transparent lilac-colored haze, which softly enveloped the two mighty mountain-ridges, while the glittering snow of Jebel-Makmel and Sunnin and the deep clefts of Mount Hermon presented the sharpest and most distinct outline against the azure sky. Here and there herds of cattle and horses were grazing. We passed near the villages of Beit-Shamar and Temnin and arrived at ten o'clock at the ford of the Litany, where in crossing the river the restive mules broke loose from their drivers, and precipitated their burdens in the water. Canteens, trunks and tents, all went down in the greatest confusion, until the horsemen of our party with some difficulty recaptured the frolicking culprits, and collected the drenched luggage. We therefore encamped on the river-side, and in the afternoon con-

tinued our route along the base of Mount Lebanon to Kerak, a ruinous village looking out from a fine grove of cypresses, where Mohammedan tradition places the tomb of Noah. The building consists of two towers connected by a long portico of slender arches, which resembled more an aqueduct than a sepulchre. The Arab traditions from Genesis are numerous in this part of Syria. The abode of Adam, in the plain of Damascus, the altar and sepulchre of Abel, the tombs of Noah and Nimrod, and that of Moses on the mountains of Judah, are all consecrated by cupolas and tomb-stones, where the wandering Muslims dismount and devoutly perform their prayers. It is a curious tradition, that the ark of Noah rested on Jebel-Sunnin, where traces of it are still to be seen !*

We now arrived on the banks of the Barduny, a copious and limpid stream, issuing from a narrow glen in the Lebanon. Zahleh, a large city inhabited by eight or ten thousand Maronite Christians, is situated in a very picturesque and healthy site, on both sides of the river, in that part of the valley where it opens upon the plain of the Buka'a. Immense poplars skirt the banks of the stream, and give quite a northern character to the scenery. Crossing a high stone bridge, we at five o'clock dismounted before the Greek convent, in which several well furnished rooms were most hospitably offered for our accommodation. The view from the terrace of the monastery towards the high frowning rocks of the Jebel-Sunnin, to the deep dell on the north-west, where on a precipice appears another convent, embosomed in a grove of black cypresses and beautiful vineyards, and over the thriving town of Zahleh, eastward to the distant plain and the opposite range of the Anti-Lebanon, is exceedingly interesting. But the troublesome Zahleans did not permit us to enjoy this delightful prospect in quiet. The greater part of them are exiled Christians of the Armenian and Syrian Greek churches, who during the persecutions at Damascus and Halep, have fled with their fam-

* The Greek priests believe that ruins of the ark still exist on the summit of Mount Ararat in Armenia. When my friend Papa Ktenas learned that I was going to the Holy Land, he quite seriously requested me among other relics to bring him back some splinters from the ark of Noah!

ilies to Mount Lebanon, and thus contributed to the rapid increase of the city. They are very good-humored, and the most lively and industrious inhabitants on the mountain. Many are weavers and tanners, all agriculturists and gardeners, who most sedulously plough the terraces of the hills around and lay them out in vineyards and mulberry groves. We had hardly appeared on the terrace, before the entire population as it seemed, men, women and children, began to lay a regular siege to the convent. Courts and staircases were crowded; from all sides they pressed in upon us, exclaiming in Italian, "Buon giorno, Signori! Siamo Cristiani, anche noi."—"Welcome, gentlemen! we too are Christians." There was no possibility of escaping from the crowd; all the efforts of the monks were in vain, and we were at last obliged to take our pilau and tea in the presence of the wondering multitude. Next morning we were in the saddle at an early hour, and began the ascent of the mountain by a steep path running along the precipices of Jebel-Rihan. The rocks were clothed with a variety of fine shrubs and trees, fir, chestnut, and the blooming oleander. In an hour and a half we reached the height of the pass. Here we met an armed band of Maronites, who told us that a serious insurrection had broken out in the district of Bsherreh. The apparent cause of this rising was an order of the Pasha in Beirut, that the conscription of young men should take place for the regular Turkish army. The consequence was, that the whole valley of Kadisha had taken up arms and driven the Ottoman officers and employees out of the mountain. The Turks of Tripolis were preparing an expedition against Bsherreh, and this general disorder had caused the Maronites and Druzes of the districts of el-Metn and Kesrawan, through which we were now travelling, likewise to arm and observe what turn affairs would take. The confirmation of this news decided us afterwards to change the direction of our route. The prospect from the pass of el-Sunnin is extensive, and more wild and dreary than any I had seen on the Lebanon. We were surrounded by gray, totally barren lime-stone rocks, forming precipices from which numerous streams and rills, foaming and chafing in continual waterfalls, descended in picturesque

variety. At a great distance below, we distinguished the village Biskinta, and beyond it the broad bosom of the sea. From the upper table-land we descended upon a second terrace, where we stopped at a solitary hut. A Maronite shepherd, who was guarding his flock of goats and sheep on a meadow among the patches of snow still covering this part of the ridge, offered us a platter with *lebben* or sour milk, and a wreath of fragrant violets and Alpine roses, which he had gathered from the beautiful bushes of *rhododendron*, growing luxuriantly in these elevated regions. Our horses were extremely fatigued; we left them grazing, and after an hour's rest we descended through dense pine forests by a steep and dangerous pass to the bed of the river Nahr-Salib. Evening was already closing before we gained the opposite heights of el-Mezra'ah. The scenery was sublime; the sun set on the glittering expanse of the distant sea, and suddenly illuminated with hues of the deepest purple the snowy crest of Sunnin, rising majestically above the surrounding pine woods. In a few moments all was darkness again. Our weary horses, panting and snorting, stumbled slowly along the rugged path, and we did not arrive at Mezra'ah until a late hour in the night. Our muleteers had lost their way, and toiling up and down the hills, they at last found a guide who accompanied them to our quarters. The roads in the mountains of el-Metn and Kesrawan are bad beyond description. I have passed over horrible roads on Mount Etna, near Modica in Sicily, and on Mount Taygetos in Greece, but those of Lebanon are by far the worst of all. "When a traveler penetrates these mountains," says M. de Volney, "the ruggedness of the roads, the steepness of the declivities, the depth of the precipices, have at first a terrific effect; but the sagacity of the mules, which carry him, soon inspires him with confidence, and enables him to examine at his ease, the picturesque scenes, which succeed one another, so as almost to bewilder him. There, as among the Alps, he may travel whole days to arrive at a spot which was in sight when he set out. He turns, he descends, he winds round, he climbs; and under this perpetual change of position, one is ready to think that a magic power is varying at every step the beauties of the land-

scape." The truth of this lively description we fully experienced on our perilous ascent to el-Mezra'ah. The old sheik of the village received us very cordially, and we passed a comfortable night after the fatigues of the day. Mezra'ah consists of some sixty houses, and appeared to be a thriving place. The steep descent towards Ajelun in the valley of Nahr-Salib is terraced and planted with mulberry trees, silk being the principal produce of the Kesrawan. At two hours' distance from Mezra'ah lie the interesting ruins, generally called Kula'at Fakra, or the castle of Fakra, which we visited next morning. These ruins occupy a most singular site on a barren hill, immediately below the frowning heights of Jebel-Sunnin, in a wilderness of rocks, water-falls, and perfect solitude. The walls consist of large square blocks, and are in some parts well preserved. We entered on the east into the interior, and found there the ruins of a temple; three bases of columns are still standing on the platform; a few frusta, parts of an Ionic capital, and interesting fragments of the entablature are lying around. Other ruins, in total desolation, are seen outside the castle, or fortified temple. As to the period to which these temple-ruins belong, and their real name, history is silent. Strabo, the geographer, mentions several castles, such as Sinnan and Borrhama, in this part of the higher regions of the Lebanon: perhaps these castle ruins may have belonged to one of them.

An ascent of twenty-five minutes brought us to the Issr-el-Bughaleh, or Issr-el-Hajr, the famous *natural bridge* of Mount Lebanon. The great distance from the coast, and the fatigue of the rocky roads, must certainly be the cause why this remarkable scenery, the most terrible and romantic of the Lebanon, is so seldom enjoyed by Syrian travelers. Few climb to the snowy regions, except to see the ancient cedars and to cross into the valley of Ba'albek. And yet no landscape of Greece or Italy can in wildness and sublimity be compared with that of the source of the Libnan and its passage beneath Issr-el-Hajr. Immediately below the highest crest of Jebel-Sunnin, the copious river bursts forth from a deep grotto and rushes through a cleft between immense precipices with head-

long speed toward the bridge. A rocky ledge, rising more than two hundred feet above the river, has been perforated by nature, and formed into a huge arch, through which the chafing torrent forces its way among detached rocks hurled down by an earthquake into the chasm below. The bridge is of so regular a formation that one would at the first sight suppose it to be the work of human hands. It offers a far grander spectacle than the celebrated *Ponte di Lupo* near Tivoli in Italy, or the *Teufelsbruecke* in the Alps, and bears a striking resemblance to the natural bridge in Virginia, though the wild and barren mountain scenery of the Lebanon has a sterner and less pleasing character, than the beautiful wood-clad hills of the "Old Dominon." The Issr-el-Hajr is situated 4,926 feet above the level of the Mediterranean, according to the admeasurement of Colonel De Wildenbruch, at that time Prussian Consul-General at Beirut. Dr. H. A. De Forest found the water of the fountain 41° Fahrenheit, while the air at the time was 57°.

Along a very rough path we followed the course of Nahr-Libnan, and descended to the woody region of Meiruba. Large pine-forests covered the sides of the mountains; rocks and water-courses were adorned with large masses of *rhododendron*, or laurel rose, which, by its white and violet flowers and rich foliage, distinguished itself from the more common purple oleander in the valleys on the coast. We crossed the deep bed of Nahr-Assil, where all on a sudden three magnificent waterfalls burst on our sight. The cascades came thundering down the steep declivities from the snowy top of Jebel-Sunnin; the spray of the dashing waters rose in a hazy cloud through the wild chasm, and, reflected by the meridian rays of the sun, launched a most glorious rainbow, like an aerial bridge, across the gloomy glen below. A more splendid sight I never saw. Great are the hardships of the traveler who in the early months of the year traverses Mount Lebanon; but he is *amply rewarded* by a freshness of vegetation, a variety of coloring, of light and shade, a picturesque relief of glittering snows and foaming waterfalls, all which he would look for in vain during the later season, when the gray, colorless limestone rocks around, and the cloudless burning sky above, will soon force him to seek a

refuge in the mulberry groves of some village or monastery on the western hills, nearer the coast and enjoying the refreshing breezes from the sea. At an early hour in the afternoon, we arrived at the pretty village of Meiruba, pleasantly situated at the foot of Jebel-Shebrugh, high above the deep and narrow Wady-Salib. We alighted at the house of the Sheik Feris-Chassim, who politely offered us accommodations for the night; but the evening being lovely, we preferred to encamp beneath the mulberry trees, which form a fine grove around the village. At Meiruba we saw the first cedars, which only distinguished themselves from other fir-trees by the remarkable length of their branches; they were far inferior to the splendid cedars we a few months later saw at Warwick Castle, and on the lakes of Westmoreland, in England. While Mustapha and the muleteers were pitching the tents, we followed the Sheik to his house, on a ledge overlooking the valley, where a most curious scene took place. In all the villages in Syria the houses are stone-built, with flat roofs, and doors so low that the person who enters is obliged to stoop. This custom, said our landlord, had been adopted as a protection against the haughty Turks, who, finding a high door-way, would enter the houses on horse-back, and quarter their steeds in the best part of the dwelling. It happened to be a holy day at Meiruba, and the Maronite Christians, men, women, and children, in their festal dresses, were paying visits or enjoying themselves among the trees. The women, particularly, were distinguished by the *tantur*, a high silver or brazen *horn*, which is attached to the forehead, and covered by a long white veil hanging down at full length behind. We had hardly been seated, and lighted our *nargiles*, before half a dozen *horns* all at once appeared at the low entrance, attempting to enter. They crossed each other, got entangled, and occasioned such a confusion, that it lasted a good while before the first lady could disengage herself and her horn, and enter the room. The whole party then came on, one by one; but sitting down on the cushions spread out on the floor, they were obliged to pay constant attention to the movements of their neighbors, and bring their own horns in harmony with theirs. This *tantur* is the most inconvenient, silly, and

unbecoming head-gear I ever saw; but the ladies on the mountain are exceedingly fond of it, and a prohibition to wear it on the part of the husband, they say, would most seriously endanger the harmony of the family. Meiruba is surrounded by the wildest mountain scenery of the Kesrawan; the ascent to it is by the worst of roads, and yet it became the battle-ground between the Egyptians and Turks during the war in 1840. The old sheik gave me an animated description of those military movements in a region where a mule can hardly find its way along the precipices. The united Anglo-Austro-Ottoman fleet had disembarked an army of twelve thousand troops, with a numerous artillery, in the bay of Juneh, on the main road leading along the coast from Beirut to Tripolis, and northern Syria. A fortified camp had been thrown up, and a communication opened with the mountaineers of the Lebanon, Druzes, and Maronites, when Ibrahim-Pasha, at the head of eight thousand of his best troops from Zahleh, in the plain of the Buka'a, passed the mountain by the pass of Sunnin, and descended along those horrible paths, so well known to us, by Biskinta and Mezra'ah to Meiruba, where he encamped. From thence he sent off different columns across the deep glen of Nahr-el-Salib towards the coast to reconnoitre the Turkish camp, and take position for a general attack. But on those nearly impassable ridges he was suddenly attacked by several Turkish battalions, led on by daring British officers, and at the same time, discovered the armed Druze and Maronite mountaineers from the heights in his rear on all sides descending towards Meiruba. The Egyptian troops, therefore, after a short and ineffectual resistance, were forced to abandon their camp and baggage, and in wild disorder, pursued by the light-footed Druzes, to find their way across the heights of Jebel-Sunnin to the main body of the army encamped in the plain of Ba'albek.

On the 30th of May, we descended to the coasts of the Mediterranean. We had complained of the former roads in the higher regions of the mountain, and yet this last journey proved the most fatiguing. We were obliged to dismount and to lead the horses by the bridle over rocks, where they hardly

found a footing, and every moment seemed in danger of being precipitated into the valley below. From every turn of the path, splendid views of the most varied scenery opened to the interior valleys of the Lebanon. These lower regions were beautifully clothed with wood; laurel, myrtle, arbutus, thymelæa, holm-oak, different species of pines, and other evergreens, formed a thick-set forest, above which here and there arose a venerable cedar spreading its dark branches far away over the precipices. In three hours we reached the last mountain terrace overlooking the deep valley of the river Adonis, the Wady-Nahr-Ibrahim, and the distant coast of Jebail. The heat at noon became oppressive. We therefore stopped at the convent Mar-Deina, the only inhabited place we had seen since we left Meiruba in the morning; and, pitching our tents beneath the beautiful trees on the very edge of the rocks above the valley of Adonis, we awaited the breeze in the afternoon springing up from the sea. These woody highlands were in mythology the favorite haunts of Adonis, the hunter, the Phœnician personification of the Sun-god, and lover of Astarte, who was killed by the wild boar, and by the sorrowing goddess transformed into a rose. The Greeks afterwards took up this pretty Syrian fable, representing the return of the sun after the autumnal equinox, and the withering approach of winter, and instituted the worship of Adonis at the splendid temple at Byblos.

The prospect over the sea from the height of Deir-Mar-Deina is fine, and it increases in beauty as the traveler descends towards the bridge crossing the Adonis, at the base of the mountain. The interior of Lebanon we had found a solitude; here at once we met with life and movement. On the banks of the river, thickly covercd with the fragrant white and blue agnus-castus and purple oleander—the glorious *tri-color* of all the valleys of Syria—stood a camp of Turkish cavalry. The Arab horsemen were galloping along the sands, throwing their lances, and wheeling about their rapid and beautiful chargers, in the presence of some grave-looking Turkish officers in European uniforms, smoking their chiboukis before the khan on the bridge of Nahr-Ibrahim. What a picture for an artist! The

variegated moving groups on the yellow sands, the sea-green tents with their red streaming bandrols, the high vaulted bridge over the deep glassy river, the wood-clad mountains, and the glittering sea, all illuminated by the soft and mellow hues of a Syrian sky! And yet interesting as is the scenery of Mount Lebanon, we felt extremely happy here on the sandy shore with the foaming surge and the broad horizon of the Mediterranean before us, after our toilsome and perilous scrambling among the rocks; nay, even our horses seemed to partake of our delight, and carried us at full speed along the rocky coast towards the ancient towers of Jebail, which invited us from afar. In an hour and a half we reached the gate, and, saluting the grim-looking Albanian warriors, who formed the garrison, with their own usual greeting, "*Besa gia besa,*" (truce be between us,) we passed them unmolested, and dismounted at the Armenian convent. This establishment was inhabited by five or six monks, and looked as gloomy and uncomfortable as the city of Adonis itself. Jebail is surrounded by walls and towers, which seem to have been built during the crusades with ancient materials. The castle has a strong situation on the south of the city, near the coast, and forms a massive square, built up with enormous blocks. All the lower courses are evidently the work of antiquity; but the upper part is Saracenic, and the whole was in a totally dilapidated condition. In the interior is a Gothic Christian church, now used as a barracks for the Arnaut garrison. A fine orange grove extends from the castle towards the shore, where the British marines suffered a severe repulse in 1840. A squadron having anchored off the coast, began to batter the fortress; and, meeting with no resistance, a body of marines landed, and marched through the orange garden straight towards the castle, which they supposed evacuated by the enemy. Yet close to the walls, they were suddenly received with a well sustained fire from the long Albanian *toufekis*, which sent death and destruction into their ranks. The proud red-coats, who had neglected to reconnoitre the environs, now at once perceived the impossibility of scaling those high and strong walls beneath a galling fire from invisible foes. They attempted in vain to rally, and bring up some field-pieces.

The stout Albanians continued their terrible fire, and soon forced the British with a heavy loss to make a speedy retreat to their boats.

Jebail is the ancient Byblos, which, according to Strabo, lay on a hill at some distance from the sea. Its inhabitants were good mechanics; they particularly excelled in the art of working in wood, and are said to have been employed by the Tyrians, and even by the Jews in the building of the great temple at Jerusalem.

The present town is the seat of poverty and misery. The harbor is destroyed and covered with ruins; commerce has fled; the bazars are shut up and abandoned, and the khans and public places are filled with marauding Albanian soldiery The few inhabitants mostly live in the fields; they are Maronite Christians, and cultivate that famous *black tobacco* so well known in the Levant by the name of *Jebail.* It is aromatic, of an exceedingly pleasant flavor, and inferior only to that of Lataki, (Laodicea,) a city situated north of Tripolis.

The unsettled state of the northern parts of Syria, the sedition in the valley of Kadisha, and the military movements along the coast, caused us at present to renounce our visit to the cedars, and next morning, May the 31st, to return to Beirut.

We left Jebail at seven o'clock, and after a pleasant ride of three hours along the coast, we passed the promontory of Klimax, and arrived in the fine bay of Juneh. Further south, a long blue ridge, studded with white specks, the houses of the distant city of Beirut, reminded us of the limit of our Syrian travels. Juneh consists only of a row of magazines and storehouses for the export of the silks and productions of Zuk-Mekavil, the thriving little capital of the Kesrawan, which has a most romantic and beautiful situation on the hills, overlooking the valley of Anturah and the sea. We here left the coast and ascended to Zuk through a grove of high Italian pines. Its Maronite inhabitants pressed around us, and offered us hospitality with an earnestness not often to be met with in this country; the greatest part of them are silk-weavers, saddlers, and shoemakers. Almost every house has a loom. The peo-

ple here are industrious, intelligent, and in consequence, better dressed and lodged than in other parts of the mountain. The whole region is thickly planted with mulberry trees. The silkworms are kept in separate houses, or bowers, made of branches, and are attended with particular care. Charming as are the views from the hill of Zuk-Mekavil, those from the nunnery of Deir-Sidi-el-Bsherra are still far superior. A road lined with hedges of prickly pear, and here and there adorned with clusters of majestic pines, leads to the convent lying on a high hill commanding an extensive horizon over sea and land. Deir-el-Bsherra contained at the time of our visit twenty-five nuns. It is a large, solid, square building of hewn freestone, with many small windows carefully closed by Turkish verandahs, and surrounded by gardens, well watered, and filled with fig, lemon, orange, and pomegranate trees. On our arrival, a Maronite clergyman politely bade us welcome, and conducted us to a small neat house on the southern terrace of the convent, where the guests, the *mousafirides*, are lodged. Coffee and pipes were brought, and in the afternoon a savory dinner was served. It consisted of several dishes, the usual pilau, *kepamas*, or lamb with tomatoes and onions, boiled fish, fruits, sweetmeats, and some bottles of delicious *vino d'oro* from the Lebanon.

We obtained permission to visit the church and the convent garden, but did not see any of the Maronite nuns, though we inferred that they were willing to get a look at the fair-haired Anglo-Saxons, as we heard them talking and tittering from behind their wooden *kafasi*, or Turkish blinds. They are said to be well treated and happy. At certain hours of the day they work in the garden and tend their silkworms.

The environs of the convent are terraced, and form one continual mulberry grove. Silk appears to be its principal wealth. The upper terrace commands a magnificent panorama; numerous monasteries and villages are seen crowning the prominent ridges, all separated by deep and narrow ravines, or by sloping fertile valleys. Groups of dark cypresses and pines, relieved by pale olive woods, give quite an Italian character to the landscape. Northeastward, on an elevated brow, stands the large

Maronite convent Bkirky, where the patriarch resides during winter; still higher, on a steep conical hill rises Harispa, with towers and battlements, the Franciscan monastery. At an hour's distance in the charming valley below, lies the well-known college of Anturah, and beyond it Deir-Mar-Elyas, many other cloisters, and above them the soaring snow-capped masses of Jebel-Kuneiyiseh, one of the loftiest summits of Lebanon. Beirut itself is not seen; it lies hid by the promontory of the Dog river, Ras-Nahr-el-Kelb; but the dark expanse of the sea, with the fine deep bay of Juneh, complete this panorama, which hardly has its equal even in Syria.

Next morning we sent off our muleteers with the tents and baggage directly for Beirut, while we paid a visit to the French in Anturah. The college was originally established by the Jesuits, and on the dissolution of that order in 1764, it was transferred to their successors, the Lazarists, like all other establishments and possessions belonging to that order in Greece and the Levant. There were four professors, several Arab teachers, and fifty-eight students, all very comfortably lodged in the convent. The house is airy, and built in the style of architecture of Southern France. The rooms are furnished in the European manner; library, bed-rooms and refectory are remarkably clean and well kept, and every attention paid to the health and comfort of the students. Several European travelers, studying the Arabic, take their board and lodging in the convent. Among the French missionaries, who in this college prepared for their vocation, were two young Lazarists, with whom I had made the passage from Smyrna to Beirut the winter before. In the latter city the order possesses another convent.

Anturah has been well chosen for a seat of study on account of the seclusion, the salubrity of the climate, and the beauty of its environs. From the terrace of the college, which is shaded with magnificent orange trees, lofty as chestnuts in other countries, and covered with thousands of their golden fruit, we, for the last time, viewed this wonderfully charming scenery of Syria. We here heard of the arrival at Beirut of the Austrian steamer, which, in a day or two, was to take us back to

Europe. This obliged us to decline the invitation of the professors to dine with them at college, and after a short visit we mounted our horses for the last ride. Our road lay through groves of pine and chestnut, and extensive vineyards ascending to the pretty villages and convents which everywhere, here in the Kesrawan, crown the tops of the hills. We left on our right Zuk-Mekavil and Musbah, towards the mountain Deir-Tannis, and descended from the plateau by a most dangerous zigzag path to the deep and shady valley of the Dog river, Nahr-el-Kelb. Several melancholy accidents had happened here. A few years ago the Pope's legate to the Maronites was precipitated, by a stumble of his horse, into the deep glen below, where he perished. We prudently dismounted and conducted the trembling animals over the most dangerous places. All went on well; we reached the banks of the glassy and voiceless Nahr-el-Kelb, whose head-spring we had seen some days before among the foaming water-falls of Wady-Salib on the bleak table-land of Jebel-Shebruh. What a wonderful change of scenery, climate and vegetation does the traveler meet with in Syria! The Dog river flows in a deeply contracted gorge of high perpendicular rocks, leaving only a narrow margin on its right bank covered with trees and rushes. On our sudden appearance in the ravine, some horses, which were grazing on the river side, took fright and galloped on before us, and although we attempted to get up with them and bring them back, the narrowness of the path did not permit it, and they continued their headlong career to the opening of the valley, at the embouchure of the river, to the great despair of the little Arab horse-boy trudging along in the rear.

In an hour we arrived at the termination of the gorge. The southern ridge here sinks abruptly down to the sea, and forms the famous pass of Ras-Nahr-el-Kelb. The river is crossed by a stone bridge of six arches, a fabric of the celebrated Druze prince, Fakr-ed-din, who, by the treachery of the Turks, was taken prisoner in Beirut, brought to Constantinople, and beheaded in 1631. As the promontory allows of no passage between it and the sea, an artificial road, two yards in breadth, has with infinite labor been cut along the rocks at a height of

eighty feet above the level of the water. The clefts of the precipice have in several places been filled up by masonry of great strength, forming a parapet for the security of the passengers. An inscription in large letters engraved at an elevation on the side of the rocky wall, inform us, that Antoninus Pius ordered this road along the impending mountains—*montibus imminentibus*—to be opened on the banks of the Lycus. This interesting monument of the benevolent Emperor is as perfectly preserved as a similar Roman inscription on the rocks of Mount Ossa, in the celebrated valley of Tempe in Thessaly, and can be distinctly read from the Via Antoniniana below. The mouth of the Lycus is shallow and obstructed by rocks precipitated from the promontory above. The caravans, therefore, generally descend and ford the river, instead of following the more circuitous passage of the bridge. On the road side near the bridge stands an ancient pedestal, which the Arabs believe to have supported the statue of a *dog*, and at a short distance from the shore they point out a huge black rock, rising from the sea, as being the idol in question, which gave name to the river. Thus the ancient appellations in all this tract of the coast, from Byblos and the Adonis river southward to Berytos and Sidon, the Caleb or Kelb (dog) of the Hebrews, the Lycos (wolf) of the Greeks and Romans, and Sidon (Zidon, the hunter,) of the Canaanites, seem all to refer to the *astronomical legends* of the hunting and death of Adonis, whom Venus is fabled to have loved and lamented.

In remote times, before Antoninus Pius opened this lower and more convenient passage, a steeper and more difficult path led higher up in sharp turns across the cape. Here are found those curious rock sculptures, which have excited so great an interest among the modern antiquarians. On the rocky wall overhanging the ancient pathway at different distances on the ascent, we admired six or seven large tablets with curious figures, sculptured in the gray limestone rock. Dismounting and ordering the dragoman to lead our horses down to the beach on the south side of the promontory, we climbed up to these relics of antiquity. They differ in character and preservation. Some have been so much corroded by exposure to the atmos-

phere and the hand of time on the rough surface of the limestone, that their figures and inscriptions have become nearly obliterated. Yet the two larger tablets standing close together on the highest point of the passage are wonderfully well preserved. The northern monument presents a highly ornamented Egyptian door-way surmounted by the winged globe, symbolical of the spiritual fire that moves and actuates the universe, according to Egyptian philosophy. Within the door is seen a hero in the Egyptian costume holding a bow in his right hand and brandishing a battle-axe in his left. The figure is fiercely striding forward, and in the act of immolating a kneeling prisoner in the presence of a high-capped Egyptian deity. These sculptures have a decided resemblance to those of the great procession on the walls of the Ramsessium at Thebes, in Upper Egypt ; and what is still more important, the hieroglyphic mouldings on the door-way contain likewise the well-known characters of Ramses the Second, the great Sesostris of the Greeks, that formidable conqueror of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, who during nearly half a century (1560—1490, B. C.) spread the terror of his name from the deserts of Nubia to the shores of the Pontus Euxinus. This discovery, made some years ago by the artist Bonomi, is highly interesting ; and it may now be regarded as a historical fact, that the great Ramses, on his march northward through Syria caused this monument of his deeds to be sculptured on the mountain at the mouth of the Lycus, where he is supposed to have embarked in his fleet and crossed over to the island of Kittim or Cyprus. All this coincides with the relation of Herodotus, who mentions that he saw rock-sculptures in Ionia and Palestine, commemorating the expeditions of the warlike king ; and we may thus with confidence assert, that the eloquent father of history, twenty-three centuries ago, had been standing on this mountain road between the cliffs and the sea, and with admiration had inspected, as we do now, this identical but then more perfect monument. This may likewise be said of another curious tablet on the south, close to that just mentioned. It has quite a different character from the Egyptian, and may no doubt be of Assyrian origin. Within an arched door-way stands the

figure of a man finely carved in low-relief, the upper part of which is perfectly well preserved, while the lower is covered with a much defaced inscription in arrow-headed characters. He is dressed in the long flowing garments of the Medes or Assyrians, and his high pontifical tiara has a striking resemblance to the modern Persian *kalpak* of black sheepskin. He wears a curious long square beard; the left hand rests on his bosom, the right is lifted on high, pointing at a crescent and globe, and some other figures, symbolical of the time, which are sculptured in the left quarter of the tablet. This priest or hero is supposed to represent one of the three Assyrian conquerors, either Phul, Tiglat-Pilesar, or Salmanassar, who during the period from 770 to 720, B. C., overran Syria and Palestine with their numerous armies, and who might have been ambitious enough to wish to record their victories on the same rock on which they found the memorial of the still more celebrated Sesostris. How many conquering armies have toiled up through this narrow defile since the remote centuries when the Egyptian and Assyrian sculptures were engraved on this rock! Persians, Macedonians, Romans, Saracens, Crusaders, Turks, and Ibrahim-Pasha, the would-be Sesostris of modern times, have all had their turn. The last hero scrambling down to the Dog river appears to have been Sir Charles Napier in his straw hat and shirt sleeves, leading on his marines and blue-jackets.

And now we turned round towards the sea, which, smooth and bright like a mirror, studded here and there by a white sail, lay spread out at our feet. On the south, we surveyed the fine bay of St. George, and the far-stretching promontory of Ras-el-Beirut, the picturesque city on its slope, with its mosques, towers, and white country houses, looking out from the mulberry groves and orange gardens, and the numerous shipping on the road-stead, a sight so uncommon on the desert shores of Syria. From the pass below rose the sound of the tinkling bells of the camels and the whooping of their drivers as they passed along, and then on a sudden gleamed the lances of a body of Bedouin horsemen, slowly ascending the defile from Beirut, and crossing the bridge of Nahr-el-Kelb on their march for Tripolis.

But the time for departure had arrrived. We descended to the plain, mounted our horses, and after a pleasant gallop on the wet sands, we, at one o'clock in the afternoon, arrived at Beirut, where with a liberal *baktchis*, we dismissed our attentive dragoman Mustapha, and the muleteers, and then joined a large assembly of British and American travelers just returning from Jerusalem, with whom we were to start next day for Smyrna and Europe.

On the 8d of June, at sunset, we were all embarked on board the fine steamer *l'Imparatrice*, belonging to the company of the Austrian Lloyds. Thus, then, after an absence of more than eleven years, which I had spent so pleasantly with studies and travels in the South and the East, I was now going to revisit my native land in the far North, and perhaps, crossing the Atlantic, to carry to the flourishing States of the new world some few of those bright pictures and dear recollections of men and their doings, which I had so laboriously collected in the old.

The landing place of Beirut, in the mean time, had filled with spectators, and numerous boats were tossing around the steamer. At last, Captain Brunette gave the signal for departure. The Reverend gentlemen of the American mission, Consul Laurella, and Colonel Rose, then took leave of their departing friends and returned to the shore. The anchors were heaved, and we stood out of the bay. The smiling coast receded more and more; soon night sank on the waters; and when the morning dawn again called us on deck, fair Syria had disappeared, and the distant island of Cyprus began to rise on the western horizon.

Lancaster, Pa. A. L. K.

Art. III.—FAITH AND REASON.

A SERMON BY DR. RAUCH.

A number of sermons by the lamented Rauch, the first President of Marshall College, having lately come into our hands, we have concluded to publish one or two of them, as a specimen both of his labors in the pulpit and of his method of thinking in its direct application to Christianity. To his surviving pupils, to the later students of the College who have learned to revere his name, as well as to the literary community in general, that are familiar with his profound work on Psychology, we doubt not this will be an acceptable service. For as a minister of the Gospel, though not popular in the prevailing sense of the word, he was, nevertheless, as faithful, instructive and efficient, as he was thorough, interesting and successful in the Lecture Room. A clear conception of the divine-human person of Jesus Christ in His vital relation to all the parts of the Christian system, gave its distinctive tone to his sermons. All were well adapted to the peculiar and varied wants of College students. Many, however, were properly philosophico-theological dissertations; for his habit of philosophical thinking, harmonizing essentially with the spirit and form of divine revelation, always determined his manner of expounding a passage of Scripture or of discussing a subject. Such at least can consistently have a place in our Quarterly, although it is not designed as a medium for the publication of sermons.

We have selected the one which follows, on Faith and Reason, because it discusses a principle which subsequently became the fundamental idea of the Mercersburg Review and is contained in the language of Anselem: "Neque enim quaero intelligere ut credam, sed credo ut intelligam." It is interesting to see how the first President, under the influence of whose powerful mind Marshall College came into existence, labored to

cast its inmost life in a mold, at once really philosophical and distinctively Christian—a mold that enlarged and modified by his successors, has left its impress upon the history of the Institution and the progress of the German Reformed Church.

This sermon bears no date, but, if we remember correctly, it was preached in the chapel at Mercersburg, during the early part of 1838 ; and was occasioned by some sceptical tendencies which became apparent among a few of the students. It was of course not intended nor written for the public eye, yet we have seen fit to submit it without any alterations or modifications. We have merely given it a touch of the pen, here and there, in order to remove some traces of the German idiom; whilst every phase of thought and all the peculiarities of his style have been scrupulously preserved, evidences of which can be seen in almost every line.

It was the habit of Doctor Rauch to write out the first or principal prayer carefully, as well as the sermon. As this will aid in affording the reader an insight into the spirit and character of the man, we give it its proper place.—EDS.

PRAYER.

Lord, our Heavenly Father, Thou art Light and Holiness, but we are sinners. Whatever is good and noble proceeds from Thee, and has its origin in Thee ; but whatever is evil and sinful, takes its rise in our hearts and flows forth from them into our thoughts and words and actions. Thou givest what is good and perfect; we abuse it and make it a source of evil. All thy laws, Lord! are good and perfect; thy institutions and commandments are good and tend to the welfare of all created beings ; but we, Lord ! dishonor them, disobey them, violate them, and thus change the intended source of bliss into a fountain of misery. This, Lord ! is our guilt, that we abuse Thy gracious goodness, and do not acknowledge Thee as the Author and Ruler of the universe and do not love Thee as our Benefactor and Preserver.

Lord ! we pray that Thou wilt make us sensible of this our great guilt; that Thou wilt open our blind eyes and shed the Light of Thy Spirit upon them, that we may be able to see Thee and Thy perfections, to adore and worship Thee and to

honor Thee by devoting every power, every wish and every thought to Thy service. O that we were enabled, Lord! all of us, to see that the sin of all sin, the root and seat of all vices and all evil activities, is our *infidelity;* that we can not be good and virtuous without faith.

May we acknowledge this, O Lord! with becoming humility, and lay aside all pride, all reliance on our own strength, and all hope in our own righteousness. May we come before Thee with humbleness and meekness and say: Here, Lord! we are ready to receive the operations of Thy Holy Spirit. May we lay aside the weapons of an unregenerated reason, of wit and acuteness and cease fighting against our Maker; with a contrite heart may we desire and long for Him who loved us unto death; and may we consider it our highest blessing while we live, and our highest consolation in the hour of death, that we were privileged to praise the Lord and serve Him.

We pray, Lord, that Thou wilt be with us as we are assembled here to day. Strengthen those among us that believe in Thee, and increase their knowledge and love; be with those that are still out of Christ; show them their perilous situation and constrain them, by seeing it, to hasten to the cross. May they feel, Lord, that without faith none is acceptable to Thee. May they admit in their hearts that the length of time allotted to them is unknown to them and to all of us, but that there is nothing more certain than death, and after death, the judgment. May they flee from thy wrath and accept the offers of mercy, whilst they have it in their power.

Bless all thy people, wherever they worship Thee to-day.*

SERMON.

Text: Acts 17: 18. "Then certain philosophers of the Epicureans, and of the Stoics, encountered him. And some said, What will this babbler say? Other some, He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods: because he preached unto them Jesus and the resurrection."

Unbelief in its general results, is every where the same; but it may spring from essentially different fountains and from

* The conclusion of the Prayer was evidently not written. We give it as we find it in the manuscript.—EDS.

them draw a nourishment which makes it more or less dangerous to those within the reach of its influence. When a rude and uncultivated man, belonging to a low state of cultivation although living in a civilized country, laughs at the emotions of a pious and devoted Christian; when he acknowledges nothing but what is accessible to his unrefined sensibility—we neither feel offended nor do we see any dangers arising from his influence. His senses are obtuse, his thinking power unexercised, his whole disposition bent to the earth on which he lives; hence his unbelief, basing itself upon a degradation of human nature, rather *disgusts* than *alarms* us.

Again, if a sensual and voluptuous man, who has made pleasure the object of his life, denies the existence of God, and scorns the idea of a Saviour and of the immortality of the soul, we know that the cause of his infidelity is a wish to be unmolested by the voice of conscience, when he is about to deceive innocence or break a promise or empty the cup of sensuality or serve all the contemptible desires of his depraved heart. When such men avow their infidelity we feel disgusted; our moral sense stamps them with contempt; our judgment perceives a poisonous fruit that has grown on the tree of sin and vice. Against such infidelity we need not warn men—it is not attractive but repulsive.

It is far otherwise, when men whom Providence has gifted with many talents, whom constant application has adorned with knowledge and whom faithfulness has rendered useful as citizens and eminent in their profession; when men who lead an honest and blameless life, who do not scoff at religion, nor look down with an eye of pity on its adherents; when such men do not embrace Christ by faith, but caught by the net of infidelity, tear asunder the ties which bind them to their Saviour! when, though they do not doubt a Providence, a First Cause of all, nor an eternity, they are, nevertheless, strangers to the altar and visit the assemblies of Christians only as critics, but not from a desire for religious instruction. The respect which their wisdom and moral life secure to them, forbids us to disregard their indifference to religion; for it misleads the unwary, ensnares the unsuspicious and arrests the attempts of youth to

enter the narrow path, which leads through thorns and briars to Heaven. This is the unbelief of which the text speaks.

At first sight, it might appear that the unbelief of the Epicureans was that of levity; for we are accustomed to look upon them as mere sensualists. History, however, proves, that their philosophical system tended not only to, but terminated in, that of the Stoics, whose names are associated in our memory with great and grave wisdom. The principle of Epicureanism was a *refined* and *prudent self-love*, which prompted the endeavor to reduce *pains* and *wants* to the smallest, and increase *pleasures* to the highest degree; to select of all pleasures those that were both most refined and most durable, and always to preserve an unclouded serenity. This latter point led to Stoicism; for in order to be cheerful constantly, we must feel entirely independent of all things around us, neither *fear* nor *hope* too ardently, but always be ready to resign every wish and every possession. A wise man, in their opinion, was one, who, free from every fear and hope, free from the dominion of every passion, was ever conscious of his moral greatness and felt the highest gratification in viewing his own virtues. In these the happiness of man was placed. Thus, every one was or sought to be the author of his own fortune during life. The unbelief of the Epicureans and Stoics can, therefore, not be classed with that proceeding from levity, nor with that whose source is an obtuse mind; it took its origin in too high an estimate placed by them upon their wisdom or upon their reason.

This undue estimation is even in our day a prolific source of indifference to religion; I have, therefore, made it the subject of my present discourse. My design is to show that, though reason and faith are not at war with each other and though reason is a high gift of man, yet it is not the proper criterion to be applied in judging of Christianity, nor can its attacks upon Christianity ever destroy it.

I.

In attempting to show this, I neither desire to lower the value of reason, as if religion can gain in proportion as reason loses, nor to attribute to faith what really does not belong to it. In

comparing one with the other, I am ready at once to admit, that reason is the highest gift we possess in a state of nature. It is reason, which makes man the lord of the earth and renders him the most wonderful of all creatures. It is reason, that puts the bridle into the mouth of the horse to subdue him, that spreads the net in the air to catch the swift-flying bird, and throws the angle into the water to entice its inhabitants. It is reason, that leads off the lightning from our houses, that makes the ocean yield its tribute, that governs the elements and renders what in itself is destructive and awful, useful to man. It is reason, that measures the distances and dimensions of the stars of heaven, that foretells the regular return of the seasons, and, sinking itself into its own unfathomable depth, constructs systems of science, discovers the secret powers of nature, and with the wings of a Daedalus finds its way out of every labyrinth to the centre of light.

But every thing human has its two sides. The same reason, which is so wonderful in itself and does such wonderful things, in a state of nature, labors only for our own interests, for the gratification of our depraved desires and passions. It has not only invented the instruments with which we cultivate the field, but also the machinery with which we torture and destroy our fellow-men. Reason not only remembers the injury done us and meditates on revenge, but even hates those whom we have offended, calumniates our brother, and converts truth into falsehood whenever our advantage may seem to require it. He is frequently thought to be the wisest, who knows best how to use the failings of others for his own benefit, who is most cunning and crafty in the abuse of confidence placed in him, and of candor and honesty observed towards him. *Deceptions*, *quarrels*, *murders*, *wars*, are carried on systematically only by the human race and no where else in nature; for to design evil, reason is requisite.

Reason, then, as all must admit, places man indeed at the summit of a fallen creation, but it cannot raise him beyond it; a member of the whole, he is at the same time the fountain head of depravity. But what reason cannot do, faith effects; it gives man an entrance into heaven.

What is Faith? This is the most natural question here. Yet it is extremely difficult to answer it. He who has it, will but rarely inquire into its nature; and he who has it not, can not understand it. Who would undertake to describe color to one born blind, or sound to the deaf and dumb? Light is only where there is an eye to see it, and sound, where there is an ear to hear it: take away the eye and the ear, and light and sound cease to be for us. So it is with faith. No one can understand it, unless he has that in him, which disposes him to perceive it, or, in other words: no one can know what faith is unless he has turned from sin to holiness—from the visible to the invisible—from this earthly abode to our heavenly home. Without repentance there is no faith. Nor can any one, on the other hand, understand what repentance is without faith. Both condition each other, and depend on each other: both proceed from communion with God, our Creator—both are directed and direct man upon his Father in Heaven. Without faith no one can repent; without repentance no one can believe. He that does not believe in his eternal home, will not turn towards it; he that never turns his mind towards it, will not believe in it. As faith reveals the kingdom of Christ to the understanding and heart, so does repentance open the heart to faith. If we believe without repentance, we deceive ourselves; if we repent without faith, we torture ourselves. The one is contained in the other. The question: What is Faith? is difficult to be answered, therefore, not because we can not give a definition of it, but because the best definition will not give him an idea of faith who does not possess it. If I say: Faith is that power, whose equal cannot be found any where, the power that gives sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, life to the dead, it will require faith to believe in it. If I say: It is the power of God that in the twinkling of an eye heals the sick, gives peace to the troubled and comfort to the afflicted, again faith will be required to believe in it. This power exists and works, but those that do not believe in it, have not the ability to perceive it: so is every spring adorned with beautiful flowers, yet a blind man does not see them: so do the most lovely sounds float around the ears of a deaf man, yet he does not

hear them. As long as man is satisfied with the vain things of the earth, as long as his wishes do not extend beyond what is visible, he cannot understand the nature of faith. He may ask after it, he may even enter upon subtle speculations concerning it, but the gates of heaven, though open to the eye of faith, will remain closed to his dull and sensual sight. He lives in the dust, from which he is taken and to which he must return; and what his senses cannot perceive has no existence for him. But to the Christian, faith is that power which connects heaven and earth, the Creator and the creation; to him, it is a messenger from God to the soul, a bringer of eternal life, a torch in the darkness of his earthly pilgrimage, a guide to heaven. This power we have, when we feel the connection between heaven and earth, between our Creator and ourselves, the visible and invisible; when whatever we desire or undertake, think or do, proceeds spontaneously from the idea of this connection; this power we have, when deeply feeling our depravity, we long after purity and holiness, and after the way that leads to both.

II.

Having seen that faith and reason differ, let us inquire, in the second place: *Are they necessarily opposed to each other?*

The opinion of some is that reason is the enemy of faith, and philosophy that of theology. This opinion, if carried out consistently, would lead to the conclusion that faith is *blind*—that in order to believe we must suspend our thinking powers. Faith without thought is superstition; thinking without faith produces infidelity; in both cases, therefore, when faith excludes reason or when reason excludes faith, there is sin and vice. Faith does not exclude reason, but is full of reason, and as all Christians maintain, is based on the best of reasons. Christians do not resign the use of their reason; they think as well as the unbeliever, who prides himself on his own thought and wisdom; but Christians think *otherwise*. Faith and reason do, therefore, not oppose but include each other; and only when our depraved desires apply the one where the other ought to prevail, do they come into conflict. Each of them has its appropriate sphere; and each sphere it will be well to point out in a few words.

Man enjoys many faculties, but each only, when applied to its appropriate object, between which and itself there is a predetermined correspondence, and by which alone its activity can be elicited. So each of our senses has its appropriate object, the eye light, the ear sound; but if we should ever desire to see with the ear or to hear with the eye, we would deprive ourselves of the knowledge which can alone be obtained by making use of the proper sense. So it is likewise, if we attempt to reason where we should believe; we then lose the object of faith, and faith itself. Reason has its appropriate sphere of action. This sphere is life and its concerns, science and its development. God gave man reason that he might investigate the powers of nature and use them for his service. Without faith, however, reason can effect but little; for whatever lies beyond *external* nature, falls within the sphere of faith. We see, for example, the seed cast into the earth put forth its roots, its stem, its branches, leaves and blossoms; but the power that works in it, the law, according to which the species preserves itself in its individual plant, we cannot see. From its phenomena we conclude upon the power itself, though our senses cannot perceive it, nor reason demonstrate it. Here, then, begins the sphere of faith—not of the faith of the Christian but of common faith. Where we cannot see things with our eyes, nor ascertain them with our reason, but are nevertheless forced to admit their existence, there we believe. The sphere of natural reason is the Visible, that of faith the Invisible; without some kind of faith, even the most violent infidel cannot live; without it he could not eat nor drink, nor have a friend; or, as some one has said, without it man is confined to himself and stands alone, without father, mother or friend. And there is no more certainty in the objects of reason, than in those of faith. As the eye demands the light, so the world within demands the existence of the Invisible. What our eyes see we believe, and the ground of belief is found in the formation of the eye and its adaptation to things visible. What faith sees we must believe, and the ground of our belief is the constitution of the soul. The shining light needs nothing else to make itself manifest, because the eye stands in need of it

and desires it. The soul is so constituted that it stands in need of a spiritual world; but when we need a thing, when we cannot do without it, when without it we cannot reach our purposes, nor preserve, develop and perfect ourselves, we are ready to believe in it. As our lungs demand the air, and our bodies food, so our souls demand an invisible world of spirit. There are wants which man has created by his own art; these are not necessary to his existence. There are others, which may be satisfied without faith; we may nourish our bodies, gratify our senses, quench our thirst for rank, for riches and influence without faith;—but the wants of the soul, its irresistible desire for eternal happiness, for truth, for holiness, demand a home beyond the stars, and to admit these wants and desires is to believe in that home. What we desire we are inclined to believe; and what it is impossible for us to do without, we cannot help admitting. And who is there, that would not acknowledge, that though he eats and drinks according to the desire of his heart, he is, nevertheless, not satisfied; that he constantly seeks something in riches or learning without finding what he seeks; that he labors but effects nothing; that he gathers but gains nothing; that he is surrounded by abundance but feels poor. It is faith alone that can satisfy these internal demands of the soul; hence it is, that we are constrained to believe in the objects of faith, and that faith has as much certainty for us as the conviction produced by experience.

Why then do we believe in God? Though the faith of the Christian differs widely from the faith just exhibited, the question: Why do we believe in God or in Christ? must be answered on a similar ground. We believe, because the Spirit of truth has operated upon us and constrained us to acknowledge a Creator of the universe and a Ruler over our lives. There would be a chasm, a flaw, in our thoughts without this belief. We believe in Him, because we acknowledge with a grateful heart the many blessings he has bestowed upon us, the many benefits he has poured out upon the whole creation; because the wonderful order and beauty of the world awake our hearts to love Him, and because thousands and thousands of ties bind us to Him, whose image we are and in whom we live and move and have our being.

And so we believe in Christ, because He offers our hearts what they need; because by His justice and sufferings He has secured to us reconciliation with God; because He has given us the peace we had not and the salvation, which we sought for in vain; because in Him true light, life, grace and truth appear; because we know His voice and understand it; because we know that he is the good Shepherd, that knows His own and is known of them, for whom He laid down His life that they might live through Him. We believe in Him and love Him, because His truth refreshes, comforts, cheers and consoles us; for it teaches us that there is a God, a Creator, a Preserver and Ruler, and an eternal Judge of the world and an eternal home of happiness and bliss.

We have seen, then, that reason and faith are not opposed to each other, but that each has its appropriate sphere and that they oppose each other only when a corrupt heart undertakes to model them according to its desires. Let it be remembered,

III.

That reason should not presume to sit in judgment on matters of faith.

Faith, as has been shown, possesses an internal evidence, which exists only for him who has faith. We cannot prove any thing, unless we have its spirit; we cannot judge of a thing unless we have a measure by which to value it; and how should reason, unacquainted with this internal evidence, with the only way of proving faith, be able to judge of it? To call this internal evidence our own, we must have *experienced* it, and before we have done so, we have *no right* to reason on it. Every *right* presupposes the fulfilment of a *duty*, and none can morally enjoy the former without performing the latter. I have a right to live only, if I perform the duty of preserving the life and health of my body and respecting the rights of my fellow-men. He who claims the right of judging of faith, must have performed the duty of having made himself acquainted with its spirit, its nature and objects, else he will be like the blind man who judges of color, or like the deaf man who speaks of the sounds of music. Whenever reason presumes to

judge without having experienced faith, it universally leads to doubting. For it is the nature of reason to doubt what it cannot understand and to ridicule it.

But neither scepticism nor ridicule were ever able to injure the Christian religion. Scepticism cannot injure it, because it is too weak in itself, and religion too strong. The sceptic says: "*We can know nothing;*" but in saying so he contradicts himself; for if it is certain that *we can know nothing*, we must know this at least to be a fact, and consequently we know something. And this very knowledge is saving knowledge; it is the beginning of all wisdom. The sceptic says: "We cannot attain any truth;" but this that we cannot attain any truth, he admits to be truth and consequently contradicts himself. If he would listen to this contradiction, if he would apply his rule, to doubt every thing concerning religion, to his own doubts also, he would soon free himself from this vulture that preys on his vitals. The truly consistent sceptic, who doubts, not because he desires that there be no religion, but because he cannot conscientiously admit a criterion of truth, ought not to open his lips; for whatever he may utter, will in some way contradict the assertions which he takes for granted and on which he reasons.

It is still worse when reason becomes so perverted as to scoff at the truth of religion. Shaftsbury says: If any religious doctrine can be exposed to ridicule, it must certainly contain a falsehood. Wit, it cannot be denied, is a dangerous enemy to religion. Where it exists, deep and serious meditation are always absent. We wish to reflect on a subject, but a witty thought presents itself and renders it ridiculous and we are done with it; instead of meditating on it, we laugh at it. Lucian wielded all the weapons of sarcasm and wit against the Greek superstition very skillfully, and many have attacked the Christian religion with similar weapons. But whilst Lucian succeeded, they have failed; the caustic rays of their wit have reflected back upon themselves, like arrows upon the breast of the archer. The reason is manifest. True wit must always stand far above that on which it pours its shafts. Now, he that would expose the Christian religion to ridicule, must stand

above and beyond divine wisdom. Hence none of those who have attempted to destroy the confidence of Christians by ridiculing their doctrines, have succeeded. They may have scoffed at their own notions of these doctrines, but the doctrines themselves, the truth contained in them, their wit could not reach. Their sarcasm almost universally recoiled upon themselves, and the proverb could be applied: "*He that laughs last, laughs best.* Hobbes—to give an instance or two—during the day ridiculed the idea that there is a God, but when night came he was so much afraid of ghosts that he dared not sleep alone. A celebrated physician, who frequently laughed at the doctrine of the soul and its immortality, when lying sick of the gout, employed a conjurer to exorcise the demons from his limbs.

IV.

Finally, let me show in a few words, *that reason and faith mutually support and advance each other.*

The contents of faith are, on the one hand, the sin of man, and, on the other, his redemption from it, and eternal salvation through Jesus Christ. That all men are fallen and suffer under the curse of hereditary sin, has always been admitted. It has been the theme of Poetry; the most beautiful productions of human imagination, the poems of Dante, of Tetrarch, Milton and Klopstock, are full of it. This being admitted on all sides, it is but reasonable to believe that He, who would redeem the world from sin, must be free from sin himself; that the pure cannot proceed from the impure; and that Christ consequently must come from heaven. So it is likewise reasonable, that He, who would give life to the dead, must have life everlasting in Himself; that that life must be His by whom are created heaven and earth, the Visible and Invisible, Thrones and Principalities and Powers, by whom and for whom all is created, who is above all and in all. The Saviour of the world, it was reasonable to expect, would be the Son of God; the Son of God alone could be the Saviour of the world. In short, reason cannot but acknowledge that when man has fallen into a snare, he needs one, not enticed by its allurements, to extricate him; that when the inward monitor sleeps, we need one who never sleeps and will awaken us—who will help us to

a clear idea of our dangerous situation—who will show us how far inimical powers have led us from the right path, and who will guide us back to it again. When man no longer understands himself, he needs an interpreter of his own language. When man has lost God in his heart, he needs one that visibly represents Him anew. We need the Son of God, who stands before us as a kind and loving brother—who by his Spirit becomes our guide, by his holiness our model, and by his love in life and death the object of our supreme affection.

On the other hand, faith assists reason. Reason left to itself is arrogant, is acted upon by impure motives, is selfish and contracted. Nourished by the senses and wholly depraved, it is inclined to consider the sensual world the only world. But by the Spirit of God reason is regenerated; by faith its views are purified and enlarged and extended beyond the grave; by faith its longing for immortality is satisfied and man's final destination is revealed to it. (Plato, the wisest of ancient philosophers desired and longed for the time, when one wiser than all men would reveal the truth fully.) Faith points out the only worthy aim for the efforts of reason; gives a peace, which the world knows not and in which alone man can find true happiness in life and consolation in the hour of death.

APPLICATION.

In conclusion I desire to make a few practical remarks.

1. And here I would say that, as faith is the only true source of all virtue, infidelity is the fountain of all sin—its seat and root. Without faith we cannot please God; without faith there can be no wisdom, nor justice, nor holiness, nor redemption; without faith there is no love, no faithfulness, no courage, no consolation in our hearts. Without faith the will remains weak, sensuality strong, reason depraved, life vain, the grave awful. Hence it is that infidelity is the most terrible word contained in our language, and to be charged with it can be but illy brooked by any one.

But no one has faith, except the believer in Christ. Who is a liar, but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? for He is the true God and eternal life! The Scriptures give witness of Him and contain the Truth; the Spirit, that proceeds from

Him, is the Spirit of Truth; and the Church established by Him renders this Truth manifest. He who pays no regard to the Scriptures, to the Spirit of Truth and to the ordinances of the Church, does not believe; he lives without Faith and Truth, in the world of wickedness and falsehood.

2. None can enter the sphere of faith by a mere resolution of the will or by merely taking a proper view of the contents of faith. Faith is the bloom of regeneration, and salvation the fruit of faith. Unless we are regenerated, we have no faith. But regeneration does not merely direct reason to different objects, or correct the defects of the will or mend our moral life: it is a new principle in man, which changes *him*, and not only *something in him;* which makes him a new creature, and not only remodels some parts in him or revives some of his powers. The regenerated person knows what Truth is, because he is of the Truth; he knows by whom he is called, for the Spirit in him will tell him; he knows the voice of Christ, because he listens for it—loves it.

ART. IV.—CHIEF JUSTICE GIBSON.

AN ESSAY on the *Life, Character* and *Writings of* JOHN B. GIBSON, LL. D., *lately Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.* By *William A. Porter.* Philadelphia: T. & J. W. Johnston. 1855.

IN Perry county, Pa.,—which until 1820, was a portion of Cumberland county,—on one of the old roads leading, most of the way along the rugged and shady banks of the Sherman's creek, to Landisburg, one of the oldest settlements of the valley and the first county seat, is a place still familiarly known as "Gibson's," because still occupied by some of the descen-

dants of the family. It is a quiet romantic nook, formed by the curvature of the towering pine-clad hills, just below a narrow pass which leads out into the more spacious and fruitful valley which lies to the west. A small stone mill which bears the marks of time and of fire, the ruins of several small out-buildings, a finger board pointing in several directions on the roads leading out through the ravines, and a tolerably comfortable dwelling are now the principal artificial features of the place. A little distance below, an immense rock, or pile of rocks, whose base starts at the edge of the water, towers high into the air. About fifty feet from its base the road passes directly through its side, and as the traveler approaches this cut, and casts a suspicious eye towards the beetling crag overhanging him far above, and hears the roaring of the Sherman as it dashes upon the rocks of the deep gorge below, he will be fortunate if he escape an involuntary shudder. This is known, far and near, as "Gibson's rock."

The reader will have already anticipated the purport of this description. The scene itself is worthy of an artist's pencil. On a bright summer afternoon as the sun declines to the west, and his beams, flashing on the rippling waters, catch the eye through the openings in the umbrageous canopy of leaves, and the huge forms of nature repose in an almost oppressive silence on every hand, it forms a scene which would perhaps outrival many that are more widely celebrated. But it has a deeper and better interest to the initiated. It marks the birth-place of one of Pennsylvania's greatest ornaments—of one who, in the language of a competent judge, has been thought, even abroad, to have been for many years "the great glory of his native State." In its leading features it resembles the birth-place of James Buchanan, in the western angle of Franklin county, amid the same range of mountains, not fifty miles distant, in a narrow pass known as "the Gap," through which the pack-horses in "auld lang syne," defiled to "Fort Pitt" and the "far west." When John Bannister Gibson, who was destined to wear with unapproachable success and honor, the judicial ermine of Pennsylvania, was about leaving his wild mountain home on the banks of the Sherman, to enter an al-

ready well known classical institution of his native county, James Buchanan, who in another sphere, was destined to gain the honorable distinction of "Pennsylvania's favorite son," was prattling with the rough packers in "the Gap," and strolling (so says an irresponsible tradition) with a small bell tied round his neck, in the neighboring woods.* When the history of Pennsylvania comes to be written—and it must be written some day; for her advantageous position in the Union, her inexhaustible resources, the blended and sterling character of her population, alike removed by constitutional bias from the extremes of head-long and impracticable impetuosity, and phlegmatic stagnation, necessitate for her a healthy development, a high position, and a commanding influence,—when this history comes to be written, few, if any, names will appear in it with more prominence than those of the boy from the valley of the Sherman, and the bell-boy of the Gap,—for the history of a State or a nation is always inseparable from the history of its great men.

We take pleasure in introducing here the following verses, written in advanced life (we believe) by Chief Justice Gibson. They will be found in "The Model American Courier" of Nov. 19, 1853, though they were originally published at an earlier date.

RETROSPECTION

On revisiting the dilapidated Birth-place of the writer, after an absence of many years.

(A FIRST AND LAST ATTEMPT.)

BY JOHN BANNISTER GIBSON.

The home of my youth stands in silence and sadness;
None that tasted its simple enjoyments are there;
No longer its walls ring with glee and with gladness;
No strain of blithe melody breaks on the ear.

The infantile sport in the shade of the wild-wood,
The father who smiled at the games of the ball,

* We would suggest to some of our unemployed *litterateurs* that a very readable, and to many minds, a fascinating book might be written upon the "Birth-places of Distinguished Men," selecting mainly those characterized by their obscurity,—a peculiarity confined almost entirely to this country, and one of by no means rare occurrence—or by the note-worthy incidents or associations connected with them.

The parent still dearer who watch'd o'er my childhood,
Return not again at Affection's fond call.

And the garden—fit emblem of youth's fading flowers!
No fawn-footed urchin now bounds o'er its lawn:
The young eyes that beam'd on its rose-cover'd bowers,
Are fled from its arbors—forever are gone.

Why memory cling thus to life's jocund morning?
Why point to its treasures exhausted too soon?
Or tell that the buds of the heart at the dawning,
Were destin'd to wither and perish at noon?

On the past, sadly musing, oh pause not a moment;
Could we live o'er again but one bright sunny day,
'Twere better than ages of present enjoyment,
In the mem'ry of scenes that have long pass'd away.

But Time ne'er retraces the footsteps he measures;
In fancy alone with the Past we can dwell:
Then take my last blessing, lov'd scene of young pleasures,
Dear home of my childhood—forever farewell.*

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* We add a few stanzas from another pen, not because of their merit as poetry, but because of their coincidence in locality and sentiment.

Sherman, how sweet thy crystal flow,
How soothing and how dear
The murmurs of thy waters fall
Upon my listening ear.
Beneath this ancient Beechen tree,
Where oft before I stood,
In childhood's happy days of love,
I gaze upon thy flood,
Whose swelling tide with tuneful course
Glides tranquilly along,
And murmurs with responsive tone,
Each gladsome woodland song.

My thoughts grow tranquil as I look,
Upon thy tranquil tide;
Each heavy paining of the breast
Doth calmly here subside;
And now I feel as oft my heart,
In other days has felt,
When thoughtlessly upon thy banks,
To pluck the flower I knelt.
There's something swells within me, and
The lovely fitful sound
Of some strange seraph-tone doth float
My beating heart around;

In this now "dilapidated" dwelling lived Col. George Gibson for some time previous, and also subsequent to, the Revolutionary war. He was of Scotch Irish descent,—a vigorous, sturdy and intelligent race, who took first possession of Sherman's Valley in common with other and better portions of

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Like angel melodies of hope
Upon an exile's ear;
When wand'ring in a stranger's land
Nor friend, nor warm heart near.

It is the sound, the trembling strain
From other days of love,
When on thy banks from noon to night
My feet were wont to rove,—
Sweet days of Eden happiness,
When fairy Hope was young,
And knew no other harmony
Than what Fulfilment sung.
Thou wakest in my busy breast
Ten thousand melodies;
And I review the distant past,
While tears bedim my eyes,
When long years start in swift array,
With many a former scene,
All beautiful and lovely, as
A fairy's summer dream.

Thou art not changed, oh lovely stream,
Since last I trod thy side,
Or with the fisherman's rude skiff
Skimmed o'er thy glassy tide;
Here still the stout old hickories
Point to the smiling sky,
And from the glen in shrilly tone
I hear the wild jay cry:
On gloomy Pisgah's† cloud-capt brow
The mournful breezes moan
Through the tall oaks and hoary pines
In melancholy tone;
Enchanting sound! enchanting scene!
Would I might ever stay,
Sweet Sherman, by thy tranquil tide,
Till life shall fade away.

"Youth's Phantasies," by C. H. A.

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† The local name of the mountain which rises abruptly from the stream just opposite "Gibson's rock."

middle Pennsylvania. His family name in Scotland was Gilbertson. He had strong native genius; was celebrated as a humorist and wit, but with little talent to advance his fortune except in the army, for which alone he was fitted. Through his influence and pecuniary generosity,* the pass was cut through the great rock which bears his name by which he and his neighbors found egress to the county seat at Carlisle. He served with distinction in the war of the Revolution. He commanded a regiment at the defeat of St. Clair in 1791, and expired on the field on that memorable day, covered with honorable wounds. His wife, who was Anne, daughter of Francis West, and four children survived him. The essay named at the head of this article is in error when it says that "Francis and William, the elder two, died at an early age." Francis is still living, an octogenarian, at the old "Birth-place," and was quite a character in the sphere in which he moved. He had perhaps as much raw intellect as any member of the family. His fine contour of head and mass of brain strikingly resembled that of the Chief Justice. He was noted as a wit and satirist; also for his utter disregard of the conventionalities and many of the proprieties of life; for his mechanical ingenuity, and his passion for, and his unequalled skill (in his neighbors' reckoning) upon the violin. General George Gibson, the other surviving brother, has for many years held an important post in the United States army. John Bannister, was the youngest of the family and was born Nov. 8th, 1780. In writing to John William Wallace, Esq., of Philadelphia, Judge Gibson, under date of Carlisle, July 7th, 1851, gives the following description of his early life. "I was born among the mountains of Cumberland. * * * Fox-hunting, fishing, gunning, rifle-shooting, swimming, wrestling and boxing with the natives of my age, were my exercises and my amusements. My mother, who having been educated in Philadelphia, was qualified for the task, directed my reading, and put such books into my hand as were proper for me. We had from one to two hundred volumes, Burke's Annual Register included, and I read all of them so often, that they are as fresh

* See a file of the first paper published in Carlisle for a letter over his signature.

in my memory as if I had read them yesterday. My poor mother struggled with poverty during the nineteen years she lived after my father's death, and having fought up gallantly against it, till she had placed me at the bar—died."* How vast has been the influence of that mother's courage and toil upon the State and country of her adoption!

We shall group together here, without amplification, the leading chronological events in the life of Judge Gibson. He entered the Grammar School of Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa., in the Spring of 1795, and the college itself about two years afterwards, over which then presided the learned Charles Nisbet, D. D. He graduated, it is presumed, in 1800 or 1801, the destruction of the College buildings in 1804 having destroyed the record. On leaving College he studied law with Thomas Duncan, of Carlisle, afterwards with himself to occupy a seat upon the Supreme Bench,—a name, says Mr. Porter which "occupies a respectable place in our judicial annals." He was admitted to the bar in 1803, and entered upon the practice of law in Carlisle, afterwards for a short time in Beaver, Pa., then in Hagerstown, Md.,† and then returned to Carlisle, where he continued to practice until 1813, when he was appointed President Judge of the eleventh Judicial District composed of the counties of Tioga, Bradford, Susquehanna and Luzerne. In the meantime he had made a brief experiment in political life. In 1810 he was elected by the Democratic party of Cumberland county, a member of the Legislature, and served as such in the sessions of 1810—11, and

* Essay, &c., page 13.

† The following little piece of information is curious. Who can explain it? The denizens of Hagerstown are wont to claim for it the character of "no mean city." "It is known to his friends," says Mr. Porter, p. 21, "that he always refused to include in the computation of his age, the time he spent in Hagerstown. It is related on good authority, that having on one occasion, in the presence of his brethren of the bench, who knew his age exactly, stated it at somewhat less than it really was, and resolutely re-affirmed it, a calculation was proposed, and readily assented to by himself. They started with the date of his admission to the bar, with his stay in Carlisle, and were about to include the time spent in Hagerstown, when the Judge with good-humored violence broke up the count, and refused to let it proceed—inveighing strongly against the injustice of charging him with that item of time, and assigning numerous reasons, which it will not be necessary to chronicle here."

1811—12. Here his commanding presence and opening intellect secured some measure of notice and he was chiefly instrumental in the passage of several important acts. In 1816 he was appointed by Governor Snyder one of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court in the room of the eccentric Hugh H. Brackenridge, deceased. He had now found his place and he kept it for life. In 1827, on the death of Judge Tilghman, he was commissioned Chief Justice, which position he retained until 1851. In 1851, under the operation of the newly introduced principle of an elective Judiciary, he was elected one of the five Supreme Judges, and died invested with the high office he had so long held, at Philadelphia, May 3rd, 1853.

A great mind is always a subject of study,—generally for admiration. Like Niagara or Vesuvius, its massive grandeur attracts alike the eye of the divine, the statesman, the poet, the philosopher and the man of ordinary practical intelligence; or like the giant elm of centuries amid the smaller trees of the forest, it is the "observed of all observers," whilst weaker creatures find shelter and protection within the folds of its mighty arms. Living, productive thought, in any sphere, is a commodity of priceless worth. For these reasons we offer no apology for introducing a paper upon Chief Justice Gibson into this periodical. Theologian, or literary man, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, he was not; but he was a great intellect, and, (which is nearer the drift of our Review) he was in the organic structure of his mind a great philosopher.

Of the Essay by Mr. Porter, we would say here, briefly, that it is a respectable, but by no means an adequate performance. It displays considerable discrimination and accuracy of criticism, and we think touches truthfully upon the strong points of its subject's mind and character; but it is not exhaustive; and the selections from his published opinions give mere glimpses of the workings of his mind. An intellect like Judge Gibson's, and a long life of such eminence as was awarded him, cannot be disposed of in an octavo of 140 pages. We agree with Mr. Porter, that it is remarkable that no more has been written respecting him since his death, and we hope that the Essay before us may be the forerunner of a comprehensive and com-

plete Life, embodying an extensive selection from his writings. True, his mind stands sculptured in monumental grandeur in his published judicial opinions, running through seventy volumes of the Pennsylvania State Reports, from 2 Sergeant and Rawle to 7 Harris; and no detrition of time, nor heavings and tossings of the political hemisphere, which shall span at all the fabric of our jurisprudence, will be able to destroy it as it there stands. But in this form it will be confined to the offices of lawyers; whilst we are persuaded that the Nestor of the bench, "the only Chief whom the hearts of the people would know," even after he assumed officially a lower position, ought in his posthumous influence to be brought nearer to the people themselves. We are persuaded that a selection might be made from Justice Gibson's opinions, and other fugitive writings, which would be read by that portion of all classes and professions, who are accustomed to seek and peruse the highest productions of the human mind.

One of the most interesting points in the life of Judge Gibson is the history of the *development of his mind.* As there are certain great classes or types of mind which can be arranged together with almost generic accuracy, so there are minds which require peculiar *occasions* for development. Other minds seem to have a sort of spontaniety of expansion. They develop from the free working of their own inherent powers, without the aid of any extraneous stimuli. But it is not so with all; and it often appears doubtful whether this other class would develop at all, in any measure correspondent with their native capability, without the stimuli of occasion and circumstance. To this latter class the mind of Gibson belonged. His bodily habit was phlegmatic, and it had its influence upon his mind and contributed, doubtless, to the lateness* of the mature development of his powers, as well as hazarded their development upon the accidents of occasion. Although, as Mr. Porter says, the burning of Dickinson College destroyed all record of his progress there, yet tradition has preserved some scraps which those who knew him in after life will regard as easily credible.

* Another modern instance of late development is that of Arch Bishop Hughes.

He was called notoriously lazy, and was often almost wholly indifferent about the regular tasks of the course; but his classmates well knew that when he roused himself, under the pressure of a special emergency, he could surpass them all. He was, moreover, the butt of a good deal of innocent ridicule. He was long-legged, raw-boned, and awkward, and furnished the point to many a jest,—though it is remembered that due care was always exercised, by those who had come to know him, not to carry the fun beyond the point of endurance. At College, though all the discerning noticed his spasmodic ability, he was generally regarded as a student who had not much "out come" in him. That he was at first almost wholly unsuccessful at the bar, might be inferred from his numerous and rapid changes,—from Carlisle to Beaver, from Beaver to Hagerstown, from Hagerstown back to Carlisle, all in the space of a little more than two years. We fancy that but few young advocates in such circumstances would not begin to fear that they had missed their calling. He had indeed missed his calling, but he was on the stepping stone to it. He never would have made a successful advocate. The movements of his mind were not rapid enough; he had not patience enough to wade through the wilderness of dry facts which the thoroughly furnished attorney must thread; his profound dealing with the seminal principles of law and justice, had he ever attained to this in the sphere of an advocate, would have been over the heads of most juries; he had little or none of that popular tact for influencing juries,* which multitudes even of infinitely inferior men possess; and above all, the profession of attorney would not have afforded stimulus, propulsive force enough, to

* "No man has who heard John Sergeant, for example, in a deliberative assembly, or before a court in banc, or even in a consultation where his great wisdom placed him out of the reach of common men, could form any opinion of his powers until he heard him before a jury. It was only when in a case largely affecting character or property, when in his peculiar attitude he drew close to the jury, his frame agitated, his eye flashing and his voice choked by excitement almost to a whisper, you could see how tremendous a grasp he was capable of taking of the very hearts of his hearers. It is true, that without profound legal learning, this power could no more be exerted in a court of justice than a man could fly without wings, but with the profoundest learning alone it could no more be exercised than a man could fly with wings. It is a mysterious and indiscribable faculty."—*Essay, &c., p.* 31–32.

have driven him onwards in the path of development. He would have wasted his powers upon inferior pursuits. "He was born a musician," says Chief Justice Black in his eulogy of him; and Mr. Porter gives the following which dates during his stay, as a practitioner in Carlisle. "In respect to his deportment to his clients, a rumor has prevailed so widely and with such universal credit as to warrant its repetition here. It is said that he had become at this time, as he ever afterwards continued, a votary of music, and that when clients knocked at the front door, the sound was frequently overcome by the strains which proceeded from a violin in the hidden recesses of the office. I am unable to vouch for the entire correctness of the story, or to recommend it as an example for imitation. If true, the instance was unique." Who knows but that if he had been allowed to jog on with a sufficient measure of success to keep him above want, amid his fiddling and drawing, his great intellect would have slumbered in its latency, like his brother Frank's, or only burst out occasionally like a half-extinct volcano, showing to men that there was a hidden power there which was not always at work in its mightiness.

It is said to be a fact, capable of being substantiated by the specification of numerous instances, that the best Judges, both in England and America, have been furnished in men who were not eminent as practitioners. And the fact need not astonish; for not only are the two spheres in many respects wholly different, but some of the highest qualifications of mind, which unfit for the practice of law, are precisely those which qualify for the highest functions of the Judge. A fact somewhat analagous is found in another sphere, viz: that the ablest and best Professors of Theology, and writers upon theological and kindred topics, have been furnished in men who almost entirely failed as popular preachers.

We shall endeavor to mark the effect of the several extraneous occasions, which gave impetus to the development of the mind of Mr. Gibson. How he got into the House of Representatives we have no direct means of knowing; but we suspect it was the work of interested friends, who knew him well, and deemed an experiment necessary, in his case. The change

seems to have been not without effect; for there is not a little in the position of a Legislator to rouse a phlegmatic mind, if it be really capable of great things. He took at least a useful part in the business of the House; and on one occasion he took a decided stand with a very small minority, and made himself conspicuous, by placing on record a written protest against the Legislative address to Governor Snyder, (27th March, 1811,) for the removal of Judge Thomas Cooper of the Eighth Judicial District, afterwards Professor in Dickinson College, and President of Columbia College, South Carolina.

Doubtless Mr. Gibson's legislative career was instrumental to his first appointment to the Bench. He now entered a new sphere, and his true sphere,—the aptness of which to develop his best powers, we shall see by and by. It requires no effort of the imagination to suppose that the responsibility of the Judgeship resting upon one of his age, (he was not quite 33) who doubtless felt the inadequacy of his own attainments, would rouse his mind to unwonted effort, and compel him not only to think but to study. How he discharged his duties we do not know. He began, however, to attract the attention of the eminent in the profession. But tradition is again in character when it reports, that he exhibited "too much impulsiveness in his judgments, both of legal affairs and of human nature."

His appointment to the Supreme Bench, as an Associate Justice, three years after his first appointment, seems really to have been the first thing that fully roused his intellect, and fired his ambition. He now commenced to study in earnest. He seems to have formed the resolution,—a resolution the offspring of a mind at length made conscious of the possession of a vast but slumbering power,—to make himself master of the law as a science. He resolved to go down among the lowest foundations of that system, upon the higher scaffolding of which he was now called to labor as an architect; that acquainting himself well with the shape and structure of the whole building, he might know precisely how to lay on each additional stone. He withdrew himself to a great extent from general society; he wore often a look of abstraction, and indifference to per-

sons and things around him, and he devoted himself to the most difficult authors with an assiduity which most astonished those who knew him best. All the evidence to be had in the case seems to indicate that his study of the profounder and more difficult principles of the science, was mainly pursued within a few years after his elevation to the Bench of the Supreme Court.

A moment's consideration will show how admirably adapted was the position he now occupied to afford the exciting occasion which such a mind as his needed. Not only was it the height of the elevation; which indeed would have been sufficient to have stimulated an ordinarily sluggish ambition, but there were other and better, and in his case, more potent influences which it brought to bear upon him. A judge is required to investigate, not that he may carry a cause, but that he may discover the right; and in him, constitutionally, there was such an intense love of right and justice, such a horror of injustice, such a scrupulously delicate sensitiveness as to the relation in which he stood to justice awarded or injustice committed, that this itself was sufficient to arouse all the energies of his nature to the work of securing the requisite data for ascertaining the right. In the Supreme Court a succession of the most important cases, involving the greatest possible variety of feature and combination, and evolving almost every principle of civil and common law, was continually passing in review before him, and challenging the regard both of his head and his heart. There was thus, ever and anon, bearing upon him a pressure which goaded him on in the career of self-development. One fact is noticeable in his published opinions—and it confirms the theory we have just given—that all the strength of his mind was sure to gather itself up, and rise into irresistible energy dashing opposition to pieces like the force of a battering-ram, when to a case giving room for the play of great principles, was added something which aroused his indignation—some persecution of injured innocence, some plausible but wrongful evasion of law, or some attempt to take advantage of technicalities for the perpetration of injustice. A good instance of this, (they might be indefinitely multiplied) occurs

to us in the case of *Logan vs. Mason*, 6 Watts and Sergeant, p. 10,—and Mr. Porter cites another, *Sauerman vs. Weckerly*, 17 Sergeant and Rawle, p. 116.

His appointment to the office of Chief Justice was the last powerful stimulus which his mind received, which though not different in kind from that under which he had been moving for ten years, was different in degree; and from it his powers seem to have received fresh impulse. He was now at an age at which many men have reached, if not passed, the acme of their power, but he was yet far from his. From this time forward the chief improvement is seen in his style, and the condensation of thought exhibited in his opinions. His style now began to assume a massiveness, compactness and polish, which bespeak unerringly, the concentration of mind which his habits of study were acquiring for him. "His original style compared to that in which he now began to write, was like the sinews of a growing lad compared to the well knit muscles of a man. No one who has carefully studied his productions can have failed to remark the increased power and pith which distinguish them from this time forward. The gradual and uniform progress of his mind may be traced in his opinions, with a certainty and satisfaction which are probably not afforded in the case of any other judge known to our annals."*

In coming to speak of Judge Gibson's official acts—his legal decisions and opinions—and his influence upon the jurisprudence of Pennsylvania, we are approaching a subject only to take leave of it without any adequate treatment. This must be left to a more competent hand, and larger space in which to do it. A brief outline, and an instance or two must suffice. When it is remembered that Judge Gibson took his seat upon the Bench in the infancy of our jurisprudence as a State, and that it grew up with him, and received to a great extent its moulding from his plastic hand, it will be seen how difficult it would be to speak of his labors in detail in a brief compass. But this relation of his to it, is of itself vastly significant. To use an expression of his own in *Lyle vs. Richbards* with a differ-

* Essay, &c., p. 51.

ent application, it was in his power to lay his hands on it, and "while it was yet *in the gristle*, to bend it and mould it at his pleasure." When Judge Gibson ascended the bench the compass of our jurisprudence was vastly narrower than now. All the forms and interests of society, industrially, politically and legally were far less complicated than at present. Questions arose and decisions were required during the course of his labors which could not possibly have had a precedent. Forty years ago we had no commercial law. The State had then no chartered bank out of Philadelphia, and only three in that city. Partnership, negotiable paper, insurance, transportation, and liability in general were terms of very different meaning and application then from what they bear now. The two main departments of the law were those of special pleading and real estate. Much of the business of the courts consisted in the settlement of titles of land. With these his studies chiefly commenced, and he not only completely mastered them afterwards, but mastered, we might almost say created, other branches as they arose. It was his thorough understanding of the system, and his confidence in his own perceptions of the beautiful, that emboldened him to declare in the face of the criticism which he knew it would evoke, that "he knew no more beautiful system, nor one more founded on principles of general equity, than the land laws of Pennsylvania."* When we remember that such was Pennsylvania jurisprudence then, and glance at what it is now, and remember that for near forty years he was the leading mind on the bench of its highest tribunal,—the one whose opinions are quoted as authority more frequently than those of all his contemporaries put together,—it will give us a bird's-eye view of what he has done.

* "Old gentlemen in the country, who had been all their lives trying the titles to land, adjusted anew their cravats, and looked more grave than ever, in the sudden consciousness that they had been engaged in building up, not only a system, but a beautiful system. Practitioners in the metropolis, on the other hand, who had almost no practical acquaintance with the supposed system, sneered at it as a mere budget of augers, a collection of sharp points and short corners, having no pretension to form or comeliness. Certainly it does require a higher degree of charity than that usually ascribed to legal minds, to admit that the land laws of Pennsylvania form a system, and a much higher degree to predicate of it, the term beautiful."—*Essay, &c., p.* 83.

But our business is rather with the man himself as an object of study and portraiture; and we will only tarry longer to notice briefly two instances in which his decisions stand immediately related to great public interests. The first is that which aided to settle the law of Pennsylvania on the subject of riots. Here we shall quote the language of Mr. Porter.

"The people of the State, and perhaps of the Union, will not soon forget the popular commotions which prevailed in Philadelphia between the years 1836 and 1846. We had the Abolition riots, the Railroad riots, the Negro riots, the Weavers' riots, the Native American riots, and the Military riots. Having run short of names, territorial designations were adopted, and we had the Moyamensing, Southwark, and Kensington riots. Interspersed with these, were the riots of various fire companies, who seemed to have achieved little distinction until their members had been bound over to each successive term of the Quarter Sessions. Learned jurists were at work in the meantime. It was easily shown that this disorder was all wrong—that the power to suppress it must exist somewhere—that the sheriff could employ both civil and military power—that all citizens were bound to obey his requisition—that peaceable citizens were more numerous than the disorderly—that the riots could therefore be put down, and must be put down. Editors, lawyers, judges and philosophers all agreed in opinion, and resolved that there must be no more riots. This was very well, but the riots continued. Good citizens ascertained that if they disobeyed the sheriff's summons, they would be fined, and if they complied with it, their heads would be broken, and with strange contempt for the law, and unaccountable forgetfulness of their civil duties, they preferred to encounter the fine."

* * * * * * * * *

"The commotions of 1844 filled up the measure of our shame. Two churches, a school house, and numerous private dwellings were reduced to ashes. All men felt that the time had come when the law must do something, if it could do anything. Inferior tribunals quailed before the mob spirit, and the mass of the rioters arrested were acquitted and discharged. An oppor-

tunity now presented itself to the Chief Justice to display his powers. The Act of 31st May, 1841, founded on that of Geo. I., authorized the owners of property in the County of Philadelphia, destroyed by this species of violence, to bring suits against the county for the injuries sustained, and numerous suits were brought under the authority of the Act. The case of Donoghue vs. The County, was the first on the list, and the Chief Justice held the Court. His charge was worthy of the man, and of the occasion. No one who heard it can forget its influence on the case, or on the subsequent cases, and on the community. One of the chief defences set up, that armed men had fired on the crowd from the building afterwards burned, was demolished with a boldness, an energy, and an eloquence rarely surpassed in judicial proceedings. He discarded utterly the distinction which had been taken between defending a dwelling house and church, and held that a man has the same right to defend and to take life in defence of the place in which he worships God, as of the domicile which shelters his family. He carried the doctrine even further, and applied it to the school contiguous to the church, in which the children were receiving their education. In the meagre scrap of the charge which is reported in 2 Barr, 231, this is sufficiently evident. The result was a verdict in favor of the plaintiff for the whole amount of the property destroyed. A similar result followed in the case of the Hermits of St. Augustine vs. The County, Brightly's Reports, 116; and in that of the St. Michael's Church *vs.* the County, Brightly's Reports, 121. Of a different verdict in the first case, on that turning point between the dominion of law and the dominion of violence, no man could have ventured to predict the result. From that time to this, we have had no riots. Other causes have contributed to produce this state of things; but no one act tended more directly to restore permanent good order and to re-establish popular confidence in the people themselves, than the manly and patriotic course of Judge Gibson in the case of Donoghue *vs.* The County. Business men began to feel that if they were certainly liable to pay their own proportion of the property thus destroyed, it was their pecuniary interest to require its preservation. Lawless men found that they inflicted

no injury on the objects of their violence when the property destroyed was paid for at its highest value. Patriotic men, both at home and abroad, were glad to discover in these proceedings, fresh evidence of the power which a wise and benignant system of law, administered by an enlightened judge, may exert among a free people."

The other case is that well known as the "Presbyterian Church case." In 1801 a "Plan of Union" was adopted between the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and the General Association of Connecticut (Congregational) which was designed to secure the cöoperation of these two branches of the Protestant Church, in their missionary work in the "new settlements." But like all unions which grow not out of a community of organic life, it was found to generate trouble and discord. The effort to amalgamate principles "as immiscible as water and oil," (to quote Judge Gibson) only operated to damage both of them. An element was introduced into the Presbyterian Church which was foreign to its organic life,—an element which could not be assimilated and must be thrown off. This was what the Assembly of 1837 did in passing what are known as "the exscinding acts"—legislative ordinances by which the "Plan of Union" was dissolved and the Synods of Utica, Genessee, Geneva and Western Reserve, which grew out of the said Plan, declared "to be out of the ecclesiastical connection of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America," and the Presbyterian elements in said Synods ordered to "attach themselves to the nearest Presbyteries." These acts formed a party in the Presbyterian Church, resolved to assert the prerogatives of the exscinded Synods, and the "tug of war" came in the General Assembly of 1838. At this Assembly commissioners from the four Synods presented themselves, and the Assembly refusing to acknowledge them, a revolutionary party undertook to seize the reins of ecclesiastical government, organized themselves *as the General Assembly*, and after retiring to a separate room proceeded to exercise all the supposed functions of the Assembly. Among these was the election of their own trustees to secure the perpetuity of the corporation under the Laws of Pennsylvania. The

trustees elected by the former Assemblies and by the other Assembly (the Old School) refused to surrender to their rivals "the franchises, offices, privileges and liberties" conferred upon them by law as "Trustees of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America." Upon this refusal an action at law was brought, and the case tried before Judge Rogers and a special jury at the Nisi Prius for Philadelphia, on the 4th day of March 1839. The case was one "without precedent and presenting some extraordinary features," and it occasioned intense interest in every part of the Union. The Nisi Prius jury, under the charge of Judge Rogers, found a verdict against the defendants, which, if it had stood, would have had the effect of declaring the trustees elected by the New School body the true, legal and proper trustees of the General Assembly. Sixty-five reasons for a new trial were filed and the case argued the same month before the court in banc, and the Chief Justice pronounced the opinion of the court. Their decision made the rule for a new trial absolute. Here we quote Mr. Porter:

"If the reader possess any partisan views of the subject, it is quite probable that in this case, as in others, they will influence his estimate of the result which was reached; but I see not how any one familiar with the best efforts of the human mind in the solution of difficult questions of law or morals, can fail to admire the powers of analysis and condensation which the opinion of Judge Gibson in that case displays. He threads his way with a confidence and skill almost matchless, through constitutions, systems of church polity, plans of union, maxims of ecclesiastical government, books of discipline, rules, orders, motions, debates, synods, presbyteries, congregations, and associations, some of them referring to nearly a century of time, and all of them evidently unknown to him before the argument. Any one who has read the case, can scarcely be surprised that the opinion of the Judge should have had the effect of preventing all other litigation on the subject."

That opinion (see 4 Wharton, p. 598) is indeed a masterpiece. Its opening sentence is eminently characteristic and shows how vigorously his powerful mind had been working

through the case; "To extricate the question from the multifarious mass of irrelevant matter in which it is enclosed," &c. The case we believe to have been one eminently suited to his peculiar powers, and none but he could have dealt with it so thoroughly. He shows, with most searching analysis, that the abrogation of the "Plan of Union" as a legislative act of the Assembly was perfectly constitutional and valid; that the commissioners from the exscinded Synods were not entitled to seats in the Assembly after the act of 1837; that the proceedings of the minority in the Assembly of 1838 were in violation of the established order, and hence a forfeiture of constitutional rights and titles; and that their trustees were not trustees of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, which though not itself a corporation is the reproductive organ of corporate succession, according to its charter.

In this decision and opinion, Judge Gibson rendered a service of incalculable importance to the whole country. The finding of the Nisi Prius jury would have perpetuated a great and most flagrant wrong. It would have put a schismatical and revolutionary branch in possession of the true lineal succession of the Presbyterian Church, so far as that could be done by the civil law. It would have legitimated revolution and disorder, and might have proved the entering wedge to consequences of which it would have been impossible to have foreseen the end.

It remains to us now to attempt a comprehensive summary of the leading traits of Chief Justice Gibson's mind and character.

We have already intimated his possession of *aesthetical* taste and talent. These were of a high order. His musical talent —a family heir-loom—was highly cultivated. "He was," says Chief Justice Black, "a *connoiseur* in painting and sculpture." He could sketch with great rapidity and with peculiar skill. In the 17th Volume of the Port Folio (1824) page 327, is an engraving of the monument erected to the memory of Dr. Nisbet, in the burial ground at Carlisle, Pa., "for the drawing of which," says the editor, "we are indebted to the pencil of our friend, J. B. Gibson, Esq., one of the Judges of the Su-

preme Court of this Commonwealth." "He could at any time," says Mr. Porter, "sketch by a few dashes of his pen, admirable likenesses both of men and things. Many a dull speaker who has been encouraged by the energy with which the Judge's pen moved, might have found on his notes, a little more than a most excellent representation of the speaker's face. Occasionally on his forgetting to destroy such efforts, they have been passed around the Bar to the amusement of all but the sketcher and the sketched." Mr. Wm. B. Wood, in his "Recollections of the Stage," remarks that "Chief Justice Gibson's sensibilities and taste in the whole range of the fine arts, music, architecture, painting, statuary and the drama, were hardly inferior to his uncommon intellectual parts."

The *universality* of his accomplishments amid the labors and studies of his high position was very remarkable, and betokens what the Germans would call a many-sided, or universal man. He was familiar with geology and chemistry. He studied medicine carefully and understood it well. He perambulated with the spirit of an amateur the whole round of English literature, especially in the department of the Belles Lettres, and his opinions are occasionally elucidated by quotations from Iago and Falstaff. He was also at home among the ancient classics. "His mind absorbed all kinds of knowledge with scarcely an effort." Like a massive castle of the Middle Ages it showed a broad front and ponderous battlements on every side, and afforded in its respective parts capacious storage for the most diverse commodities.

He combined in an unusual degree the *perceptive* and the *logical* faculties. His intuitions were clear, strong and comprehensive, and his logical processes from ascertained data were sure and steady, though not characterized by the minute syllogystic method of the mere logician. The perceptive or intuitive faculties of his mind predominated, and hence had his calling lay in that sphere he would have been a philosopher of the Platonic rather than of the Aristotelian school. He grasped, with a far reaching intuition, great principles or universal facts, and he took in at once all their bearings and relations, and applied them with matchless and almost unerring skill to

any particular matter in hand. He had little taste or patience for mere hair-splitting ; and though unsurpassed, in his sphere, in the discrimination with which he stated a point, yet he had no fondness for those discriminations which rest on a distinction without a difference. Hence the epithet which most accurately describes his caste of mind, and style, is, philosophical, rather than metaphysical. His mind was well fitted to reflect intelligently on the most elevated subjects of human knowledge, and to represent clearly and coherently the ideas thus attained, whilst at the same time are wanting that overstrained subtlety, fine-spun sophistry, and unintelligible mysticism, which are so common in the department of what is technically called metaphysics. Metaphysics owes its parentage to Aristotle, philosophy is the offspring rather of the antagonistic school. His intellectual processes have been thus described : " His mental vision took in the whole outline and all the details of the case, and with a bold and steady hand he painted what he saw."* This is the highest exercise of a philosophical mind. Mr. Porter in endeavoring to classify him amongst writers and thinkers, assigns him his place, generically, and correctly enough, among those whose fame rests upon treatises of a philosophical nature ; but he finds no little difficulty, as is common in such cases, in naming one with whom he may exactly liken him. He finds points of resemblance in Johnson, Butler and Edwards, but no likeness. This he find most nearly in John Foster. On this point we think his accuracy may be successfully challenged. There are doubtless points of resemblance, and these may be traced with much plausibility in some of Foster's Essays, but there are points of great dissimilarity which can scarcely pass under the plea of allowance for the difference of sphere and of subject. There were elements in the structure of Foster's mind which were wholly wanting in Gibson's, and important elements in Gibson's which were wholly wanting in Foster's. In no sphere could Gibson have been found carefully elaborating such palpable absurdities, magnifying unimportant matters into matters of the first importance, and propounding plausi-

* Chief Justice Black's Eulogy, 7 Harris, p. 11.

ble theories for nobody to adopt, as are to be found here and there in the writings of the great essayist. And though we are a great admirer of Foster, and claim for him no second place, among modern writers, in originality and power, yet we are free to assert for the Pennsylvania Chief Justice a sounder and safer mind in its organic structure.

Such being his intellectual conformation, the reader might almost predict, prior to actual ascertainment, what would be the department of his profession for which his powers were specially adapted, and in which his tastes would most luxuriate. To say that he was strikingly deficient in any of the great branches of the law, would be a great mistake, and not in accordance with the universal character of his mind. But he was most at home in the sphere of *constitutional law.* The breadth and comprehensiveness of his views, and his tendency to rely upon the great principles of the science, rather than upon technicalities and decided cases, found here the sphere for their fittest exemplification. "In the fertile and extensive fields of American Constitutional Law, his powers exhibited to advantage the proportions which nature had given them, and he breathed out his great thoughts with the conscious freedom of a man who is master of the very ground which he occupies."*

He was a champion also of the common law. In speaking of Judge Kennedy he once said, "He clung to the common law as a child to its nurse, and how much, he drew from it, may be seen in his opinions, which, by their elaborate minuteness remind us of the overfullness of Coke."† Writers of eulogy and biography, as well as poets, sometimes unconsciously draw their own portraits as accurately as those of the departed. In this instance Judge Gibson, leaving out the idea contained in the last member of the sentence, furnished a master stroke for his own portraiture. The common law is the evolution and product of great principles working through successive ages, and it may be called organic, when contrasted with the civil or statutory law, which may be called mechanical.

* Essay, &c,, p. 99–100. † 4 Barr, p. 6.

This statement is sufficient to show into which department the mind of Judge Gibson would naturally fall. In the last thing which he ever wrote, for publication, an essay in the American Law Register for 1853, he uses this language: "Of all legal mechanism, statutory mechanism is the most imperfect;" * * * "It is always adapted to the circumstances of a single case, in the mind's eye of the constructor; and when it is required to work on any other, it works badly or not at all." * * * "The writer of this article is not a champion of the civil law; * * * * He was born in the school of Littleton and Coke, and he should be sorry to see any but common law doctrines taught in it." The same leanings appear everywhere throughout his opinions, and they are intermingled occasionally with disparaging intimations of the efforts of Justice Story and writers of that school, to infuse too much of the elements of the civil law into our American jurisprudence.

An admirable feature of his character, was his *purity* as a judge. "He was inflexibly honest. The judicial ermine was as unspotted when he laid it aside for the habiliments of the grave, as it was when he first assumed it. I do not mean to award him merely that common-place integrity which it is no honor to have but simply a disgrace to want. He was not only incorruptible, but scrupulously, delicately, conscientiously free from all wilful wrong, either in thought, word or deed."* "No idea opposite to that of his utmost purity as a judge, was ever associated with his name. There was something in his character, conversation, manner and appearance, which would have crushed such a thought in the bud. A man who had approached him for the purpose of corrupting him, would have been as much disposed to fall down before him in an act of homage, as to have attempted to carry out his purpose."†

His *style* has often been spoken of as a model of judicial composition. Perhaps as such it has never been excelled. It combines richness, dignity, force, condensation and clearness in a remarkable manner. It abounds in illustrations, comparisons, metaphors and quoted maxims, but none of these seem

* Eulogy, 7 Harris, p. 13. † Essay, &c., p. 131.

to have been sought, but to spring up unbidden in the spontaneous working of his mind,—they seem indeed at all times to have been a constituent part of his mental processes. He never seemed to choose his language, it was the natural garb in which his thoughts clothed themselves, and the drapery always revealed the exact shape of the body it covered. "He had one faculty of a great poet; that of expressing a thought in language which could never afterwards be paraphrased. When a legal principle passed through his hands, he sent it forth clothed in a dress which fitted it so exactly, that nobody ever presumed to give it any other. Almost universally the syllabus of his opinion is a sentence from itself; and the most heedless student, in looking over Wharton's Digest, can select the cases in which Gibson delivered the judgment, as readily as he would pick out gold coins from among coppers. For this reason it is, that though he was the least voluminous writer of the Court, the citations from him at the bar are more numerous than from all the rest put together. Yet the men who shared with him the labors and responsibilities of this tribunal stood among the foremost in the country for learning and ability. To be their equal was an honor which few could attain; to excel them was a most pre-eminent distinction."*

He seemed to use language at all times as the medium and servant of thought, at best an imperfect one, and one which he felt authorized to bend and re-adjust to suit his purposes. "The thoughts themselves were great thoughts struggling to make themselves felt through words, which, however well chosen, but obstructed them, and which were used at all, only because better could not then be found." He had a habit which is always observable in men of original and profound minds, whose power of conception, perception and mental combination being so much superior to the average of the race, makes language as it is found to exist a meagre and insufficient vehicle of their thoughts,—viz: the habit of manufacturing words, and of using words in unusual significations. Mr. Porter has cited a number of these words, as *unilateral, individ-*

* Eulogy, 7 Harris, p. 12.

uate, manipulating the testimony, *convergent intent*, &c. In a very cursory examination of some of his opinions, in search of such words, we picked out the following; *questionless, rebuttal, inequity, voidable, intactible, retropulsive, remainderman.* The list might be extended indefinitely.

This habit sometimes gives an undue stateliness to his style, and puts it above the heads of that class of readers who may not be able to resolve his Latin combinations. It suggests also that at some time in his life he had read with admiration the writings of Dr. Johnson. But his style is in a high degree artistic. It bears the impress of his aesthetical taste. It is like the creation of an artist whose power lay, not in airy Greek porticoes and Corinthian friezes, but in massive Roman arches, and ponderous domes, and heavy Gothic buttresses, and clustered pillars.

We are disposed to receive with some abatement, Mr. Porter's statement,—a statement very common among certain orders of critical writers—that a writer's meaning should always be apparent at first sight. Clearness is certainly a desirable quality in authorship, but it must be remembered that it is a relative quality, and depends as much upon the power of perception in the reader as upon the language of the writer. "A man who has never seen the sun," says Calderon, "cannot be blamed for thinking that no glory can exceed that of the moon. A man who has seen neither moon nor sun, cannot be blamed for talking of the unrivalled brightness of the morning star." The mass of readers, accustomed to little else than common place thought, will toss aside a master work upon the highest subjects of human knowledge in disgust at its obscurity, which to a mind capable of comprehending it, will be not only sufficiently clear, but a perennial source of intellectual pleasure. We would undertake to find Mr. Porter any number of readers to whose minds the writings of Calvin, Owen, Locke, Tillotson, (instances cited by him) would *not* "suggest their meaning at once." Away then with that silly catering to popular ignorance and prejudice, (we speak not of Mr. Porter,) which would compel every original and powerful thinker and writer to write in terms comprehensible by the unthinking and incapable

masses. A great thought struck out in a form comprehensible by only a few, will by and by reach the masses, in a shape suited for them, by the agency of men who could not have originated it. And if a reader finds the production of a great mind obscure, let him diligently consider whether the fault is in the writer or the reader. The great lights of succeeding ages have been those who were pronounced obscure in their own age.

The condensation of Judge Gibson's style is owing partly to his well known method of preparing his opinions. He had a horror of the pen. He seldom wrote except under the pressure of the most absolute necessity. He did all the needful thinking first. This he did in his chamber, on the street, at the table, on the bench, in the public room of his hotel,—any place and every place—and in any attitude which ministered to the sluggishness of his body, and when he seized the pen he rarely laid it aside until the opinion was completed. Such a method, *with such a mind as his*, doubtless added to the compactness and directness of his style. His bold, beautiful and legible hand writing, free from erasure, induced the belief that he transcribed his opinions; which was rarely, if ever done.

Another feature of Judge Gibson's character, which all the testimony concurs to make prominent, was the *benevolence* and *kindness* of his heart. "His was a most genial spirit; affectionate and kind to his friends, and magnanimous to his enemies. Benefits received by him were engraved on his memory as on a tablet of brass; injuries were written in sand. He never let the sun go down upon his wrath."* "There was something in his magnanimity, in his forgiving temper, in his kindly charity, in his capacity to appreciate excellence of any kind, in any form, which despite his apparent unconcern of manner and sluggishness of body, elicited and compelled affection. There was a true fire of the heart which glowed unceasingly, and cast even the splendor of his intellect into the shade. No man ever more cordially despised a cold, calculating, spider-like lawyer, weaving by day his miserable toils,

* Eulogy, 7 Harris, p. 13.

giving up nothing, retaining his grasp on every victim of chance and folly, and employing his powers only for the production of misery and the practice of oppression. No man ever spoke into being with so litte effort, ardent and permanent friendship. He sat on the Supreme Bench with twenty-six different judges, none of whom, except Judge Duncan, owed their position to his influence, and almost all of whom, on their accession, were comparative strangers to him, and yet it may be doubted whether the purest and happiest household ever lived in more absolute harmony than he enjoyed in his personal intercourse with his associates."†

We are sorry to be unable to record anything satisfactory respecting the *religious character* of the illustrious subject of the present sketch. In him as a man,—a human denizen of earth—there is everything to admire; in him as an heir of immortality, and a subject of the government and gracious dispensations of God, there is much the want of which we mourn. The evidences which Mr. Porter has gathered of a religious element in his nature, are very meagre,—his attachment to the doctrines of the Episcopal Church, his occasional emotion under the preaching of the Gospel, and a letter of condolence to a gentleman who had been bereaved of a most excellent mother. Against these, meagre as they are, the great blemish of his character, profanity,—also a family heir-loom—is a sad offset. We fear that like many of the leading minds of the day, engrossed in other pursuits, he passed the subject of religion *sub silentio*.

We venture a remark in conclusion respecting the principle of an elective judiciary which was engrafted on the Constitution of Pennsylvania in the years 1848, 1849 and 1850. We shall not attack it on its broadest ground, nor speak of it as an indication of that radical tendency of the age which has been gradually putting the power more immediately into the hands of the people, and thus changing our republicanism more and more into pure democracy; we shall interrogate it upon only one point,—can such a man as Judge Gibson, or any other

† Essay, &c., p. 127.

man, be kept, under this principle, on the Supreme Bench for thirty-seven years? That the Judiciary may produce such men, and the glory of such distinguished attainment be cast upon the ermine of the Commonwealth, it is absolutely necessary that a seat upon its Bench be not an ephemeral position. Rotation in office would be utterly destructive of any such results. We not only seriously doubt whether Judge Gibson could have been nominated and elected when he was appointed to the Supreme Bench, but we doubt whether he could have been kept there for a succession of years, when in his highest vigor. The highest qualifications of a Judge are of all others those which the people are least able to comprehend or appreciate, and the office is of all others the one which ought to be kept out of the arena of party strife. There is not a political party in this country which would hesitate for a moment to drop the name of such a man as Gibson from its ticket, if in a contest characterised by partizan zeal and clap-trap, he did not seem to have the shallow qualification of availability. His nomination in 1851 was the result of strenuous exertion on the part of a few devoted personal friends, and two votes less than he received in convention would have lost to the State the remainder of his life,—and this with all the prestige of his unequalled career with which to confront the claims of inferior men! *O tempora, O mores.*

Besides, there seems to be in Pennsylvania, as Mr. Porter remarks, a disposition to overthrow rather than to sustain men of distinguished ability. "It has long been the subject of remark both at home and abroad, that it seems only necessary for a man of more than ordinary capacity to appear in the politics of the State, to be struck at by every other politician, both great and small." This narrow jealousy, and green-eyed envy of true greatness, made to bear upon the prejudices of the suspicious multitude, will be perpetually fatal to our production of eminent statesmen, and may forever keep us from having a President, unless some medium man should "wake up some morning and find himself famous." As long as this disposition prevails in Pennsylvania it will be most unfit to select its Supreme Judges, and we shall despair of seeing the repeti-

tion of such a career as that of Chief Justice Gibson. "If the same feeling had prevailed in Virginia and South Carolina, Massachusetts and Kentucky, where then had been the great lights of our firmament?"

There is as much intellectual material in Pennsylvania as in any other of her sister commonwealths. In her population she presents as broad a basis for the development of the highest products of mind as is to be found on this continent. She combines in admirable proportion the two most sterling races which have ever put foot upon these shores—the German and the Scotch-Irish. Nothing but a suicidal policy can dwarf her intellectual development in the bud. Let us hope for the best, and in the mean time let us be thankful for such a beacon-light as the name of JOHN BANNISTER GIBSON.

Chambersburg, Pa. J. C.

ART. V.—ABELARD, ABRAHAM, ADAM.

WE take pleasure in announcing that the Rev. Dr. Bomberger of Philadelphia has begun the preparation of a "Theological and Religious Encyclopedia" on the basis of "Herzog's Real Encyclopedia für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche." The work will be published in twelve monthly parts by Lindsay & Blakiston, the first to appear during January, 1856, and the whole to comprise two large super royal volumes of about 750 double column pages each. Instead of a translation, it will be rather a free re-production of Herzog under an abridged form, and so modified as to be adapted to the wants of the Church peculiar to America. The undertaking is sustained by the co-operation of several divines and theologians belonging to different Christian denominations. For scientific structure, profound research, extensive learning, and fidelity to Jesus Christ, the work of Herzog, taking the first three volumes as a criterion of the whole, is in advance of all others issued on the Continent of Europe. With

such a basis, the Editor and his coadjutors, can, we believe, produce something truly valuable to fill up a chasm in the theological Literature of the English Language

The Reivew has been favored with several articles in advance of the first number, to which we give place both on account of their intrinsic merits and as a specimen of the forthcoming Encyclopedia.—Eds.

ABELARD.

ABELARD (Peter,) a prominent champion of scholasticism, celebrated for his personal attractions, for the romantic interest of his life, and the scientific influence he exerted upon the age in which he lived, was born in Palais, between Nantes and Poictiers, in 1079. His father was a man of rank and opulence, and enjoying himself the advantages of a liberal education, he determined that his son, who gave early indications of an acute and lively genius, should have every opportunity of cultivating and improving his mind. The youth amply repaid the care bestowed upon him by the rapid progress he made in learning. In the ardor of his literary enthusiasm, he relinquished the patrimony to which he was entitled as the oldest son, that he might devote himself entirely to scientific pursuits. Logic soon became his favorite study; and that he might become thoroughly acquainted with it, as we learn from an unpublished document of his own, and also from a letter of Roscellin recently discovered at Munich, he received instruction from that distinguished advocate of Nominalism at the age of thirteen. In search of learning as a sort of literary adventurer, he was at length drawn to Paris by the fame of William of Champeaux, who was at the head of the school of strict Realism. Here his penetrating mind soon enabled him to expose the fallacies of his teacher's reasonings, and to compel him to modify his system. Conscious of his superior abilities he not long after established a school of his own, first at Melun, where the French court then resided, and subsequently at Corbeil, in the neighborhood of Paris. By his excessive application to study his health however became so impaired, that for the purpose of restoring it he was obliged, for the space of two years, to seek the bracing atmosphere of his native village. Upon his return to Paris, William, in great dissatisfaction, left the

field of dialectic controversy to his competitor, and retired to the Abbey of St. Victor. Flattered by his success as a teacher of philosophy, Abelard now sought to add to his reputation as scholar in the sphere of theology, and with that object in view placed himself under the care of William's old preceptor, Anselm of Laon. He was however so little satisfied with his instruction, that he forsook his lectures and devoted himself privately to the study of the Scriptures and the ancient fathers. Nor was it long before he thought himself fully qualified for the office to which he aspired. As a proof of it he undertook for a wager, to explain the difficult prophecy of Ezekiel, which he did with so much dialectic skill as greatly to increase the number of his admirers. It provoked however the jealousy and resentment of Anselm, and he forbade the continuance of his lectures. This obliged Abelard once more to return to Paris, where his fame as a lecturer became so widely known, that young men from all parts of Western Christendom flocked to him that they might receive instruction at his feet.

But it was at this period of his life, that his activity was interrupted by his romantic attachment to a young lady equally accomplished and beautiful. She was the niece of the prebendary Fulbert, in her eighteenth year, when the heart is most susceptible of tender emotions. With her personal charms was blended an air of modesty and grace that rendered her irresistibly attractive. She was, moreover, fond of learning, and was desirous of acquiring a knowledge of its higher branches. Her uncle was disposed to indulge her, but he wished to do it at as little expense as possible. Abelard hearing of it proposed to board in his family and to become the instructor of his beautiful niece. The uncle was pleased with the proposition, and was so imprudent as to resign the pupil entirely to the control of her teacher, even enjoining it upon him to correct her if necessary. Abelard managed to render himself very agreeable to the young lady. Instead of the dull precepts of philosophy he taught her the delightful lessons of love, and succeeded in so insinuating himself into her affections that in the end he was obliged to fly with her to the house of his sister, where she gave birth to a son, whom she named Astrolabius. Heloise was

also of most romantic character. Abelard gained her love by his reputation as a scholar as well as by his talents for music and poetry. When he proposed to restore her honor by giving her his hand in marriage, she refused for the reason that it would interfere with his studies as well as with his clerical preferment. She at length yielded her objections and they were privately married. Heloise, however, regardless of her reputation, persisted in denying it, which so incensed her uncle that to avoid his resentment Abelard sent her to the convent of Argenteuil. Regarding this as a slight upon his niece and a desire to get rid of her, Fulbert became the more enraged and meditated a terrible revenge. The unfortunate man was seized in his chamber at night by hired assassins, who inflicted upon him a cruel and most degrading mutilation. Hearing of this Heloise took the veil in Argenteuil, and Abelard sought admittance to the convent of St. Dennis, where crowds again attended upon his lectures.

Here the persons opposed to him before at Laon, excited by the peculiar views he expressed in his dialectic treatment of the doctrine of the Trinity, were led to prefer charges against him to the Archbishop of Rheims. Arraigned before the synod he relieved himself from many of the charges by an appeal to Augustine. The complaint, however, that the doctrine of the Trinity, as held by the Church, was at variance with his Nominalistic view, was sustained, and he was compelled to cast his *Introductio ad Theologiam* into the fire, to retract the symbol *Quicunque*, and to confine himself to the convent of St. Medard. The proceeding, however, did not meet with general favor, and after some time he was allowed to return to St. Dennis.

Here he brought himself into difficulty by his historical criticisms. He did not suppose that it was Dionysius the Areopagite and disciple of Paul, who was the patron of their monastery. The result was that he was obliged to leave the place. Wearied at length with perpetual conflicts he determined to seek repose, and having obtained permission from the king he erected a chapel in the neighborhood of Nogent, in the diocess of Troyes, where in the desert he again collected a

crowd of scholars, who to enjoy the benefit of his instruction were willing to submit to the inconveniences of a hermit life. Here he felt himself so comfortable that he dedicated his chapel to the Holy Ghost and called it Paraclete. This again gave offence to his enemies, who regarded it as intended to insinuate the views which he durst not openly avow. In the persecutions which followed they were joined by St. Norbert, the founder of the order of Premontre, and by the still more powerful St. Bernard. The clamor raised against the unfortunate man was so great that many of his friends were carried away by the popular prejudice, and no one ventured to interpose in his favor. He at length made up his mind to seek an asylum in some heathen land, and was only induced to abandon his purpose by his election to the Abbacy of the convent of St. Gildas.

In the meantime he had given the management of the Paraclete, with the consent of Innocent II., to Heloise, who with the rest of nuns had been driven from the convent of Argenteuil.

Thus far he wrote his own history, and with the close of the narrative commences his correspondence with Heloise. Beyond this nothing is certain but that he broke off all communication with St. Gildas and opened his school again at Paris. It is probable that his re-appearance at Paris stirred up anew the wrath of his ancient enemy St. Bernard. At all events charges were preferred against him at a Council which was held at Sens in 1140, from the decision of which Abelard appealed to Rome. St. Bernard, however, had anticipated him with the pope, and procured a confirmation of the sentence of the Council, by which he and his pupil Arnold of Brescia were condemned to perpetual confinement. The venerable Peter de Clugny now offered the deeply humbled and sorely afflicted man an asylum, not without some feelings of resentment towards St. Bernard, the Champion of the order of Cistercians. Abelard consented to retract his propositions, yet without actually recanting, and Peter procured his reconciliation with Rome. At Clugny he spent some time in study, in correspondence with Heloise, and in rigid monkish ascetism. That he might obtain a healthier residence Peter recommended him to

the priory of St. Marcellus, near Chalons, where he died on the 21st of April, 1142, in the 63d year of his age. Peter accompanied the funeral to the Paraclete, and Heloise affixed to the corpse the letter of absolution from the hands of his confessor. She survived as the Abbess of the Paraclete two and twenty years (†16th May, 1164), highly esteemed and honored. At her death she was placed in the same tomb with her lover, and afterwards in the same coffin. When the Abbey of the Paraclete was destroyed during the troubles of the Revolution, their remains were preserved, and in 1817 were removed to Paris and interred in the cemetery of Pere La Chaise, where her monument to this day is frequently decorated with the garlands of deceased lovers.

Abelard's intellectual significance is seen, not merely in the submissive adherence of his followers, but also in the strenuous opposition of his adversaries; and if Bernard is to be taken as the representative of the authority and faith of the age, it is the fact also that Abelard represents the principle of free inquiry and rational criticism. His acquirements were by no means extraordinary. He was acquainted with Roman literature, and with Greek so far as it was translated into Latin; but a knowledge of Greek, and especially Hebrew, he had not. Abelard's philosophy consists in dialectics. Of the wide range which science has taken in Physics, Metaphysics and Ethics since the beginning of the 13th century, no traces are found in his writings. It is only within the last 19 years, and through the labors of Cousin, that his views as a dialectician have been clearly ascertained. He was not a Realist. In his first controversy with William of Champeaux he compelled him materially to modify his system. Just as little was he a Nominalist. On the contrary he was decidedly opposed to the doctrine of Roscellin. Abelard's position was intermediate as it regards both systems, to define which the term Conceptualism was employed. He insisted upon the actual significance of ideas in conception, as the human mind was able to form them. They were in his estimation not properly realities, constituting in some supersensuous sphere different from the visible world a world-system of their own. Nor were they, on the other

hand, mere words, empty air; they were really ideas, inasmuch as the human mind which frames and is occupied with them cannot be satisfied with nullities. Abelard's strength, owing to his fine critical talents, was exhibited rather in his conflict with both extremes than in a clear and well-defined establishment of an intermediate system. The qualified Realism or Nominalism (for the intermediate theory may be designated by either phrase) which Abelard advocated, was the view entertained by Thomas Aquinas, who insisted upon a significance, a certain reality for the general idea as apprehended scientifically, or otherwise science would be occupied with a mere phantasm.

Abelard, as was usual with the scholastics of his day, distinguished between the pre-supposed significance of church faith, and the attempt to prove it in a dialectic way. But his method was not at all the same with that of Anselm of Canterbury, and was decidedly different from the manner in which church authority allows the use of reason. According to Anselm, faith and knowledge are perfectly congruous, so that the results of honest speculation are always in harmony with the belief of the Church, and free inquiry is altogether compatible with submission to its authority. With Abelard the superiority of reason is everywhere indicated, and harmonizes with the faith of the Church more on account of outward considerations than of any inward necessity. He everywhere professes to agree with the Church, quotes freely from the church fathers, and acknowledges the authority of its symbols, even upon points for which there is no warrant in the Scriptures, and yet the faith of the Church is not for him the absolute truth, but a problem for the proof of which speculation was entitled to credit. He by no means intended, in his various discussions of the idea of the Trinity, that the three persons could only be represented thus and no otherwise, but simply, that for the manner in which they are presented to view sufficient arguments can be found. His object, accordingly, was not to establish the faith of the Church, but to confirm the view, and thus silence his opponents. His chief problem was the idea of the Trinity; but he does not insist upon a specifically Chris-

tian idea, partaking of the character of revelation, but endeavors to show by analogies that it was possible and within the range of our thoughts. How little his whole conception partook of an exclusively Christian character appears from his attempt to show that Plato and the heathen sages had not simply intimations, but a pretty full knowledge of the Christian dogma.

Abelard's dialectic method consisted chiefly in seizing hold of the objectionable side of a dogma, encumbered with all possible difficulties, and then solving them in such a way as to indicate that the language in which the question was expressed would admit of a double sense; as for instance, in the idea of necessity in the union of the divine foreknowledge with human freedom, and in that of volition, in the question whether all comes to pass that God wills. The whole system of dogmatics is brought out in his treatment of the divine attributes. The incarnation of the Son is treated under the head of omnipotence in the question whether it is still possible for God to become man; the two natures of Christ under that of immutability, and his appearance in the flesh under that of omnipresence, according to which God is always everywhere present.

Abelard established no school of his own, if we are to understand by it an exclusive circle of followers, who received and perpetuated his doctrines. In order to this, his investigations were too critical, the results too little positive, and the opposition of the church authorities too violent. But the influence of his keen rationalizing spirit was powerfully felt around him, as the attachment of his followers under the most adverse circumstances fully shows. The later scholastics borrowed much from him as to outward form; for instance, the array against each other of the authorities of the ancient classics and those of Christian times, in imitation of his *sic et non;* and also the arrangement of the dogmatic matter in "Lombard's Sentences," which appeared soon after his day. On the other hand, keen Rationalism in the discussion of dogmas became speechless before the powerful strides of church authority. Then came the time of the Sententiarii and the Summists, when the dogmatic material was most extensively worked up. But even

if criticism made a decision between the *videtur quod sic* and the *videtur quod non*, it durst not make it with the bold self-reliance of an Abelard.

Charles Remusat's *Abelard*, *Paris*, 1845, 2 vols., is quite comprehensive and full, and attempts an analysis both of his philosophical and theological systems. It is to be regretted that he was not more thoroughly versed in dogmatic studies. He was ignorant of the connexion between Abelard's theory of the Trinity and that of Augustine, and also passed an erroneous judgment upon the merits of Scholasticism as it was advocated after the time of Abelard by Lombard and some of his disciples.

RETTBERG.—*Dr. Wolff.*

ABRAHAM.

ABRAHAM, son of Terah, and 10th in lineal descent from Shem, was a native of Ur Chasdim. About the date of his birth there has been much dispute. Gen. 11 : 26 says, that after Terah's 70th year he begat three sons, of whom Abraham (though probably the youngest, Gen. 20 : 12) is named first, because the Mosaic chronology follows the line of promise. In Gen. 11 : 32 we are told that Terah died at the age of 205 years ; and in Gen. 12 : 1 that Abraham was summoned by the Lord to leave his kindred and country in his 75th year, consequently 60 years before his father's death. Thus his birth would occur according to the Hebrew text, A. M., 1946, or 290 years after the flood. But in Acts 7 : 4 Stephen says that Abraham left Ur *after* his father's death. This seeming discrepancy, however, will disappear, upon the reasonable presumption that Stephen conformed to a common notion of the Jews, who, unwilling to suppose Abraham guilty of a violation of the principle laid down in the 4th commandment, regarded Terah as having *died spiritually* upon his relapse into idolatry, which happened during Abraham's earlier years.*

* This is the most natural of the several proposed solutions of the difficulty. The explanation based upon the suppositon that Abraham was the son of a subsequent wife, and not born until Terah was 130 years old, cannot be reconciled with Gen. 11 : 26, which plainly means to indicate the time when, or about which, the three sons named were born. Moreover, such accommodations, in reference to the accidents of the subject treated, are of frequent occurrence. (See Art *Accommodation.*)

Although the original abode of the family of Terah was Ur Chasdim, they had removed at the time Abraham is brought specially into notice, to Haran in Mesopotamia. It was there Abraham was called of God, and from thence in obedience to that call that he went forth in faith, with his wife Sarah, and Lot the son of his brother Haran, to the land of Canaan. In order rightly to understand the *purposes of Providence* in His guidance of Abraham, we must briefly review *the history of the kingdom of God on earth* to the period of Abraham's call. The first great promise given after the fall of man (Gen. 3: 15,) opened the prospect of the ultimate triumph of the human race over the principle and power of sin, and summoned the entire race to battle with the great deceiver. But no full response was given to this solemn call. On the contrary, the sinful propensities of the race became so fearfully predominant (Gen. 6,) that a general judgment by the flood was called for, to prepare the world for commencing its history anew. The execution of that judgment took effect, however, with a wise reference to the historical continuity of the race, whilst there yet remained *one family* which was not wholly spoiled by abounding corruptions, and which God might preserve as the channel through whose posterity the promised redemption of mankind might ultimately come (1 Peter 3 : 18, 21.) But the depravity of the old race soon developed itself in the progeny of the new, though in a modified form, viz : in that of *Heathenism*, the hour of whose nativity is indicated by the haughty declaration of the builders of Babel (Gen. 11 : 4.) Abandoning God, and contemning *His future salvation*, they hoped by their own power and wisdom to procure a more satisfactory *present* salvation. A second judgment, therefore, was required, and it was executed in the confusion of tongues and scattering of the people. There was no extermination of the race in this case, because Heathenism, though an ungodly development, was still purely human in its character, and therefore retained the capability of restoration to God, and possessed germs whose productions (in art, science, and civilization) could and should be made subservient to the kingdom of God. But the separation of mankind was necessary to break the force of

the gigantic audacity and pride of this primæval communism. Thenceforth God left the scattered tribes to their own ways (Acts 14 : 16,) that time might show how much or little human power and wisdom could effect, and that mankind might be reconciled at length to the purposes and plans of their Creator (Luke 15 : 11–32.) The attractions of youthful heathenism, however, soon proved too powerful even for the piety of the Shemite branch of Noah's posterity, and Terah, Abraham's father, appears as an idolater (Josh. 24 : 2 ; Judith 5 : 6, 7.) It was time once more for God to interfere, and for the third time open a new way for the scheme of Redemption. This was done by the *choice* and *call of Abraham* (Gen. 12 : 1–3.) This call included a command and a promise ; the *command* was, that he should separate from his kindred and father's house, and yield with unquestioning faith to the guidance of God ; the *promise* was, that he should be the father of a numerous and richly blessed posterity. But Abraham being childless and his wife barren, the fulfilment of the promise became *physically* impossible, so that the series of events which started in him, progressed by means of miracles and intervening grace on the part of God, and the exercise of faith, obedience and hope on the part of Abraham. At first the transaction involved only a single individual, but immediately announced a scheme of universal application :—" In thee shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." This must not be understood, however, as a definite allusion to a personal, individual Messiah or Saviour (any more than Gen. 3 : 15, or 9 ; 26,) for " Abraham's seed " designates the totality of his posterity. Neither can Hengstenberg's assumption be allowed (Christol. I., 57, upon Gen. 18 : 17, and John 8 : 56,) that some clearer revelations upon this subject, of which we have no record, were granted to the Patriarch. Christ (John 8 : 56) spake of Abraham's expectation, realized by his faith (Heb. 11 : 1,) in the light of N. T. fulfilment. All the hopes of the Patriarchs touching the promised salvation were then yet limited to their national development, and it was only after this cherished expectation had been realized, and *one* man appeared as the Saviour and Deliverer of His people, that the prophecy began

more definitely to point to a *personal* Messiah. This occurred first in the case of Moses (Deut. 18: 18, etc.,) still more clearly with David and Solomon (2 Sam. 7: 12–16.)—Abraham obeyed the Divine call. Halting near Sichem in the plain of Moreh (Gen. 12: 6,) Jehovah appeared to him declaring: "This land will I give unto thy seed;" and Abraham marked the place by erecting an altar and worshipping the Lord. But soon a famine prevailed in the land, and Abraham, *without awaiting Divine direction*, went down to *Egypt*, the granary of the old world. There peril far worse than famine overtook him; for he had lost his wife, the appointed mother of the promised seed (see *Sarah*,) but for the timely interference of the Lord, whose faithfulness corrected the errors into which Abraham's lack of faith had led him, viz: his flight from the promised land, and dissimulation before Pharaoh. It is worthy of special notice that this incident occurred in Egypt, the subsequent scene of the afflictions of Abraham's posterity. Enriched by the gifts of Pharaoh, Abraham again returned to Palestine, and settled near Hebron, in the plain of Mamre, together with his nephew Lot. But as the possessions of both rapidly increased, and inconveniences arose from their proximity to each other, Lot (see Art. *Lot*) voluntarily left Abraham, and chose for his abode the fertile and well-watered vale of Siddim. Abraham, however, was soon required to follow him thither, to rescue him from the grasp of Chedorlaomer (Gen. 14: 1–16.) On his return from that martial excursion Abraham was met by *Melchisedek* (see Art.) priest of the Most High God (Gen. 14: 18,) and king of *Salem*, from whom he received bread and wine, and the sacerdotal blessing and sanction of his mission, as the Deliverer of the land, whilst he gave Melchisedek the tithes of all the spoils which he had taken from the vanquished king, in recognition of his priesthood. Melchisedek held in possession what Abraham had only in promise, land and people, royalty and priesthood, and was thus a type of that which Abraham's seed should realize, but which, when realized (as in Aaron, David, above all in Christ,) should be infinitely more glorious. But it was the will of God that the history of Abraham and his seed should be developed upon

the basis of a divine covenant. *The first step in this covenant* was taken when Abraham's faith in Jehovah's promise gave such proof of its strength, that it was accounted to him for righteousness (Gen. 15 : 6,) and that covenant was ratified by a sacrifice. The two halves of the sacrifice represented the two parties about to be united in the covenant. Abraham succeeded in driving away the ravenous fowls which seized upon the carcasses of the sacrifice, and after watching until sundown, fell into a trance, in which the import of the threatening omen was revealed to him (Gen. 15 : 13–17,) and he saw a smoking and fiery pillar pass through the midst of the divided sacrifice. It was the symbol of Jehovah's holiness (Ex. 3 : 2 ; 13 : 21,) the divine Shekinah. The covenant was closed, and God solemnly assumed the performance of His part of it, though this as yet was not required of Abraham. He only knew that of his body the promised seed should come (15 : 4.) Sarah, who thus far had not been named in the covenant, would not believe that at her age she could become a mother, and sought participation in the covenant by means of her handmaid, *Hagar*, (see *Hagar*,) by whom Abraham begat *Ishmael* (see *Ishmael.*) It soon, however, became manifest that Sarah's thoughts were not God's thoughts. Thus 13 years passed away, and Sarah's barrenness became more fully confirmed (Gen. 18 : 11,) when, at length, the period of the fulfilment of the first item in the promise arrived, not in the course of nature, but by the wonder-working power of grace. Then came the second stadium of the fulfilling covenant, the *circumcision* (see Art.) of Abraham and his household, in which he assumes his part of its conditions, and receives sanctified power to beget the promised son. Thus Abraham, and Sarah with him, entered upon a new epoch in their life, and thenceforth received new names. (ABRAM=*high father*) shall be called (ABRAHAM=father of a multitude,) and (SARAI=princess) (SARAH=the fruitful one.) Soon after this, whilst Abraham was sitting at the door of his tent in Mamre, *three men* drew near, celestial messengers, whom he at once recognized and reverently approached as the representatives of *Jehovah* (Gen. 18 : 3–15.) The visit, however, did not concern him as much as his wife, whose dead

womb should now receive new power of conception upon condition of her implicit faith. At first she doubted, but the holy messengers put her unbelief to shame, and inspired confidence into her doubting heart. When they arose to depart Abraham accompanied them, and on the way was informed of another object of their mission, the destruction of the corrupt cities of the vale of Siddim, a purpose which God, as his covenant friend, would not conceal from him (Gen. 18: 17.) Moved not merely by a noble humanity, or sympathizing regard for Lot, but rather by a lofty sense of his office as intercessor for the nations of the earth, the friend of God pressed his intercessions for the doomed cities. The smoking ruins of Sodom, or possibly his nomadic interests, induced Abraham to leave Hebron, and move further southward, along the lowlands of the sea, and within the dominion of the Philistian king Abimelech. There the Lord delivered him from the same danger that threatened him in Egypt, and revealed to the king Abraham's prophetic and priestly character (Gen. 20 : 7.) Abraham and Abimelech confirmed their mutual regard by a covenant (Gen. 21: 22–32,) and the place was called Beer-sheba (well of the covenant.) Meanwhile, 25 years passed since the promise was first given ; Abraham had reached his 100th, and Sarah her 90th year. At length the hour in which their anxious desires should be realized arrived, and Sarah brought forth *Isaac.* Upon the festival occasion of the weaning of the child, the rude and scornful temper of Ishmael (then in his 16th year) showed itself so offensively, that Sarah requested the dismissal of Hagar and her son, and (by the counsel of the Lord, Gen. 21: 12,) succeeded in her effort. Though it grieved the paternal heart of Abraham to part with Ishmael, he yielded obedience, and found the painfulness of the duty alleviated by the Divine assurance that Hagar's son should also be blessed, and become a great nation. This new act of self-denial prepared the patriarch to rise to that exalted faith, which should qualify him for the still severer trial which awaited him, the offering up in sacrifice of his only son, the son of his love, upon *Moriah.*

The divine command (Gen. 22 : 2) distinctly directed Abra-

ham to take the son of the promise and offer him slain as a burnt-offering unto the Lord. It is wholly unjustifiable to explain this command, as some have recently attempted to do, as having required nothing more than a spiritual dedication of the child to God, and as having been misapprehended by Abraham. The language is explicit, and was unquestionably designed to impress Abraham as it did; though it is equally clear that the purpose of the Lord was simply to "tempt" Abraham, and prove his hearty readiness to obey God, even when He required what was most difficult and incomprehensible. The subsequent prevention of the fatal stroke shows this. It was necessary, however, to require of Abraham the outward act, that he might give proof of the full and unreserved surrender of his heart in faith and obedience to God, and in order that all *reservatio mentalis*, all conference with flesh and blood, all self-deception, might be wholly excluded. It is true that fanatics grossly misinterpret and misapply this passage; but the Christian expositor must not let himself be tempted by their folly to deny its real import. The issue of this incident is a sufficient rebuke to such fanaticism. Even though human sacrifices were not condemned by the Mosaic Law, as an abomination before God, the event itself declares this distinctly enough. For since the angel of the Lord withheld the uplifted hand of Abraham from slaying his son, it must be manifest to every sane reader of this narrative, that before God the true and acceptable sacrifice is the devotion of heart and soul in unreserved surrender to Him, and that whatever exceeds this is a displeasing abomination in His sight. And it is precisely in this revealed difference between what is true and false in man's offerings to the Lord, that we find the deep significance of the entire transaction for Abraham's posterity. It exhibits the victory of the light of revelation and the divinely inspired hope of redemption, over the clouded consciousness of heathenism. It is a divine rejection, once for all times, of human sacrifices. Thus at the commencement of its history, the Jewish nation broke through the barriers of pagan superstitions, and left their cruel errors in the rear. Those, indeed, who see in the immolation of human beings only the

densest darkness of paganism, who can discover in those revolting sacrifices nothing but evidences of the grossest degradation and barbarism, and cannot admit that any deep and earnest truth (though in a fearfully distorted form) lies at their root, must also fail to discern in the narrative before us its solemn and significant allusions to man's deepest wants. The *truth* involved in human sacrifices is found in our consciousness of the inadequacy of the sacrifice of beasts to atone for the sins of men, and the desire to lay a more costly offering upon the altar; the *perversion* of that truth by which sinful self-deception is occasioned consists in this, that human life is not thus sanctified, but destroyed; that no true propitiation is thereby offered to Deity, inasmuch as the being sacrificed is himself unholy; and finally, that the sacrifice cannot be vicarious, because it is usually constrained. The sacrificial homicide of heathenism is a shriek of despair, the harsh discords of which are first harmonized in the ONE *great sacrifice* of Calvary, and there elevated to a jubilee of redeemed humanity. The command, therefore, to offer up Isaac has important bearings upon the human sacrifices of paganism, with reference to which it must be considered in order to our proper apprehension of it. Abraham saw in those sacrifices, which appear to have been more frequent among the Canaanites than other surrounding nations, and the smoke of which arose from every adjacent hill-top, how cheerfully parents offered their children to propitiate their deities. If there was any truth in such painful and bloody consecrations, it became Abraham, as the chosen representative of the true religion, to recognise and conform to it; but on the other hand, it was meet that he should exemplify God's abhorrence of the evil it involved. The former was accomplished by his obedience to the command of God; the latter by the divine interposition in the case. Furthermore, the example of the heathen rendered it desirable to test Abraham's willingness to do as much for his God, if required, as they did for their idols. And this trial became the more necessary if ever the matter had presented itself in this form to his own heart; for his entire life, internal and external, was to be one of self-denial and surrender to the Lord. This,

therefore, is also a reason for the divine command, though not the only one. The generation of Isaac was rendered possible by a divine miracle, but still was effected within the usual course of nature, which was indeed symbolically (by circumcision) purified, but not wholly released from the carnality and impurity of the flesh. Isaac, consequently, though the son of promise and grace, still bore the stain of natural generation, which it was necessary to renounce. And here we find the symbolical import of the transaction. What circumcision was for the father, this offering should be for the son,—*that* the symbol of consecration to the begetting of the child promised, *this* the symbol of the consecration of the child begotten for the promise. The transaction had, moreover, a *subjective* significance for Abraham. His love for Isaac needed purification and sanctification. Having begotten him in the flesh (though by divine intervention,) his love was still carnal. The perfection of his faith, however, requires the crucifixion of all mere earthly love for his son, as at the first it required the forsaking of father and mother, kindred and friends. This done, he receives the beloved sacrifice anew from the hands of God, which thus becomes entirely a gift of grace. As the circumcision of Abraham was to be repeated in every subsequent member of the covenant, so too the offering up of Isaac. But as in this case the sacrifice required was ideal and not actual, so it thenceforth suffices for his posterity, and the presentation of the firstborn in the temple became its substituted symbol. Still another thought is suggested. Although Abraham was exhausted by age, he believed God when he promised that his seed should be as the stars in number. Will he hold fast to this promise in spite of the knife? He did (Gen. 22 : 56;) for he believed that the Lord who quickened Sarah's barren womb, could also raise up Isaac from the dead (Heb. 11 : 19.) Yet this victory of faith was not easy for him; for instead of being permitted to execute the command upon the spot, he was required to make a three day's journey, during which faith and fear might contend with each other in his heart, that the victory might be more complete. We have already considered the import of God's timely intervention, in its reference to human sacrifices,

and it only remains to notice the substitution of the ram. The perplexity into which the covenant-people of God might fall, with regard to suitable propitiatory sacrifices, was relieved by this miraculous provision; the Lord Himself legitimizing the substitution of a beast, and by the selection of Moriah for the execution of the sacrifice; consecrating the spot upon which the future services of their Temple should be performed. *With* this victory of faith, by this steadfastness in his vocation, Abraham reached the crowning point in his history, and thenceforth he passed his days in peace and quietness, without being subjected to new tests, enduring other conflicts, or gaining additional victories, until "full of years," he was gathered unto his fathers. The sacred narrative, however, reports one additional act, illustrative of his faith: the prophetic purchase of the cave of Machpelah (see Art.) near Hebron, as a burying-place. He would have his bones, with those of his beloved Sarah, repose in the midst of the land which his distant posterity should inherit, as an abiding memento and assurance, during their painful sojourn for 400 years in a strange country, that that land should once be theirs. After Sarah's death Abraham married Keturah, who bare him six sons, the ancestors of as many Arabic nations. Having richly endowed these and Ishmael, out of his vast possessions, and made Isaac heir of the residue, Abraham died at the age of 175 years, and was buried by Isaac and Ishmael, by the side of Sarah, in the cave of Machpelah. Mohammedans, Jews, and Christians, vie with each other in their praises of Abraham. His natural descendants are innumerable. Other nations have arisen and vanished, but the posterity of Abraham have continued through all ages, unmixed and unchanged. And their mission is not yet completed. They still enjoy the blessing of Abraham's seed, and remain unconsumed amid the wars of nations and the changes of the times. But that which most distinguished Abraham was, not his humano-national, but his *spiritual* character. Wherever this has descended to his posterity, or communicated itself to other people, there are his true children (Gal. 3: 7, 29; Rom. 9: 6–8.) And if we would rightly apprehend his relation to the history of the world, or that of re-

demption, we must regard him as the *father of the faithful.* For countless as the stars of heaven, and bright as they, are his spiritual children. His faith, which was reckoned unto him for righteousness, is the prototype of Christian faith. His life, although it anticipated a development of 2000 years, exhibited what would form the substance and beauty of the Christian character (Rom. 4.) The title applied to him by James (2 : 23,) "the friend of God," is familiar among the Eastern Mohammedans to this day (*Khalil-Allah*, or simply *el-Khalil.*) Rabbinical tradition ascribes to him the invention of the alphabet, as well as superior skill in Astronomy, Astrology, Philosophy, and Chemistry, and supplies the lack of the marvellous in the Bible narrative with many fabulous legends (see *Othonis* lex. Rabbin, p. 2; *Eisenmenger* entd. Jud. I., 490, etc.) Allusions to him are also found in Grecian traditions. According to N. Damascenus, Abraham came from Chaldea with a vast company, and founded the kingdom of Damascus (Joseph. Ant. I., 7, § 2.) Justin (36, 2, 3) makes him the 4th king of Damascus. (Com. *Herbelot*, biblioth, orient. art. *Abraham*; and Hottinger, Hist. Orient. p. 50.)

The genealogical relations of the history of Abraham have of late been understood by some only ethnographically, as by *Ewald* (Gesch. d. Volkes, Dr.) and Bertheau (Zur Gesch. d. Israel.) According to the latter, Abraham was the leader of vast hordes who migrated from the mountainous districts of Chaldea towards the south-west; in support of which view Bertheau refers to Gen. 14, and the above-cited Greek traditions. KURTZ (OF DORPAT.)*

ADAM.

ADAM *and his Sons.*—The name (ADAM LXX, *'Αδαμ*, Lat. *Adamus*, Adam, Adae) is mostly erroneusly derived from ADAMAH=earth, the more simple form deduced from the more complex; or more correctly, as far as the form of the word is concerned, from DAM=blood, and ADAM=to be red, with reference to the beauty of the bright roseate skin of the first pair in contrast with an original dark race (*Joseph.* Antiq. 2, I; *Targum Jonathan* on Gen. 2 : 7; *Leusden*, Onomasticum

sacr. s. v. *Adam*; *Marck*, hist. paradisi, 2, 5; *Gesenius* Lexicon.) Sir W. Jones suggests the Sanscrit *Adim*=first! It seems far more natural and correct to derive it from the old verb ADAM=to render compact, to establish, whence also ADAMAH=prince. He is the *First-man* (πρωτοκτιστος, πρωτοπλαστος) created on the sixth day, after all the other works of creation had been brought forth (Gen. 1: 26–31.) His creation is not mentioned as the others are named, as the result simply of the divine *word*, but as following a special deliberation, "let us make man," and designed for a more exalted purpose, viz. to bear and reveal the image of God. Furthermore man is represented as the proximate *end* for which God created the other five days' (Epochs?) works, which present a regular gradation, finding in *man* their unity and consummation, so that creation is objectively comprehended in him. On the other hand man is the eye and the selfconsciousness of creation, in so far as the entire corporeal world besides furnishes only a onesided representation of that which is completed in his organized personality. For man possesses, in higher potency, all the powers and kingdoms of nature in himself, as subservient to his personality. And finally, the apprehension of creation as a divine revelation (a view of the subject which is coeval with man and certainly older than primeval poetry (*Herder*,) and also perfectly consistent with the reality of what occurred, as well as with unprejudiced reason,) is based upon man's original, clear and sincere contemplation of himself and the rest of God's works around him. Thus man (in respect of consciousness) may be regarded as subjectively comprehending creation in himself. The formation of man's body, out of the earth (OFAR MINHOAIDAMAH,) and the breathing in of the breath of life (NISHMAS HAJM,) as well as the successive creation of man and woman, are described in the second chapter of the divine record (Gen. 2: 4, &c.,) characterized by the use of the name *Jehovah*. Traces of this record are found in many old traditions, which evidently proceed from a confused knowledge of the conflict occasioned by the fall in the soul of man, and are modified by a predominant conception of that peculiar constitution of man which was given to him with

reference to that sad event. Anthropology must find its proper basis in this record. Man, in his entire being, is *the image of God.* This doubtless was originally referred to the sensible manifestations of deity, inasmuch as in that theophanistic epoch God always appeared in human form. But even that view involved the conscious distinction between the external and internal, soul and body, or as still more profoundly conceived, body, soul and spirit; for man first became a living soul after the inbreathing of the spirit (Gen. 2: 7.) This *image of God* consists substantially in a *personality related to the Divine. Baumgarten's* distinction between the two inner potencies is erroneous: *soul=substance, spirit=activity,* (*Grundzuege d. bibl. Theol.* 322;) for the reverse use of the terms occurs in the O. T., where the *soul* is spoken of as the acting or suffering agent. *Stirm* also mistakes the true distinction (*bibl.-anthrop. Untersuchungen*, Tübinger Zeits. für Theol. 1834, No. 3, p. 26;) likewise *J. N. Crusius* and *Delitzsch* (*bibl. prophet. Theol.* § 1887,) soul=spirit as connected with matter; and *Beck* (*bibl. Sittenlehre*, § 16, &c.) in treating them as expressing a distinction of substances instead of potencies. *Hoffman*, however, discusses the subject with great ability (*Weissagung u. Erfuellung im A. u. N. T.*, I. 18,) only he errs in regarding the spirit, because breathed in, as not belonging essentially and permanently to the personality of man. The correct view is this: the *spirit* is the innermost principle of man's personality in its consciousness of being a creature of God and therefore related to Him; the *soul* is the principle of individuality, rendered a human individuality by its relation to the spirit, and consequently the principle on which the support and development of man's corporeal life depends (vis animalis.)

A disregard of these anthropological principles has occasioned the prevalent misapprehension of the import of the "*Image of God*" (see Article.) Earlier expositors endeavored to solve the difficulty by distinguishing between ZELIM (*εικων*, imago) and DEMUS (*ομοιωσις*, similitudo,) the former as expressing a *physical, created,* the latter a *moral* and *acquired* resemblance (*Clemens Alex., Origen,*) or the one bodily, the other intellec-

tual (*Augustine.*) The scholastics referred the *image* to the soul, the *likeness* to the body as the expression of the soul (image of the image.) Modern writers speak indefinitely of a prevailing popular opinion which is supposed to be set forth, by way of accommodation, in this doctrine (*Baumgarten-Crusius* 321,) or were content with finding the "image" in man's dominion over brutes and the comparative nobler form of his body (*Colln*, bibl. Theol. I., 222,) or even in his erect posture (*Herder, Gabler*;) or they found some traces of the system of emanations (*de Wette*, bibl. Theol. §114;) or left the matter in doubt and darkness (*Lutz*, bibl. Dogmatik, 69, &c.) *Steudel* is the first to enter a better path (bibl. Theol. d. A. T. 84.) *Havernik* falls back upon the explanations of the Fathers (bibl. Theol. d. A. T. 56, &c.) In Genesis, however, the *image* is expressly stated as that which *qualified* Adam for exercising dominion over other creatures (1 : 26, 28;) and the second narrative (Gen, 2 : 7) further explains this by stating the origin of man's *personality*, and speaks (Gen. 2 : 15) of the complete control given to man over the creature as his proper destiny, of his intellectual and self-conscious reflections (Gen. 2 : 19, 20) upon surrounding creation by which he becomes sensible of his loneliness, and which is still further developed upon the creation of the woman (v. 23.) *Personality*, therefore, is the *image of God* in Adam. Adam, as *dust*, (OSAT) is in affinity with other creatures of the earth; as a *spirit* (NESHOMAH) he is related to God, and constituted a mediator between God and the creature. His godlike life should be developed according to the law of personality, in freedom of the will. This divine life should become a divine-human life, and as such control itself and impress itself upon entire creation, so that the whole earth might reflect the image of God and be a manifest expression of His will. And this actually occurred in man's *primeval state.* He was perfectly happy. The traditional longings of all nations after that state show that the remembrance of it still lingered in the human heart. Primeval man lived in unclouded union with nature, which was created for him, as he had been for the enjoyment of it. Labor (Gen. 1 : 15) was not an exhausting toil (Gen. 3 : 17, 19.) His life vigorous and secure, cheerful and bright.

His dominion over creation was natural, unresisted, divinely blessed (Gen. 1: 27;) so that God himself first excites in Adam (Gen. 2: 18, 20) a sense of loneliness, in order to gratify it in a more exalted sphere of being. His self-consciousness found full satisfaction in itself as comprehending the consciousness of God, who was thus ever present to him, and whom he reverenced with the simplicity and fervor of filial regard (Gen. 1: 27; 2: 6, 15, 18.) Even the distinction between finite and infinite was unknown to him, as well as the diversity of his various moral relations to God. But this state of *innocence*, of simple natural rectitude, is to be clearly distinguished from that *righteousness* which is obtained by struggling faith, and most especially from that *holiness* which is, through grace, the final result of our spiritual conflicts. Adam lived in ignorance of evil, learned its possibility indeed from the prohibition, but not its reality. He lived in like happy ignorance of the fruits of sin. The kingdom of *death* was unknown to him, its sense of guilt, fear, the power of evil, pain, physical derangement. Physiological development did not yet involve suffering and pain; it merely promoted the pleasant sense of life, and labor was the playful exercise of its powers. Primeval man is not said to be exempt from bodily death; its possibility is spoken of as something distant (3: 22,) and hence its mortality is assumed. But as physical death had not yet become the penal consequence of sin (Gen. 2: 17; 3: 19,) his dying would have been painless transition to a higher life. In exercising his *intelligence* man was confined to the contemplation of himself and the world around him, but always in the light of his consciousness and love of God. His knowledge, therefore, must have been infallible, though at first childish, in opposition to the theory of the higher culture of the primeval race, which is maintained by the school of *Schelling*, in the doctrine of the degeneracy of man from a more exalted state. Equally erroneous is the theory which assumes a low brutish condition as the primeval state of man (*Buffon*, *Voltaire*, &c.) The original destiny of Adam, in a natural view, was the development of the human race (Gen. 1: 28.) Sexuality and procreation, therefore, are not the results of sin; neither do they constitute

the original sin of Adam and Eve (as the Mystics hold;) much less tenable is the Jewish-Platonic conceit that Adam was primitively a man-woman (*Androgyne*, *Maimonides More Nebhochim* 2, 30; *Marck hist. Parad.* 2, 2, 12; *Plato's Sympos.*,) which the scriptural record distinctly contradicts. It was, furthermore, his destiny to exercise dominion over other creatures, and develop to its highest perfection the image of God in him. The opinions concerning the gigantic size of Adam, advocated by Philo, Augustine, the Talmudists and Mohammedans, are fabulous (*Eisenmeyer* entdeck. Judenth. I. 84, 365, 830; II. 417; *Othon. lexic. rabb.* p. 9, &c.; *Hottinger hist.* or. 22; *Herbelot* biblioth. or. I. 90, &c.; *Epiphan.* hær. 46, 2, &c.; *Augustin civ. D.* 14, 17; *Cedren. hist.* p. 6, 9. * *Winer.*) *Neo-platonists* and *Gnostics*, supposing that the distinction between flesh and spirit was synonymous with that between body and soul, matter and spirit, introduced a false anthropology into the Church, which culminated in the Manichæan theory, according to which sin is made necessary to the process of natural development and Adam is simply the original type of that necessity. *Pelagians* confound Adam's innocence with righteousness, as favoring their view of a condition of moral indifference, which was neither good nor evil. The *semipelagianism* of the middle ages maintained no decided view upon the subject. *Socinians* reject the idea of Adam's original righteousness, because they hold that righteousness must be acquired by the free act of man. The evangelical doctrine of the Reformation, on the contrary, rightly apprehended *righteousness* as *a divinely wrought rectitude*. *Arminians*, unwilling to adopt this view, were content with an indefinite notion of an original state of childhood. *Rationalists* assume that Adam was just what man is now. *Supernaturalists* in this, as in all other doctrines, adopted the teachings of revelation, and acknowledged the fall of man, only advocating the theory of a rapid original development of the powers and faculties of Adam. *Hegelianism* holds that Adam's innocence was purely negative, as that of children. Even *Schleiermacher* assumes the presence of a minimum of sin in Adam, by confounding *germ* with *possibility*, and taking a quantitative view of the subject.

The Bible further represents Adam as having been *tempted* by God (Gen. 2: 16,) so that by a free personal act he might choose the good, and take God as his portion. His character should be voluntarily formed upon the basis of his constitution as a creature, and thus his dominion over creation be developed. The temptation to prefer the good, however, instead of more effectually excluding the evil, was allowed to open the way of access to his heart for the adversary (3: 1) in the form of a serpent. The speech of the serpent fell like an enchantment upon man, who had hitherto never heard words used but as the vehicle of truth. The process of the temptation and deception is presented in a strictly psychological way. It starts with what God really said to Adam, omitting the statement of the moral motives involved in the case. The woman's answer ignores the most important characteristics of the tree (2: 17—"tree of the knowledge of good and evil,") and forthwith the barriers of selfish gratification, of power and knowledge, vanish, and the boundless prospect of existence without obedience bursts open to the view of tempted man. For a while he gazes at the picture, which was in reality only a grossly selfish distortion of his true destiny, but which led step by step into disbelief of the kind purpose of God in his creation, into selfishness, into an usurpation of God's power, and finally into self-deification. Thus *lust* was engendered, then DESIRE, then came forth the fatal ACT=SIN (3: 6.) The *woman* was first assailed on account, doubtless, of her more active fancy and sensitive susceptibility. Thus *death* fastened upon the life of man, not as a sudden consummation, but as a process. Man began to die from that moment, and the high age reached by the primeval race made the operation of the law of death all the more painful. Pure happiness was lost (Gen. 3: 7–24,) first in their consciousness of guilt (v. 7,) then in their exposure before God (v. 10, &c.) The returning sense of God's presence pierced their soul with anguish (v. 7;) their intercourse with nature became a toilsome struggle (v. 16–19,) and even a perilous conflict (v. 15.) Man had chosen a false method of fulfilling his destiny (by the knowledge of good and evil,) and now *evil* should not be something merely possible for him, an unknown vanquished power, but his own act, and

a real and fearful tyrant over him. His entire relation to God, to the world, to himself was changed. He felt himself inwardly sundered from God, hence his expulsion (3: 22–24.) Now God appeared as the avenger (v. 24;) nay man was at war with himself, and would gladly conceal his hated nakedness from his own view (3: 10.) Formally he should indeed fulfil his destiny. Hence the woman is called 'ABAH=*the living, the life-generating.* The race came forth, but all tainted with sin and burdened with a sense of guilt. The curse pronounced upon man was symbolized in the serpent and every creeping thing. The life of Adam, which from the moment of the fall had abandoned itself to deception and falsehood, propagated its sinfulness (4: 1, 25; 5: 3, &c.,) and was sorely embittered by the increased development of sin in *Cain*, especially as betrayed by the murder of Abel. The creative act of God, however, had only been *perverted* by man. He could not annihilate his being and nature. The Lord, therefore, established His work anew in the *primeval promise* (*protevangelium*) given (Gen. 3: 15,) and proposed it to man in the attainment of salvation. Man's original destiny was secured by divine intervention even after his sin, in a way that secured blessing even in chastisement. His destiny was to till the land, to people the earth, but he should now accomplish it with pain and sorrow; and yet his toils should have an end (3: 19.) Then began man's conflict with evil (of which the serpent was the symbol, but with direct reference to the personal Deceiver,) which, however, implies the presence of a better principle in his soul, and that he should ultimately survive the sorrows of sin, and vanquish it. The *promise* awakened the expectation that the curse of his exclusion from paradise, and his fallen nature, should be abolished, and its fulfilment was connected with the woman's *seed.* Wherefore it was said upon the birth of *Cain*: "I have gotten a man from the Lord" (Gen. 4: 1.) Eve did not mean the God-man (the man, Jehovah, according to the usual orthodox interpretation: for that idea is the *result*, not the starting-point of the O. T. dispensation,) but a man, a second one in the world, who belongs unto Jehovah, and was born for Him. She regarded Cain, therefore, either in himself or in his posterity, as the man through whom the promised

help should come. The birth of *Abel* ('ABEL=a *withering, vanity*, not because his life was brief, but because Adam and Eve began to feel their strength decaying, and therefore longed more ardently for the promised salvation) afforded further assurance of God's gracious purpose.

In the history of *Cain* and *Abel* the difference of occupation is significant. The earth is under a curse, and yet *Cain*, the hardier of the two, attempted to make it productive, and became an husbandman; having a less clear consciousness of sin, the curse did not deter him. The deeper convictions of quiet *Abel* led him to adopt more innocent employment. The offerings of both show a mutual seeking after God. But their offerings differ, not so much in the nature of that which they present (*Hoffman* and *Baumgarten*, Comm. on the Pentateuch,) or because the life of animals was holier than the fruit of the earth, but in the diverse spirit of the men. In *Cain* there was a haughty sense of self-sufficiency. *Abel* offered with an humble conviction of his need of God's blessing. A divine omen (perhaps an enveloping flame, or a flash of light?) indicated God's preference. *Cain* was enraged, thirsted for vengeance, slew his brother.—Darkness once more eclipsed the hope of the unhappy parents. Abel had died without progeny; Cain had fled, so that the Restorer could not be looked for from him. Sin and death exhibited themselves in the case of Cain as in that of Adam, only in a more glaring and hideous form; and yet he is spared, and made the founder of a race, which, however, in all its successive developments rushes down to ultimate destruction.—The Lord again comes to the help of man, and the hope of salvation revives with the birth of *Seth* (SETH =set, placed, planted,) whose posterity stand in contrast with the descendants of Cain, as the "sons of God" (Gen. 6: 2,) the true line through which the great promise should be fulfilled. Adam and Eve, however, spent their years and died in ungratified hope, whilst Seth, ever approximating to its realization through *some* of his descendants (Enos, Enoch, &c.,) nevertheless foresaw the conflict threatened by the perverse affection of *others* for the enticing daughters of Cain.

Distinct traces of this sacred history of the *fall* are found in the Thug doctrine of *Brahminism*, in the transmigration theo-

ry of the *Buddhists*, in the dualism of the *Parsees*, in the primeval disturbance of the felicity of the gods by serpents and dragons, taught in the mythologies of the *Scandinavians* and *Mexicans*, in the *Egyptian* traditions of the kingdom of Osiris and its downfall, in the *Chinese* traditions of the ancient wise kings, and in the *Greek* and *Roman* myths of the saturnian age of the world. Its ethical and psychological truth and depth have been almost universally acknowledged. *Josephus* relates it in a purely historical, though externally apprehended, form (Antiq. 1, 1. 4,) but adds some strange conceits about the serpent. It is similarly regarded by those church-fathers who do not (like *Philo*, *Clement* of Alex., *Origen*, *Augustine*) consider the entire narrative an *allegory*, among whom are *Irenæus*, *Tertullian* (and in part *Augustine*.) This also was the orthodox view of the subject during the middle ages, and was retained as such by *Luther*, *Zwingle*, *Melancthon*, *Calvin*, *Gerhart*, *Ursinus*, &c. There were indeed differences of opinion about the relation of the serpent to the devil, the nature of the pernicious effects of the forbidden fruit, and the sense in which death followed the transgression, whether spiritually only, or whether Adam really died 1000 years later on the same day of the week (*Friday*) on which he sinned! *Burnet*, *Jerusalem*, *Eichhorn* and others strip the historical record of its proper force, whilst *Zacharias*, *Kramer*, *Ludewald* strictly adhere to it. These were followed by *Gabler* (*J. G. Eichhorn's* Urgeschichte, herausg. v. J. Ph. *Gabler*, Altorf, 1790–93, 3 Bde.,) who pronounced "the whole history an absurdity," whilst he himself substituted *stupid vagaries!* Others subsequently treated it as a myth derived from the Grecian Pandora-legend, or from Persian and Kalmuc traditions. Another class of interpreters pronounced it a philosophical myth, so pliable that it could be turned to any account (*G. L. Bauer*, Bibl. Theol. d. A. T. § 105; u. hebr. Mythol. I. 85, &c.) The profoundest views concerning the origin of evil, as well as the silliest absurdities are put into the lips of the poets, and reporters of the myth. *Eichhorn* got down at last to a physical explanation of the matter (the eating of a poisonous plant.) The modern view of the speculative myth, advocated by *Kant*, *Schelling*, *Buttman*, *Schiller*, &c., (explaining the

fall as an exhibition of the origin of evil in man's general nature as a necessary development, one that was essential to his attainment to completeness of personal existence,) has made it fashionable, in the genuine spirit of recent rationalistic theories upon the subject, to deny all historical value to the scriptural account of the fall. *De Wette* (*Sittenlehre*, I. 132) can see nothing in it but a transition from an innocent state of ease and inactivity to one of cultivation or degeneracy; *v. Bohlen* on the other hand (*Genesis*, p. 46, &c.,) assumes that it is all a myth, and in his usual style turns everything upside down. Among biblical theologians *Baumgarten-Crusius* resorts, as he frequently does when he has no clear perceptions of the subject, to critical circumlocutions (p. 347;) *v. Colln* (1, 224, &c.) expatiates rather confusedly upon rationalisic notions much older than himself; *Buttmann* and *de Wette* retract their previous derivation of the myth from Persian and Greek mythology. *Gesenius* (*Ersch* and *Gruber* Encyclp. Art. *Adam*) furnishes a useful review of the various interpretations, but fully adopts the opinion of *Buttmann;* his synopsis of oriental traditions concerning Adam may also be consulted with advantage. *Steudel* (bibl. Theol. d. A. T. 100, &c.) takes a more profound and earnest view of the subject, so likewise *Lutz* (bibl. Dogmatik, 112. &c.,) *Erdmann* (Bauer's Zeitschr. f. spekul. Theol., 1847, 2, 192. &c.) *Hegel* (Relig. Philos., 2, 72, &c.,) *Nitzsch* (System d. chr. L. §. 106, &c.,) but they still find it difficult to admit the historic reality of the incidents reported. *Hoffmann*, *Delitzsch*, *Kurtz*, *Baumgarten*, and *Havernick* are the first among recent theologians who acknowledge the proper authority of the Mosaic narrative. And yet simplicity of form in the traditionary myths of the origin of sin is so obviously natural, as to constitute a strong presumption in favor of the authenticity and literal reality of that which the Bible declares to have occurred in so simple a manner: for man, in the infancy of his being, derived his ideas immediately from facts. His conceptions of things necessarily pre-suppose that they were presented to his mind in a manner suited to his comprehension. How then can the conclusion be avoided, that the Mosaic record reports historical verities? Dr. W. Hoffman.*

ART. VI.—LITURGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

CONSECRATION OF A CHURCH.

[The services shall commence with the reading of the following passages of Scripture, and the offering of the following prayer. The congregation shall be requested to rise.]

Make a joyful noise unto God, all ye lands. Serve the Lord with gladness: enter into his presence with thanksgiving, and into his courts with praise. Be thankful unto him and bless his name.

O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men. Let them exalt him also in the congregation of the people, and praise him in the assembly of the elders.

How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts! A day in thy courts is better than a thousand.

Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? or who shall rise up in his holy place?

Even he that hath clean hands and a pure heart, and that hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity, nor sworn deceitfully. He shall receive the blessing from the Lord, and righteousness from the God of his salvation.

This is the generation of them that seek him, that seek thy face, O Jacob. Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the king of glory shall come in.

Who is this king of glory? The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle.

Lift up your heads, O ye gates; even lift them up, ye everlasting doors, and the king of glory shall come in.

Who is this king of glory? The Lord of hosts, he is the king of glory.

O eternal God, mighty in power, and of majesty incomprehensible, whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain, much less the walls of temples made with hands, to thee alone be praise and adoration, from the hosts above and from us who dwell on the earth and are creatures of the dust. With hearts

full of gratitude and joy, this congregation is assembled to worship thee in this newly-erected sanctuary, which has been completed under thy gracious protection, and which we intend now to dedicate to thy glorious name. The first offerings that we shall bring to thee shall be humble thanksgiving, joyful praise, and holy reverence. Send down upon us all thy Holy Spirit, that we may lift up holy hands to thee, and worship thee with pure hearts. Come into our midst in thy majesty and thy goodness. O God, who art from everlasting to everlasting, hear us for the sake of thy dear Son, Jesus Christ our Saviour, who hath taught us to pray:

Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name; thy kingdom come; thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day, our daily bread; and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us: and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, forever. Amen.

[The congregation being seated, they shall be addressed as follows, after the singing of the 132nd Psalm, 2nd part, Arise, O King of grace, arise, &c.]

In all past ages, God has had a Church upon the earth, and has been publicly worshipped by his people. The Church has been established, and divine worship appointed by the Lord, who would have his children meet together for instruction, prayer, and praise. As early as the time of Enos, the son of Seth, and the third from Adam, men began publicly to call on the name of the Lord in a solemn assembly. When only three pious families were yet in existence, the appointment was made to meet together in one place, at stated times, to call upon God in prayer and thanksgiving, and to offer a sacrifice in common for the whole people.

Under the Mosaic dispensation, there was one place appointed for the gathering of the people, one altar erected, and the times and ceremonies of worship were prescribed with great minuteness; and from the time of Solomon down to the time of Christ, the temple of Jerusalem was the only authorized house of public sacrifice and prayer.

Under the new and better dispensation, divine worship may be celebrated at any time, and at any place. Christianity is

designed for the whole earth. The Apostles were commanded by the Head of the Church to go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. Whosoever believes in Jesus shall not perish, but shall have everlasting life. The religion of Christ is a more free and spiritual worship than the Jewish, as it is not confined to a particular nation, nor to a particular place, nor to particular times, nor consisting in any prescribed ceremonies, besides the simple, but very significant and important sacraments of Holy Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Jewish types and shadows, forms and ceremonies, have all been done away with in Christ Jesus, and now whosoever worships the Father in spirit and in truth, at any time, and at any place, shall be accepted of him. Where two or three are gathered together in my name, said Jesus, there am I in the midst of them.

The place, however, where God most delights to dwell, and where he dispenses his richest blessings to his people, is the sanctuary. Here his holy gospel is preached; here his holy sacraments are administered; here his holy worship is celebrated, and here his holy presence is enjoyed. The Lord *is* in his holy temple, let all the earth keep silence before him. Praise waits for thee, O God, out of Zion. The Lord hath chosen Zion, and there will he dwell, for he hath desired it. Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God hath shined. And in Zion, God hath placed salvation for Israel, his glory. O come, let us worship and bow down; let us be thankful unto him and bless his name. Let us sing praise unto the Lord with our whole heart, in the assembly of the upright, and in the great congregation. In the midst of the Church, will we sing praise unto our God.

The house that is solemnly and appropriately set apart for divine worship, is the place where God records his name, and where his people feel most of his gracious presence, in Jesus Christ our Lord. It is indeed the house of God, and the very gate of heaven. *There it is* that believers hold the sweetest fellowship with heaven, and that the delightful communion of saints is most fully enjoyed.

> God in his earthly temple lays,
> Foundation for his heavenly praise;

He likes the tents of Jacob well,
But still in Zion loves to dwell.

His mercy visits ev'ry house,
That pays its night and morning vows;
But makes a more delightful stay,
Where churches meet to praise and pray.

The consecration of a house of worship is the setting of it apart from a common to a sacred use. It is thereby dedicated exclusively to the service of God. A solemn sacredness is imparted to it, by the use to which it is appointed. It becomes united with our religion, with a sense of God's presence, and with the doctrines, the duties, the hopes and consolations of Christianity; and it partakes in a measure of the same sanctity. The transaction of all secular business should be excluded from it, and none but holy thoughts and feelings should fill the minds and hearts of those who enter into its sacred courts.

For the purpose of dedicating this house to the worship of God we are now assembled. But let us first rehearse from the sacred Scriptures, in what manner, thousands of years ago, the first temple of the only true God upon earth was solemnly dedicated, as we read in 1st Kings, part of the 8th chapter.

And Solomon stood before the altar of the Lord in the presence of all the congregation of Israel, and spread forth his hands towards heaven:

And he said, Lord God of Israel, there is no God like thee, in heaven above, or on earth beneath, who keepest covenant and mercy with thy servants that walk before thee with all their heart:

Who has kept with thy servant David my father that thou promisedst him: thou spakest also with thy mouth, and hast fulfilled it with thine hand, as it is this day.

Therefore now, Lord God of Israel, keep with thy servant David, my father, that thou promisedst him, saying, There shall not fail thee a man in my sight to sit on the throne of Israel; so that thy children take heed to their way, that they walk before me, as thou hast walked before me.

And now, O God of Israel, let thy word, I pray thee, be verified, which thou spakest unto thy servant David, my father.

But will God indeed dwell on the earth? Behold the heav-

en and heaven of heavens cannot contain thee, how much less this house that I have builded!

Yet have thou respect unto the prayer of thy servant, and to his supplication, O Lord my God, to hearken unto the cry and to the prayer, which thy servant prayeth before thee to-day.

That thine eyes may be open toward this house night and day, even towards the place of which thou hast said, My name shall be there: that thou mayest hearken unto the prayer which thy servant shall make toward this place; and hear thou in heaven, thy dwelling place, and when thou hearest, forgive.

And it was so, that when Solomon had made an end of praying all this prayer and supplication unto the Lord, he arose from before the altar of the Lord, from kneeling on his knees with his hands spread up to heaven.

And he stood and blessed all the congregation of Israel with a loud voice, saying,

Blessed be the Lord, that hath given rest unto his people Israel, according to all that he promised; that there hath not failed one word of all his good promise, which he promised by the hand of Moses his servant.

The Lord our God be with us, as he was with our fathers: let him not leave us, nor forsake us:

That he may incline our hearts unto him, to walk in all his ways, and to keep his commandments, and his statutes, and his judgments, which he commanded our fathers.

This God is our God, forever and ever, and to none other do we raise our temples. But "blessed are the eyes which see the things which we see." We worship our God according to his last and blissful revelation in his Son Jesus Christ. We build our temples and the salvation of our souls upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the Chief Corner stone.

Accompany me now with your hearts and voices, while I pronounce the Articles of our Catholic, undoubted Christian faith.

[Here the minister will request the congregation to rise, and to remain standing until the consecratory services are ended. He will also request them to repeat with him the Apostles' Creed.]

I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth; And in Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, our

Lord; who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary: suffered under Pontius Pilate: was crucified, dead, and buried; he descended into hell; the third day he rose from the dead; he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God, the Father Almighty: from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost: I believe in the Holy Catholic Church: the communion of Saints: the forgiveness of sins: the resurrection of the body; and the life everlasting. Amen.

[Act of Consecration.]

The congregation who are now assembled in this place, have erected this house for the worship of God, and desire that it be solemnly set apart to that object. They have given to it the name of———; and by this name we now set apart this house, and dedicate it to the worship of the triune God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and henceforth let this house be a house of God, where his name shall be honored, and his gospel shall be proclaimed and his blessings shall descend from heaven upon his children. Amen.

[Here the congregation shall be requested to kneel, and then the following prayer shall be offered:]

O Lord, our God, there is no God beside thee. Thou alone art worthy to receive adoration and praise; for thou hast made all things, and through thee they continue to exist. Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty! Just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints! Who would not fear thee, O Lord, and magnify thy name? For thou art holy, and all nations shall come to worship before thee, when they learn the joy of thy salvation. Glory be to thy name, that we are permitted to know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent; and through this knowledge to receive pardon, sanctification and eternal life.

We give thee thanks, O God, for the foundation of thy Church on earth, for thy oracles, and for the ministry of thy word. We thank thee, that by thy providence, this house has been erected for the worship of thy name, that the Gospel of thy Son may be proclaimed in it, and sinners may be called to repentance, and thy people may be edified in it unto life eternal. We pray thee now to accept the works of our hands.

Let this house be indeed a house of God. Let thy presence be in it, and dwell thou in the midst of the assembly that shall worship here. Give to it ministers of thy Gospel who shall be men after thine own heart, and own and bless their labors with copious effusions of thy Spirit, that they may be effectual in the conversion of sinners from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, and in waking up thy people more and more, and edifying them in their holy faith. When thy holy word is read and preached in this place, and the holy sacraments are administered, send down upon the congregation thy Holy Spirit, so that the minds and hearts of all may be savingly impressed. When thy people bring to thee their thanksgiving for the gifts of thy providence, accept their offering, and bless them in it, that their joy may be full; and when, in seasons of calamity and distress, they humble themselves before thee, and implore thy mercy, hear thou in heaven and pity them; forgive their sins that may have provoked thy displeasure, and deliver them; or comfort and support them under their trial, and sanctify their affliction unto them, that it may bring forth, in due time, the peaceable fruits of righteousness. Cause thy name, O Lord, to be hallowed, and thy kingdom to come, and thy will to be done, by means of this house, both among the congregation who shall worship in it, and in the community among which they dwell; that our labor be not in vain; that there may be joy in heaven over sinners who repent, and that we may have confidence, and not be ashamed in the presence of Jesus at his coming.

Hear us, we beseech thee, O God of all grace, Father of all light, and Fountain of good. Let our prayer come up before thee, and be acceptable, through the merit of Jesus Christ, and do unto us according to thy great mercy and love; and unto thee, the King immortal, invisible; who alone art mighty, and wise, and good; who dwellest in light which no man can approach; unto thee be all glory, through Jesus Christ, in heaven and on earth, forever and ever. Amen.

[Here the collection may be taken up; and after the singing of a suitable Psalm or Hymn, the sermon and other parts of the worship shall follow.]

ART. VII.—SHORT NOTICES.

LINGARD'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND, abridged: with a continuation from 1688 to 1854. By *James Burke*, Esq., A. B., to which is prefixed a Memoir of Dr. Lingard, and Marginal Notes. By M. J. Kerney, A. M., Baltimore John Murphy & Co. 1855.

Cardinal Wiseman says of Lingard's celebrated History of England, which reaches, in thirteen volumes, down to the Revolution of 1688, and has recently been re-published by a house in Boston from the last London edition: "It is a providence, that, in history, we have had given to the nation a writer like Lingard, whose gigantic merit will be better appreciated in each successive generation, as it sees his work standing calm and erect amidst the shoals of petty pretenders to usurp his station. When Hume shall have fairly taken his place among the classical writers of our tongue, and Macauley shall have been transferred to the shelves of romances and poets, and each shall thus have received his true meed of praise, then Lingard will be still more conspicuous as the only impartial historian of our country. This is a mercy indeed, a rightful honor to him, who, at such a period, worked his way, not into a high rank, but to the very loftiest point of literary position."

We do not agree altogether with this judgment. We doubt whether Macauley will ever be laid on the shelves, and his History of England numbered with mere novels. Lingard is as partial to the Catholic Church, as most of the Protestant historians are to their creed and fellow religionists. Although comparatively liberal and honestly striving to measure out praise and censure irrespective of sect and party, he shows his Catholic sympathies almost in every chapter and becomes involuntarily the apologist of the unfortunate Mary Stuart, and the accuser of her proud rival, Elizabeth. We can hardly expect anything else. Every historian, who is not an indifferentist, is unconsciously under the influence of his religion in selecting, arranging and viewing his facts, and he ought to allow it its full share to the best of his judgment. An absolute objectivity is as impossible, as undesirable. For history is full of religious life, and no one is able to represent it properly, whose mind and heart is shut up against it. In England, especially, Church and State religion and politics were,

until quite recently, so intimately interwoven, that the one cannot be exhibited without the other, and without constant reference to the great controversy between Romanism and Protestantism. Now Lingard is as little infallible and free from all party bias in this respect as most historians. He himself properly remarks, in the preface to the first volume, "The writer as he is always exposed to the danger, will occasionally suffer himself to be misled by the secret prejudices, or the unfair statements of the authors, whom it is his duty to consult."

With this qualification we are quite willing to admit that Lingard is as impartial as any other historian of England, and as to extent and thoroughness of investigation, accuracy of statements, lucid arrangement of facts, and classsical purity of style, he is inferior to none. He will always occupy one of the first ranks and be consulted as an authority on the history of England from the first invasion by the Romans to the commencement of the reign of William the Third. We never study a chapter of English history without consulting him, and we always find solid and reliable information in his pages.

To those who cannot procure the original work, and yet wish to know the Roman Catholic account of the history of the greatest Protestant nation, we can recommend the abridgment of Mr. Burke. It is faithfully done, and gives as much as possible the very words of Lingard. The continuation from the Revolution of 1688 to the reign of Queen Victoria, (from page 592 to 662) might be far more full and interesting. As may be expected from the author and publisher, it betrays decided Catholic and Irish sympathies. The volume is gotten up in elegant style, adorned with a portrait of Lingard, and enriched with a short memoir of his life, a sketch of the English constitution and a list of eminent Englishmen.

HEAVEN; or, *an Earnest and Scriptural Inquiry into the Abode of the Sainted Dead.* By Rev. H. Harbaugh, A. M., 12th edition. Phil'a. Lindsay & Blakiston, 1856.

THE HEAVENLY RECOGNITION, or, *an Earnest and Scriptural discussion of the question,* "*Will we know our friends in Heaven?*" By Rev. H. Harbaugh, A. M., 9th edition. Phil'a. Lindsay & Blakiston, 1856.

THE HEAVENLY HOME; or, *the Employments and Enjoyments of the Saints in Heaven.* By Rev. H. Harbaugh, A. M., 6th edition. Phil'a. Lindsay & Blakiston, 1856.

"Can anything good come out of Nazareth?" is the uniform question of metropolitan pride, touching all that is provincial—Athens sneering at Bœotia. Against this formidable prejudice every literary work from a rural district is obliged to contend. But, in addition, it often meets with undeserved neglect at home. Our Saviour's word was: "a prophet is not without honor, save in

his own country." The feeling which produces such a state of things, belongs to human nature, and is, therefore, universal. We are all disposed to overlook or undervalue the achievements of our neighbor, who meets us daily in the street. He seems altogether one of us, and we are slow from the workings of self-love or other causes to admit their worth, much less to praise the offspring of his hand or of his brain. Only when the voices abroad become so loud in their favor that we cannot turn a deaf ear any longer, do we begin to yield a reluctant assent and suffer our jealousies to lapse into silence.

These remarks were suggested by the great and growing popularity of the above named series of volumes, from the pen of the Rev. H. Harbaugh—a popularity proved by the fact, that the first has already reached the 12th edition; the second, the 9th, and the third, the 5th—proved by the fact, that a number of imitators have arisen in Boston and elsewhere, who have freely borrowed from their pages, and in some instances without the slightest acknowledgment, and also by the fact that they have been re-published in England, and have obtained an extensive circulation there.

Now, we are well aware that popularity is no sure test of excellence. Many books of the very highest order find but few readers, whilst others, which have little to recommend them, save the food furnished to the worst passions of our nature, are eagerly devoured by thousands. But with works on practical religion, which treat of the most solemn realities, and are read for profit, not for pleasure, the case is quite different. Popularity here is an evidence that they reach and satisfy some of the deepest wants and longings of the human soul. And honor is certainly due to the pastor, who can thus attract the attention and influence the hearts of such a vast congregation of readers, drawing their thoughts and desires away from the vanities of earth, to the glories of that higher and better world, after which we all aspire.

It is not necessary to offer an analysis of these volumes. What has been said is sufficient to show the esteem in which they are held by the religious public, and their titles clearly indicate their contents. We would simply add, that they are well worthy of a place in the library of every Christian man and woman, who by the loss of near and dear friends, the trials of life, or the promptings of faith "are looking for a better country, even an heavenly."

UNION WITH THE CHURCH: *the Solemn Duty and the Blessed Privilege of all who would be saved.* By the Rev. Henry Harbaugh, author of "Heaven, or the Sainted Dead;" "The Heavenly Recognition;" "The Birds of the Bible," &c. Second edition, revised. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston.

A little duodecimo of 127 pages that, without making any pretensions to abstruse theological disquisition, is nevertheless a polished shaft tipped with sharp steel and driven at the heart of the enemy. Presuming correctly that a number of well-meaning persons remain out of the Church of Jesus Christ, the form of the kingdom of heaven on earth, because the progress of sectism and rationalism has produced a false public sentiment in relation to the nature of the Church, the author, in the First Part, removes the difficulties which

present themselves to sincere inquirers, and in the Second, presents a series of convincing arguments in favor of immediate union with the mystical body of Christ. The spirit of the work is earnest; the style, plain and direct—vague circumlocution, that says nothing for fear of saying something too forcibly, being left for declaimers; and the argument, upon a level with the comprehension of all classes of society.

Christ saves sinners *by* the Church and *in* the Church; not *without* the Church nor *out* of the Church. This is the main idea of the volume, looking out upon the reader from beginning to end, and with such a piercing eye as to make the thoughtful quail, who expect to escape the rising flood whilst standing on the top of the doomed mountains. A circulation of the little book will render Pastors a good service.

PATRIARCHY; or, *The Family: its Constitution and Probation;* By John Harris, D. D., President of New College, London, and Author of "Pre-Adamite Earth," "Man Primeval," "Great Teacher," "Great Commission," &c. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon, Lamport & Blakeman. 1855. pp. 472, Phil'a.: Smith & English.

The space allotted to this notice will not admit of a lengthened review of the book, which has called it forth. The most we can do is briefly to advert to its design and general contents.

The Family is justly regarded as a divine institution, indispensable to the unfolding of the individual man, to his answering the end of his being, and to the promotion of his happiness. The general design of the work before us is, to exhibit the family in its constitution and probation. It is divided into four parts. The first part is devoted to the laws or method of the domestic constitution. The second indicates the stages and changes, through which the patriarchal community may have passed in the course of its probationary history. In the third, the reasons for the method and history of the domestic constitution are set forth. And in the fourth, the ultimate end of the family probation and economy as a means of divine manifestation, is unfolded. The work is truly logical and written in a very forcible style. It will admit of a careful perusal and study, and will abundantly repay the reader for the labor and time he may appropriate to such a purpose.

THE FAMILY ASSISTANT; *or Book of Prayers for the use of Families; to which are added Prayers for special occasions. Original and selected.* By Samuel R. Fisher. Chambersburg, Pa.: M. Kieffer & Co. pp. 308.

The great desideratum in forms of prayer for general use, is simplicity and naturalness of style, as well as a sufficient variety to meet the different occasions which may occur in the course of Christian experience. To meet this want, particularly in the sphere of his own denomination, has been a main object of the author in the preparation of the work before us. How far he has succeeded in this, he has very properly left to the judgment of others; and this, as far as it has yet transpired, we are gratified to be able to say, is decidedly in his favor.

THE

MERCERSBURG QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1856.

Art. I.—SUDHOFF'S OLEVIANUS.

The conductors of this Review have never felt constrained to limit it to strictly original matter. They have always admitted, as falling within its original aim and scope, properly executed translations, especially from the German, of such literary or theological matter as seemed to belong to its peculiar province. The translation here given will commend itself to many among our clerical and lay readers, who are interested in seeing the treasures of the Reformation theological lore brought out to view. It will be seen that the translation is by one who is not fully master of English phraseology. Some of its idioms the editors might have corrected, but not having the original work at hand, they felt, that in doing so, they might be unfair to the sense of the author. A casualty, which could not be controlled, places this translation as the first article in the present No.—Eds.

The Rev. Charles Sudhoff has published in the German language, Dr. Caspar Olevianus' "Firm Ground of Christian Doctrine in the German Reformed Church," and accompanied its various doctrinal positions with remarks at considerable length, by way of exposition and confirmation. The work is a most excellent one. The writer is satisfied, that an English translation of it would be of immense service to the German Reformed Church, inasmuch as it would introduce among the membership, at least a portion of the ancient doctrinal treasures of the Church. That such a measure is necessary and would be useful, no argument is needed to prove. Every living mem-

ber of the German Reformed Church must desire to know what our Reformed forefathers believed; in what spiritual element they lived, and on what ground they based their hopes of salvation. This desire can be satisfied to a great extent by reading and *studying* the work to which we have referred. We here give a translation of a small portion, embraced in the first part of the work. This may serve as a specimen, though we consider the latter part the most interesting and instructive. Should this effort be received with favor, we may follow it up with others, as leisure and space will permit.—TRANSLATOR.

DEFINITION OF THE ARTICLES OF CHRISTIAN FAITH.

In what does man's happiness consist?

In the assurance of his union and fellowship with God, the only fountain of all good, and of true happiness, as St. John says: "That which we have seen and heard, declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us; and truly our fellowship is with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ. And these things write we unto you, that your joy may be full." 1 John 1: 3, 4.

But since God is light and no darkness is in him, being so holy that no sinner can stand in his presence; whilst we are unholy and deceive ourselves, if we say we have no sin, and the truth is not in us;—how then shall we enjoy fellowship with God?

God is indeed holy and just, as now stated, and he wills that man, originally created in his own image, in righteousness and true holiness, shall again be like unto him, as all the commandments require; or else he will cast him away as a vessel corrupted by Satan and man's disobedience, unless full satisfaction is made for his transgressions. But man is by nature unclean and unjust; he does not love God with all his heart, soul and mind, nor his neighbor as himself; neither can he remove the old debt, but increases it daily. This is a great contradiction: God's justice and anger against sin, and man's injustice and constant increase of guilt. Nor will the Lord set aside his justice to make room for the exercise of his mercy alone. He can and will manifest his mercy in such a manner

only, that his justice and truthfulness do not suffer by it. As it is written: "For I will not justify the wicked." (Ex. 23:7.) It is most evident from this, that man cannot come to God without a mediator and deliverer, who has satisfied the just demands of God, and obtained grace for sinners.

Since God then, in his justice, demands that we either keep the Law in the exercise of perfect love to God and to our fellow men, or else suffer eternal punishment; and since we are so corrupt, ever since the fall of Adam, that by nature we hate God and our neighbor, and thus increase our guilt daily; therefore I consider a Saviour absolutely nccessary to satisfy the just demands of God. But where is such a mediator and deliverer to be found?

In vain do we search the whole universe through for any mere creature to make satisfaction for us; because none is able. Our inquiry among the angels for a Saviour would receive the following twofold reply:

First. The angels are not obliged to suffer in behalf of man; therefore, the justice of God does also not require of them to make satisfaction for us. And just as unreasonable would it be to punish any other creature for what man has committed.

Secondly. Since our Saviour must suffer and overcome the infinite and eternal wrath of God against sin, it is evident that all the angels would have been too weak; they must have sunk and perished under it. But if angels are too weak to bear and overcome for mankind the wrath of God, much less could we find any other mere creature to bear the load of our sins, so as to deliver us from guilt.

What sort of a mediator and deliverer then, must we seek for?

For one who is very man, perfectly righteous, and yet more powerful than all creatures, that is, one who is also very God. But this one is Jesus Christ, crucified for our sins, and risen again for our justification, who is the only way to eternal life, revealed by God himself from the beginning, to a fallen and lost human race. The Father of mercy has not waited until man came and sought grace; but he condescended to follow and overtake him when he fled from his holy presence; and in

pure mercy he has promised to receive him into grace again, and thus to restore his lost condition. This promise was first made to Adam, (in the language addressed to the serpent:) "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed, it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." Subsequently it was made in clearer terms to Abraham and his posterity: "By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." (Gen. 3: 15; and 22: 16–18.) Finally, the promise is repeated to David also, in consequence of which Christ is called the Son of David.

This Saviour, promised by God and now sent into the world, is Christ Jesus, very man and perfectly righteous, and yet more powerful than all creatures, that is, one who is also very God. He has given himself as a sacrifice on the cross to make satisfaction for our sins. Of him the Father testifies from heaven: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; him shall ye hear." (Matth. 3: 17.) And Christ himself confirms this testimony, when he says: "I am the way, the truth and the life." (John 14: 6.)

Why do you call Christ the only way to eternal life?

Because he is the mediator, and, through his obedience and intercession, has established the atonement and covenant, by which man can become united to God, the source and cause of all true happiness. For this reason the Prophet Isaiah calls him also "Immanuel," that is: *God with us!* and Christ confirms this by declaring, "No man can come to the Father, except by me." (John 14: 6.) Also Matth. 11: 27: "No man knows the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal to him." See also 1 Tim. 2: 5.

Why is the salvation of man and his re-union with God presented to us in the form of a covenant of grace?

That we may feel sure and convinced of the enduring, eternal peace and friendship, instituted between God and ourselves through the sacrifice of his Son. This is the reason why God calls the new relation between himself and the sinner, an everlasting covenant. In his loving kindness and grace, he has pledged himself by promise and oath, even whilst we were yet

sinners, that he would send his only begotten Son in human nature, to suffer and die for us, and by his sacrifice to institute a perpetual salvation and everlasting peace, to quiet our conscience and cause comfort to reign in our souls. He has promised to be our God with all his divine blessings, to grant us pardon of sin, the gift of the Holy Spirit, and life eternal; all without our own merit, on the only condition that we by faith accept and appropriate to ourselves the gift of his promised and now revealed Son.

But how has Christ, our Mediator, instituted the covenant between God and man? that is, how has he so reconciled the Father, that our sins shall no more be remembered forever, but that we shall now be blessed with the Holy Spirit and eternal life?

Through his sacrifice on the cross he has reconciled the Father, and instituted an everlasting covenant between him and us, as the Son of God himself declares: "It is finished." And in Heb. 10: 14, the Holy Spirit says: "By one offering he hath perfected forever them that are sanctified."

But in order to make a sacrifice powerful enough for a perfect reconciliation, and to institute also an everlasting covenant between God and man, was it necessary that he, from whom this sacrifice was expected, should be very man, like unto his brethren in all things, sin excepted, and at the same time also very God?

Yes, this was absolutely necessary, because God could not suffer any sort of redemption to take place, in which he himself would have appeared untrue and unjust. His truthfulness demanded, that (according to the solemn declaration: "The day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die,") the Messiah should be the seed of the woman, that is, very man in body and soul, to satisfy this unchangeable truth of God, and take on himself the pains of eternal death. (Gen. 2: 17; Heb. 2; 2 Cor. 5.)

Again, because God has declared: "I will not justify the wicked," (Ex. 23: 7,) therefore his justice forbids him to enter into covenant relation with the unjust and wicked, except it be done, so that "the just—namely, Christ—die for the unjust."

(1 Peter 3: 18.) Hence the mediator must not only be very man, but also very God, in order to offer a complete sacrifice for all. Without this he could not be our Saviour: 1,) Because God alone can save effectually; as it is said by the Prophet: "I, even I am the Lord, and besides me there is no Saviour." (Isa. 43: 11; Hos. 13: 4–9; 1 Cor. 15: 22.) And, 2,) Because he should take upon himself the insufferable pain of all creatures, (to satisfy the righteous judgment of God upon our innumerable sins, committed against his infinite majesty,) therefore, he must be very man; but, in such a manner, that, at the same time, he might remain infinite, that is, very God, so that the human nature could be supported by the infinite power of its God-head, to sustain and remove the burden of God's wrath. In this way he has established an unlimited, perpetual satisfaction for our sins, and brought to us the eternal grace of God. (More will be said of this on the article of Faith, "Conceived by the Holy Ghost," &c.)

Since this, then, is the only way to eternal life, namely, Jesus Christ crucified, very God and very man, for such reasons as you have now stated, must it not necessarily follow, that all other religions are false, because they teach different ways and means to happiness and life eternal?

The Christian religion is the only true one; for Christians alone enjoy a correct knowledge of the Supreme Being. They know him to be perfectly just and also perfectly merciful, hence the only true God. His justice is manifest in this, that he does not suffer our sins to go unpunished, but has visited all our transgression, with unspeakable suffering in his only beloved Son on the cross. "He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes are we healed." (Isa. 53: 5.) Hence God does not accept a partial, but requires a complete satisfaction for our sins. His infinite mercy, on the other hand, is manifest in this, that he does not require any satisfaction from us, but has given his beloved Son to be a propitiation for our sins, without any merit on our part, even whilst we were yet his enemies. All other religions do not acknowledge God as a perfectly just and infinitely merciful

Being. Take for instance a Jew, a Mohammedan, or even some deluded Papist, who also knows indeed that God is just, and will not, therefore, suffer sin to go unpunished; yet, when his conscience smites him for transgressions that have merited eternal damnation, he imagines that he will be able to satisfy God by laying an offering of some kind on the altar. This is like a criminal offering the judge a small sum of money for his delivery, which he would never attempt if he felt fully convinced, that the judge was an honest and just man. So all other religions, instead of a full satisfaction, (which only Christ, but no mere creature could make,) they cause the sinner, before the judgment bar of God, to depend on a few imaginary good works, which are indeed less than one to a thousand, in comparison with their transgressions. From this, it is evident, that they are not fully conscious of the infinite justice of God. And neither are they conscious of his infinite mercy; else they would never imagine that their offerings and worship should satisfy him. But since God is not partial, but perfect in his justice and mercy, and will be regarded and obeyed as such, it is evident that all those, relying on their own good works, and thus denying in fact the infinite justice and mercy of God, do not worship the true God, but an idol created by their own fancy.

As Christ crucified is the only way to true happiness, there can also be only one true doctrine, representing this Christ to us with all his gracious benefits; but where is this doctrine found?

In the Gospel, in which are comprehended the promises of true happiness; for which reason it is also called, "The glad tidings of salvation,—a word of salvation,—a power of God unto salvation." (Rom. 1: 16.) Indeed the divine law leads us directly to this doctrine. For after we have become convinced of our unrighteousness, and are filled with sad apprehensions in view of a just punishment, the divine law teaches us, not to seek comfort and happiness in ourselves, but to embrace, with a believing heart, that which is freely offered to us in the Gospel. In proof of this, the Apostle Paul says: "For Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one

that believeth." (Rom. 10: 4.) And, "The law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith." Gal. 3: 24.

I desire to have the nature of the Gospel yet more fully explained by you.

The Gospel, or glad tidings, which brings joy to the hearts of poor, perishable sinners, is a revelation of the parental, immutable will of God, wherein he promises, and proves it by the death and resurrection of his Son, that all our sins are forever blotted out and forgiven. Because Christ has not died for his own, but for *our* sins, as if he himself had committed them, and has risen above the power and effect of sin as a mighty conqueror; (1 Cor. 15: 17,) hence, it follows, that not one of all our sins remains, for which he has not given full satisfaction. For if only one of all those sins, which Christ took upon himself, had remained unpaid for, he could not have arisen, but must have remained in death. Because where there is yet one sin, there is also eternal death, as God himself has declared. (Deut. 27: 15–26.) Indeed, "the wages of sin is death." (Rom. 6: 23.) Therefore, because Christ has risen from the power and effect of sin as a mighty conqueror, and that too in our own human nature, (which he has assumed and retains throughout eternity,) this is to us a public testimony, that, in the sight of God, we shall be considered as pure and just as Christ was when he arose from the grave. (Rom. 4: 24, 25. 1 Cor. 15: 17.) Besides, God promises in the Gospel, and, through Christ, he actually bestows the gift of the Holy Spirit, who turns the hearts of men from sin and from the power of Satan unto the living God; bearing also witness with our spirits that we are God's children. Thus our joy in God and eternal life begins here below, and shall be completed in the heavens above. All this is freely offered to us in the Gospel, without respect to our past, present or future merits of pious works; it is all made our own by grace through faith; "*That he that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.*" (Jer. 9: 24. 1 Cor. 1: 31.)

It might be stated also more briefly, thus: The Gospel is a revelation of the parental and unchangeable will of God, where-

in he promises all believers the full pardon of their sins from all eternity. And this pardon remains, so that throughout all eternity their sins shall not be remembered. Again, that he grants us also the gift of his Holy Spirit freely, without all our past, present and future merits, alone on account of the voluntary sacrifice of Christ's person, very God and very man; which sacrifice was present with God from all eternity, and was afterwards promised to man, but is now finished and retains its efficacy for our complete salvation for ever and ever. (Eph. 1: 7–12.)

But what difference is there between the Law and the Gospel?

The Law is that knowledge, which God has engrafted on nature, and has afterwards repeated and renewed in his commandments to man. In it he presents to us what we are bound to do and to leave undone. He requires of us complete obedience, internally and externally; and on the condition, that we keep the law perfectly all our lifetime, he promises eternal life. But if, on the other hand, we transgress one or more parts of the Law, he threatens eternal damnation; as he has said: "Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things, written in the book of the Law, to do them." And after the Law has been once transgressed, it contains no promises, that by its help, that is, by works of the Law, our sins may be forgiven; but passes the sentence of condemnation immediately.

The Gospel, however, or glad tidings, is a knowledge, which the wisest and best of men in a state of nature, could not discover; it was revealed from heaven. In it, God does not require anything of us, but offers and presents to us the righteousness which the Law requires, namely, the perfect obedience of Jesus Christ in suffering and death, for the sake of which all our sins, and the condemnation, threatened by the Law, are forgiven and blotted out. (Rom. 5; Gal. 3.) In the Gospel, he does not pardon our sins on condition that we fulfill the Law, but—although we have never kept it and cannot fully keep it now, nevertheless he has pardoned our sins and given us eternal life—as an unmerited gift through faith in Jesus Christ. "For the Law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." (John 1: 17,) "For what the

Law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh. That the righteousness of the Law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." (Rom. 8 : 3, 4.) So also, Gal. 3; 12–15, "The Law is not of faith : but the man that doeth them, shall live in them. Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the Law, being made a curse for us ; for it is written : Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree : That the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ, that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith."

Do we then become partakers of Christ and all his benefits only by true faith and confidence in God's promises, as contained in the Gospel?

By the exercise of faith and confidence alone, as St. John says : "But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the Sons of God." (1 : 12.) It is also certain that these two expressions : "We are justified by faith alone," and, "Through faith and confidence alone do we receive Christ our righteousness," are of the same import. For in both it is evidently Faith, that lays hold of the promised forgiveness of sin for Christ's sake, by which alone we are justified before God. In short, Christ is offered to us by the Father in no other way than through the simple preaching of his word ; (1 Cor. 2;) hence we can receive Christ only by believing in our hearts the promises of the Gospel.

What is Faith?

Faith is that gift of the Holy Spirit, which qualifies man to give his hearty consent to the will of God, after having learned it, and to adore him for having spoken all his words wisely; which are, therefore, good, as also the manner in which they have been spoken. Faith causes and enables man to consider God a truthful and omnipotent Being, who certainly will, and powerfully can, fulfill all that he has promised ; therefore, he gives God the honor, irrespective of all that may appear contradictory, both in our own wisdom and in all other creatures.

In the entire Scriptures the believing heart considers chiefly this promise of the Gospel ; that God, who has given himself to

us as a Father, is so completely reconciled to us in Christ, that he suffers nothing to befal us, except what is for our own good; and that by grace he has set us free from all our sins, and by his Holy Spirit will sanctify us to life eternal; that also meanwhile he supports us by the same power, by which he raised his Son from the dead and put all things under him, in order that the hope of eternal life, grounded in the truthfulness and omnipotence of God, might be perfect and immoveable. This definition of faith comprehends the entire life of man, showing that all his actions must proceed from, and be grounded in faith, provided they shall be pleasing in the sight of God. For what is said in the Epistle to the Hebrews, (11: 6,) "Without faith it is impossible to please God," has reference not only to justification, but includes all our actions.

According to this, the definition of faith points out the salvation and special grace of justification from sin, freely offered and granted in Christ, which, because it reveals to us the reconciled, parental heart of God, is justly regarded the ground in the divine Being, on which must be based all that we have to believe, or by faith to expect from him.

Finally, sanctification is also added to eternal life, together with perseverance to the end, which is likewise received in Christ by faith, through whom God will bestow it. The passages of Scripture on which this definition is based, are especially the fourth chapter of Romans, from the sixteenth verse, and first chapter of Ephesians from the seventeenth verse, to the end of both chapters.

Please give me a more simple and practical definition of faith, to comprehend these articles of belief more fully.

Faith means, *tok now*,* that this is the constant,† immutable will of God, and in this divine will to trust with our *whole heart*,‡ namely, that he, by grace, grants us unmerited pardon of all our sins, and happiness,§ which he had promised previously by the Prophet and has now established through Christ, as the articles of our Christian faith testify. *To know* —I say—that the things comprehended in these articles, God has really bestow-

*Eph. 1: 9—†Ps. 110: 4—‡Rom. 10: 10. Luke 2: 14. 1: 1, 68. 2: 29—§Luke 1: 70–78. 77, 78. Acts 10: 43.

ed on us with a liberal hand,* of which the Son of God himself bears witness,—and to rely on this eternal will of God with heartfelt confidence; also to give, in the articles of Faith, this honor and glory to God,† that he has actually fulfilled and manifested his truthfulness and almighty power in establishing for us the promised salvation in Christ Jesus,‡ and that he will also manifest the same truthfulness and power§ to make us partakers of it fully; without regard to whatever there may be in us or in any other creatures, contrary to this promised and now in Christ established grace, that might seem to be an hindrance to the truthfulness and power of God; but to consider all this as nothing, though it be even sin or death. (Rom. 10: 6, 7, &c.) As Paul says of Abraham, that he grew not weak in faith, and considered not his own body, now dead, nor did he stagger at the promise of God through unbelief, but was strong in faith, giving glory to God; and being fully persuaded that what he had promised, he was able also to perform. Therefore it was imputed to him for righteousness. But—says the Apostle further—this is not written for his sake alone, that it was imputed to him; but for us also, to whom it shall be imputed, if we believe on him that raised up Jesus our Lord from the dead, who was sacrificed for our transgressions, and was raised again for our justification. (Rom. 4: 19, &c.) Other testimonies of Scripture, from which this description has been made, may be examined.‖

Repeat here the articles of the confession of faith.

I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth: And in Jesus Christ his only begotten Son our Lord: Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost: Born of the Virgin Mary: Suffered under Pontius Pilate: Was crucified, dead and buried: He descended into Hell: The third day he rose from the dead: He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty: From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost: I believe in the Holy Catholic Church: The

*Acts 13: 32, 38, 39—†Acts 13: 48–52—‡Rom. 4: 20, 24, 25. Eph. 1: 6, 7. 2 Tim. 1: 9, 10—§2 Tim. 1: 12. 1 Peter 1: 4, 5. Eph. 1. 19, 20, 23.
‖See Remarks III.

communion of Saints: The forgiveness of sins: The resurrection of the body and the life everlasting. Amen.

Is this a new faith?

It is the old, true and undoubted Christian faith, which the Apostles have confessed and preached. And this short confession of faith is a certain rule to judge by, what doctrines are of God, and whether they are correct. For whatever is contrary to one or more articles of faith, must be false; and if we remain simply by the articles of faith, we cannot fall into error.

Give me direction, what I must do to obtain firm confidence and sure consolation from the articles of faith.

First: In all the articles of faith remember the promise of God, that he has promised and actually given to you what is contained in the articles, if you cherish that confidence in your heart and confess it with the mouth. For instance, when you confess: He suffered under Pontius Pilate, you must not *only think of the fact*, as it took place in the history of the passion; (for that the evil one knows also,) but believe that in this article God has promised and assured you, that he has suffered *for you*, and that his suffering is *your own*, the same *as if you had endured it yourself.* Likewise when you confess: He was crucified (namely, for me,) God promises you that he has given his Son to be crucified *for you*, as Paul says: "Who loved me, and gave himself for me," (Gal. 2: 20,) and that, therefore, it is accounted to you not less than if you yourself had been nailed to the cross, since Christ was nailed to it to give satisfaction for *your* sins. In short: Remember always, that what is contained in every article, has been promised and given to you for your salvation. Hence you say also: I believe indeed, that all this has taken place for my own good, and God has promised and given it, as well to me, as to the holiest one. Yea, you may rest assured, that if you had been the only poor and lost sinner on earth, Christ would have left the ninety and nine saved ones in the heavens, and come down to you from his divine glory, to seek you, to bear you on his shoulder and to save you, as he himself has taught in the Gospel.

Secondly: If any one desires to apply and appropriate to himself the promises of Christ, let him follow this direction:

namely, whatever the Son of God has experienced in body and soul, has been experienced in the name and in behalf of all and every believer. This is the immutable will and eternal counsel of God, on which we can build confidently.

The above rule and direction has been taken from the following passages of Scripture: In Heb. 10 : 5, 6 and 7, reference is made to Ps. 40 : 7, "Wherefore, when he cometh into the world, he saith, sacrifice and offering thou wouldst not, but a body hast thou prepared me, &c. Then said I, Lo, I come (in the volume of the book it is written of me) to do thy will, O God." And in verse 10, "By the which will we are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all." 1 Cor. 1 : 30. "But of him (namely, God) are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification and redemption."

To this counsel of God the Apostle looks, when in Rom. 10 : 6–10, he gives us this very direction, where he says: "But the righteousness, which is of faith, speaketh on this wise: Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? (that is to bring Christ down from above:) Or, who shall descend into the deep? (that is to bring Christ up again from the dead.) But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth and in thy heart: that is the word of faith, which we preach: That if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved. For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation." (See also, Luke 1 : 10. Heb. 2 : 14, 15. Rom. 5 : 12, 15–18. 1 Cor. 15 : 20, 21, 23. 1 Thes. 4 : 14.)

How are these articles of faith divided?

Into three parts: the first treats of God the Father, and our creation; the second of God the Son and our redemption; the third of God the Holy Ghost, and our sanctification.

REMARKS BY THE EDITOR.

I

On the 4th and 5th Questions of the Heidelberg Catechism.

The experienced reader will readily perceive, that, in many

places of the "Firm Ground," Olevianus commonly uses the language of the Heidelberg Catechism; which the design of this book requires. Hence the sinfulness of man is here also expressed in the same words, found in that celebrated and so generally adopted symbol of the Reformed Church. We refer to the 5th Question of the Catechism, with the explanation of which the 4th stands intimately connected. And besides, these two questions are also fellow-sufferers, being attacked from every side; therefore, we will consider them both a little more closely.

It is a well known fact, that the catechisms of the Reformed and Lutheran Church in Germany are considerably at variance in this already, that they apply the divine Law in a different manner. It is, in the first place, an old complaint of the Reformed, that the Lutheran Catechism does not arrange and number the ten commandments according to the Bible; but follows the Romish Church, addicted to image-worship.—The second commandment, forbidding every use of images in worship, she has left entirely out, and then, without the least authority she divides the 10th commandment into two parts. Besides, the Heidelburg Catechism presents the divine Law in all its parts only there, where the thank-offering life of the regenerate man is considered,* regarding it far more suitable to follow the example of Christ, presenting first the sum and substance of the Law to awaken a proper knowledge of sin, (Math. 22: 37–40,) whilst Luther presents all the ten commandments; which are, however, not expounded to their whole depth, and least of all the 9th and 10th commandments. A more concentrated effect is thus produced, as the sinner is directed, not especially to the evil to be shunned, (as the ten

* Many of our modern Catechists appear not to appreciate this peculiarity of the Heidelberg Catechism. It would have been a very easy thing for the profound Theologians, Olevianus and Ursinus, to arrange in a loose way the principal traditional Articles of faith, in the manner of the small Lutheran Catechism, which presents building material, rather than a complete structure, as Nitsch, in his practical Theology has very properly remarked. But our authors wished to accomplish something higher, and deliver to us an organic body of Christian doctrine. A very admirable work was the result of their labors. Every unprejudiced mind will grant this, no matter how he may otherwise stand as to the contents of the Heidelberg Catechism.

commandments preponderatingly do ;) but to the full, divine image of a God-pleasing life, in thought and action to its deepest root. In this manner not only sin, but man's entire misery is revealed, and the natural man is not so easily deceived by the delusion of Pharisaic righteousness, which boasts in keeping the commandments. The 4th question, so carefully framed, is answered by the Catechism with its well known statement of the sinful condition in which we all by nature now find ourselves. Quest. "Canst thou keep all these things perfectly?" Ans. "In no wise, for I am prone by nature to hate God and my neighbor." No wonder that all partial and entire enemies of Christianity, all that presume to save themselves, either in part or altogether, shoul dreject the sound and pithy Palatinate Catechism unanimously. Those tender, sensitive souls, that have never learned to understand themselves properly, and can, therefore, relate such great things of their natural virtues—are also indeed offended at the above answer. But that, in consequence of such errors and sickly tendencies, Theologians should have undertaken to mutilate the venerable symbol of our Church,—this seems rather incredible. Take the Heidelberg Catechism as it is, or else let it entirely alone. Intelligent Reformed ministers have always treated this excellent preceptor in this way. If they found something objectionable, they did not undertake to alter it—to which they had also no right whatever—but submitted to be further instructed in its doctrines, and by these again to be led deeper into the Scriptures and into their own hearts. At last they found that the good old teacher was correct, and the German Reformed Church also, by which it has been adopted on account of its conformity to Scripture. So also in the point now under consideration, the Catechism is scriptural in every word. Let the following passages be carefully considered, and it must be acknowledged, that the opponents of the 5th question, and such as have made alterations, are conclusively refuted by the simple word of God.

Ps. 14 1–3. "They are corrupt, they have done abominable works, there is none that doeth good," &c.

Isa. 64: 6. "But we are all as an unclean thing, and all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags."

Rom. 8; 7. "The carnal mind is enmity against God."

In the description of our sinful state, Rom. 1: 29–32, I will only mention the name there given to the natural man, namely, "haters of God," whilst the other attributes in this passage prove sufficiently, that we by nature hate also our neighbor. This latter point is established moreover by Eph. 2: 3, 4, 8, and especially by Titus 3: 3, "For we ourselves also were sometimes foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful and hating one another." So confesses the great and holy man Paul of his condition prior to his conversion to God. In my opinion this is sufficient to convince all of us.

REMARKS.

II.

On the Messianic Prophecy.

God instituted sacrifices and libations in the Old Testament to convince the Jews, that he was their Father, and had not without reason set them apart as his chosen people, therefore, it is most certain, that he, at that time, revealed himself to them in the same Image, (namely in his eternal Son,) in whom he appears to us now in his full glory. (Comp. Calvini Inst. II. 9.) Moreover, as it regards the substance and truth of the covenant with the fathers, the new and old covenants together constitute only one covenant of God with his people from the beginning till the end of the world. This proves that the Jews are not only called to be the children of God, without any merit on their part, by the free grace of him who calls them; but that they also must have had Christ, and known him, as the only mediator of their covenant. The Old Testament believers are saved by the Saviour that was to come, as we, the New Testament believers, are saved by the same Saviour having come! (This truth is admirably developed by Augustine in his writings against the Pelagians.) Hence Paul writes to the Romans, that God the Father had long since promised the Gospel of his Son through the Prophets in the Holy Scriptures, and that the righteousness of faith is testified by the Law and the Prophets. (Comp. Calvini Inst. II. 10.) Who then, does not

feel convinced of what the Scriptures say, that Abraham saw the day of Christ and rejoiced in it, (John 8: 56,) and that Christ had led and protected the people of Israel in their wanderings out of the land of Egypt. And this throws light also on the other beautiful passage of the Apostle Peter: "After which salvation the Prophets have inquired and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you. Searching what, or what manner of time the spirit of Christ, which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow. Unto whom it was revealed, that not unto themselves, but unto us did they minister the things which are now reported unto you by them that have preached the Gospel unto you, with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven; which things the angels desire to look into." (1 Peter 1: 10–12.)

It is this firm foundation of the eternal counsels of God, on which rests also what we commonly call the Messianic Prophecy. In a wider sense, the whole Old Testament with its Cultus, is a prophecy about Christ, who was to come, as it is indeed the object of the entire Scripture, that, through it and the Holy Spirit, we learn to know and embrace Christ as our only wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption, our only comfort in life and in death. In a narrower sense, the Messianic Prophecy comprises prophetic revelations of Christ, who should be very God and very man in the one divine person of the Mediator. They predict in clear terms the advent of the promised seed of the woman, on the one hand very man, and the brother of fallen men, and yet not the mere child of man, being separated from sinners and free from their sinful origin; who should make atonement in our stead,—and on the other hand as a truly divine person, as the Immanuel—"God with us;" who should redeem and save us forever, by the power of his prophetic, high-priestly and kingly offices. This is the divine, living idea of Messianic hopes and revelations, running through the whole Old Testament. Immediately after the fall, the God of mercy appears to his deceived and fallen children with that comforting and reviving promise: "The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head." For good

reasons this promise has been called the first Gospel, because it sends forth into a world of ungodliness and misery the first glad tidings of salvation. In the progress of time, this dim but generally expressed hope of our race, became ever more definite, clearer and fuller of blessed significance. The different features of the Redeemer's image make their appearance one after another, until the whole is perfectly revealed. Who he might be—from whom—when and where he should be born —what glory he possessed—what should be the form, the suffering and work of the Son of God, and in what manner he would establish, extend and maintain his eternal kingdom of salvation. For a brief confirmation of this, see Isaiah 7 : 14, representing the virgin as mother of Immanuel,—and Daniel 9: 24, determining the time of birth by his seventy prophetic weeks—and Micah 5 : 2, pointing out Bethlehem as the birthplace of the Lord, (Comp. Matth. 11 : 6,)—and Is. 53. Also Zech. 13 : 6, describing the manner of suffering,—as the opposite of which is then also set forth the glory of him, that has arisen from the dead, and of his blessed people; (Is. 53 : 8. Jer. 31 : 31–33. Zech. 12 : 10, &c.,) until all this was finally realized in the person of Jesus Christ, in whom the eternal word of the Father has become man. (John 1.) This same Christ promised, was the justification and comfort of the ancient believers. And, (as though the divine love of the Father wished to outdo itself,) he gave them, in ceremonies, libations and sacrifices, the same great comfort in his only begotten Son, in a symbolical, visible and tangible manner.

Were we to enter any further into Messianic prophecy, it would carry us far beyond the limits of our remarks. Yet I cannot well suppress the conviction, that also in this important point, the Old and New Testaments cannot be separated, but that the one stands and falls with the other. If you deprive the Old Testament of the Messianic prophecy, in the sense now stated, you deprive also the New Testament of its authority. In proof of this, let me point you to the word of God. Compare only the following passages carefully : Deuteronomy 18 : 5–18, 20, with Acts 3 : 22 ; 7 : 37—and Ps. 2 : 2, 7, 11, 12, with Acts 25 : 13, 14. Heb. 1 : 5 ; 5 : 5—and Ps. 110 : 2, with

Matth. 22: 41–45. Acts 2: 34—and Ps. 22: 2, 19 with Matth. 27: 46. John 19: 24—and Ps. 8: 5–7 with Heb. 2: 6–9. 1 Cor. 15: 27, 28, and Ps. 40: 7–11 with Heb. 10: 5–7. Having done this, let us inquire seriously whether it is possible for us, after denying the Messianic significance in these Old Testament passages, still to receive the New Testament as the word of God, given to us by inspiration of the Holy Spirit? Certainly not!

Moreover, how can the preaching of the Son of God stand firm, if we reject the Messianic prophecy in its proper sense, in which it has always been held by the true Church of the Old and New Testaments? I refer only to the sermon in the synagogue at Nazareth, and the interpretation there given of Isaiah 61: 1 and 2. What Christian writer would dare to explain away the Messianic prophecy of this passage? And yet, many of our modern wise men—not only Gesenius forsooth—have presumptuously risen up against the interpretation of the eternal Logos. Surely our old Reformed expounders of Holy Writ, as Vitringa and Coccejus, have not been guilty of such proceeding. They sat at the feet of Christ, and out of his fulness they received grace and truth for the proper understanding of the divine word. And the great Church-father, Calvin, in keeping his eyes thus fixed upon Christ, the brilliant star of the entire Scriptures, has opened the right way for the proper understanding of the prophetic passage now in question. Other Christian writers, especially Stier of recent date, have completed what the master had commenced.

Christ affirms, furthermore, not only in general, that the Old Testament bears witness of him, but also in particular, that Moses, for instance, had written of him, (John 5: 39, 46,) and the different stages of his suffering he endured according to the writings of the Old Testament. (Mark 9: 31, 32. Matth. 16: 23; 20: 22.) In this sense, he interprets Ps. 41: 10, of the betrayal by Judas; and Zech. 13: 7, of the offence which the disciples took at him. Matth. 26; 31. Mark 14: 27. His motive of commanding Peter to put away the sword, he bases on the Old Testament prophecy. Matth. 26: 54. In the hatred of the Jews he sees a fulfillment of Psalm 35:

19; 69: 5. (Comp. John 15: 25.) Christ stands likewise in the Old Testament with the consciousness of his glory. Of John, his forerunner, he hears the Old Testament prophecy: "Behold I send my messenger before thy face." Luke 7: 27. His kingdom is first promised to the Jews. Matth. 7: 21: 22: 25; 31: 46; 27: 11. In the faith of the Church, respecting the Messianic prophecy, stood also, not only those at the time of the Redeemer's birth, who hailed the advent of Christ with joy, having looked for the consolation of Israel confidently, (Luke 2: 25,) as Simon and Hannah, Zacharias and Elizabeth, the Shepherds and the wise men from the East, Philip and Nathaniel; but also a number of those even, who afterwards crucified him. For although the perverted Jews did not want to acknowledge Jesus as the prophesied Saviour, they nevertheless believed firmly, that the Messiah should be born in Bethlehem, (Matth. 3: 5, 6,) and that he must be the son of David, (John 7; 42. Matth. 22: 41. Mark 12: 35. Luke 20: 41;) that he had a forerunner—was the Son of God —eternal King—Restorer and Saviour, (John 1: 21. Matth. 17: 10; 20: 20; 28: 42. John 4: 25; 6: 15; 12: 13; 19: 14, 15;) and that he would be rejected, and yet remain Messiah forever. (John 12: 34; 7; 26. Acts 5: 38, 39, 40.)

This much have even the unbelieving Jews learned from the Revelation of the Old Testament; would that in Christendom none might remain behind them!

REMARKS.

III.

On Justifying Faith.

It is not my intention to improve, or to complete Olevianus' definition of faith. I should consider every addition to the text superfluous, were there not propagated so many misunderstandings of this all important subject. But as it is, not only the Roman Catholic Church maintains constantly an idea of faith, which evangelical Christians must reject as false; but among Protestants themselves, a better agreement on this subject, (with which the evangelical Church stands or falls,) is absolutely necessary. Romanism, and all shades of Rationalism, endeavor to base our eternal comfort, (the righteousness

acceptable with God) only on our virtue, on the condition of our internal and external life. Faith, under these circumstances, is something intellectual, having its seat in knowledge, and completing itself in the acceptation of those doctrines that are considered true. Gospel Christians, on the other hand, hold that justifying, saving faith grounds itself in the will. This simple, clear position of the controversy ought not to have been shifted. Our inquiry, therefore, is only this: Whether we, like our Reformed teachers of old, can at present cherish the same joyful conviction, that the doctrine of faith, as held in the evangelical symbols, is supported by the word of God?

I. That there is contained in faith a certain knowledge of God, of his truth, his promises and especially of his will, is every where taught in the Scriptures, and Romish Theologians will never succeed to prove from the same Scriptures, that a blind dependence on Church authority, without the least self-knowledge, can also be called faith. The knowledge inseparably connected with faith has its substance and rule also in the word of God. Not a man's word, nor priestly assertions, nor yet any truth, no matter how well established by council-resolutions, can be set up in the first instance, as a determining rule for saving faith. Such high authority is lodged only in the infallible, perfect word of God, which is clear, through the light of the Holy Spirit, to every soul thirsting after salvation. Furthermore, faith, in the first instance, is not an assent to a multitude of doctrinal articles, no matter how true they may be. What the evangelical Church calls faith, is, in the first instance, a concentration of the whole inner man on the divine promises of mercy, on the gracious will of God. And since this will has realized its personal appearance, its mediation and pledge in Christ, the eternal son of God; therefore the principal contents of the Gospel, and also the proper object of faith, is even He that has been slain for the sins of the world. With this central sun hang together all Christian truths of Holy Writ, no matter how far distant in the circumference they may be found. If our relation to Christ is proper, then it will be proper also to everything proceeding from him, or it will certainly become so through the Spirit of God.

To give, in the first instance, any other object to faith, than the person of the divine Saviour of sinners, would be an error, and a kind of apostacy from the Reformed to the Romish and rationalistic idea, according to which, faith is regarded as a mere outward acceptation of Christian doctrines. Reliance on Christ, and through him on the grace of God, is the true meaning of the word faith,* as used by him and his Apostles, and is always meant also then, when the proper faith of Christians, namely, that which profits, justifies and brings salvation, is referred to. The principal idea of faith, therefore, is a firm confidence in God's word, and in his gracious will, or in the person of Christ, which is the same; a confidence having its root in the heart and filling the whole inner man. (Comp. Matth. 9: 12. Luke 5: 31; 8: 50. John 14: 6; 15: 4–6; 12: 46; 11: 40. 1 Peter 2: 6. Acts 2: 36; 10: 43; 15: 11. Rom. 4: 5, 9, 11–20.) That this faith now carries in itself especially a divine assurance, that it has its root in the heart and is based on the conviction of man's own lost condition, and on Christ's salvation, is taught in numerous passages of Scripture, especially in the following: John 3: 36. Acts 14: 2; 19: 9. 1 Peter 2: 7, 8; 3: 1. Matth. 21: 21. Mark 11: 2, 3. 1 John 3: 2. 1 Cor. 3: 2. Rom. 14: 1, 22, 23.

Justifying faith in its significance as a firm confidence, exercised by the self-abandoning heart in Christ crucified, and, more especially still as a divinely wrought confidence in the death of Christ, is very especially represented in the following passages: Rom. 3: 25–31; 5: 2, 9. Gal. 3: 8, 9, 14, 24; 5: 5. Eph. 2: 8. Phil. 3: 9. If we ask now, by what means this faith is originated in us, the Scriptures answer, that it is primarily the work of God. From our unbelieving, God-opposing, selfish hearts proceed, alas, those other things, spoken of by our Lord in Matth. 15: 18–20. The Spirit of God originates

* Πιστις (faith) and πιστευω (I believe) from πειθεσθαι, through the mediating transition word πιστος, which primarily expresses the nature of active confidence (John 20: 27,) and then signifies also "true" and "reliable."—(Matth. 25: 21, 23; Luke 12: 42.) How decisive this derivation is for πιστευειν, "to believe," needs no proof. This word has not only confidence for its principal idea, but expresses also the exercise of firm confidence as a lasting state of mind.

faith in us, and indeed in a manner so singular and divine, that it manifests itself as a free, personal resignation of the heart to the love of Christ, a resignation based on the deepest conviction. Phil. 1: 29. "To you it is given, in the behalf of Christ—to believe on him." 1 Cor. 12: 3. "No man can call Jesus the Lord, except by the Holy Ghost." Eph. 2: 8, teaches emphatically that faith does not proceed from us, but is the gift of God. The Holy Spirit is not only the author of a free heart-felt faith, but also with his divine word, the living, only entitled authority of faith. Gal. 5: 22. "The fruit of the Spirit is faith." 1 John 5: 6. "It is the Holy Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth." The same Lord with his Spirit is then also the power that increases and supports faith till the end. Hence all true believers pray to him, "Lord increase our faith;" (Luke 17: 5,) and Peter proclaims to us the consoling truth, that by the power of God through faith we are kept unto salvation. 1 Peter 1: 5. (Comp. Luke 22: 32. Eph. 1: 19.)

The preaching of the divine word is mentioned in the Scriptures as the only means employed by God to originate faith in our hearts. (Rom. 10: 14, 17.) Also in this we see again, not only the divine condescension through which he embodies his truth in a finite form; but also his love, which does in no wise desire a mechanical faith, produced in a mechanical manner; but will lead us to faith and happiness by divine truth, clothed in human form. How vastly different is this evangelical faith from the *faith of authority* in the Romish Church, and from the priestly invention of a fides implicita!

All that has been said now shows how firmly Olevianus, with his evangelical idea of faith, stands based on the word of God. The single features of this faith we could not better sum up, than by presenting to the reader the following two questions of the Heidelberg Catechism, which belong to the most glorious treasures of the Reformation age, and express the sense, which the Scriptures attribute to saving faith, in a matchless manner.

Quest. 21. *What is true faith?*

Ans. True faith is not only a certain knowledge whereby

I hold for truth all that God has revealed to us in his word; but also an assured confidence, which the Holy Ghost works by the Gospel in my heart, that not only to others, but to me also, remission of sin, everlasting righteousness and salvation, are freely given by God, merely of grace, only for the sake of Christ's merits.

Quest. 65. *Whence does this faith proceed?*

Ans. From the Holy Ghost, who works faith in our hearts by the preaching of the Gospel, and confirms it by the use of the sacraments.

II. Since we have now learned to know the genuine, profitable, saving faith, it will be interesting and useful to consider also briefly what faith is not.

1. It is not a mere consent to divine truth. This is given also by devils, and unhappy people of the nature of Agrippa. (Luke 2 : 18 ; Acts 26 : 27 ; James 2 : 19.)

2. Nor is true faith to be confounded with the so-called temporary belief, which is nothing but a *natural* inclination for the kingdom of God, a natural desire of the soul to understand, enjoy and profit by the truths of Christianity. Temporary believers may show zealous attachment to the good cause, but they are void of the entire resignation of a converted heart to Christ. They are those that are sown on stony ground. (Matth. 13 : 20, 21.) Of such persons is to be understood, what we read in Heb, 6 : 4–6, and 2 Peter 2 : 20.

Since temporary believers resemble in many respects the truly faithful, as the seeds on stony ground resembled those that had fallen on good ground, therefore, the distinction between both kinds is as difficult as it is important. For the faith of the "almost Christian" is also based on the divine word, to which he consents in its full extent. We may find also that he has received true communications of experience, warnings and accusations of conscience. He can speak even of a certain change in his thinking and life, when he compares himself with what he was formerly, before professedly embracing the Christian doctrine and placing himself under churchly influences. He also considers himself a sinner ; expects to be saved only through Christ; relies directly on this salvation

and finds a certain comfort in the conviction of his preparedness for it, which increases with his observing that a whole catalogue of sins are really hateful to him, and that he strives zealously to enjoy peace and respect through the external restraining of the flesh. Such persons often distinguish themselves even in religious exercises, or other apparent virtues, such as firm attachment to Church doctrines, benevolence, &c. They resemble those foolish virgins, who, as well as the wise, had lamps and arose when the cry was heard: "The Bridegroom cometh." They prayed like the rest: Lord, open unto us; but they were not the true virgins of the Bridegroom. (Matth. 25: 1–13.) Such church members who have prophesied on earth in the Lord's name, cast out devils and performed other works, are, at the second coming of the Lord, not recognized as such as had been *true* Christians at one time, and had fallen off again, (which is not possible,) but as those that never truly belonged to the Lord's followers. The awful sentence, *Depart from me!*—points to their final doom. Matth. 7: 23. According to Paul's representation, they have once been enlightened, and tasted of the heavenly gift and of the powers of the world to come; but all this had for them no permanent result of true salvation; because they had only the external appearance of godliness, like the seed on stony ground, but not the life. (Heb. 6: 4–6.) To understand this kind of Christianity and to distinguish it from its deceptive features, requires a wisdom, which God alone possesses in full measure. The Lord alone has an *infallible* knowledge of his own. Yet there are a number of characteristics by which upright Christians are enabled to perceive the difference. Let us consider them briefly.

a. The knowledge of the temporary believer is a knowledge of the letter, contents and extent of Christian truths, and the light connected with this is a light of the head. They have neither the enlightened eyes of the inner man from the experience of the regenerate heart, nor the instruction of the mind of Christ and the anointing of the Holy Ghost. (Eph. 1: 8; 1 Cor. 2: 16.) These are prerogatives of true believers only.

b. Temporary believers, no matter how much they may run

and hasten, and exhibit themselves in the appearance of godliness, yet their heart has never passed through the pains of regeneration. The old man alone rules, and the stony ground of the natural mind is the only soil of their spiritual life. The true believer, on the other hand, is changed, regenerated in his inmost being; his heart is renewed through the Spirit and Word of our God. The former possesses a life similar to the divine only on its surface, whilst in principle he is dead. The latter is fundamentally alive, though on the surface he appears sometimes poor and low; but his heart is cleansed through the obedience of truth, which establishes in him an undying growth and everlasting life. 1 Peter 1: 22; Acts 15: 9.

c. Temporary believers know the life of Christ, his offices and natures. They hold also to him, but only to enjoy the consolation of imaginary salvation. No communion and intercourse of their hearts with Christ himself exists. They have never applied Christ's sufferings and sacrificial death to their own lost spiritual condition, nor have they themselves ever entered into these sufferings with their sinful state. Their warfare against sin is at best directed against public outbreaks of wickedness, but to the *root* of sin they never apply the axe. The divine Physician, with the remedies of his grace, has never been called in by them for their own hearts, much less have they permitted him to expose and cure their wounds radically. They are possessed only of a general, self-made confidence of being in Christ, and that, therefore, they must be saved. They have lamps, but no oil in them.

The true believer, led by the Holy Spirit into godly sorrow over his own desperate spiritual state, gives himself up to Christ unreservedly. As those lepers and blind persons in the evangelical history, so are true believers now filled with anxious desire to come to the Saviour, after having learned his power and approach. When he has received them, *this fact* is the subject of their joy. In *his* person they place all their confidence. To *him* their souls supplicate for cleansing, and with him they hold sweet intercourse in secret communion in the quiet recesses of their hearts. Before him they live every day in spiritual watchfulness. His holy eyes are

the mirrors of their souls, and they sojourn in his narrow way of self-sacrificing love.

d. The *joy* of temporary believers has no foundation. Luke 8 : 13. They gaze at the treasures of Christ and find them precious. But the true believer's joy is in the Lord himself, and has its ground deep in the heart, prepared by godly sorrow.

e. The products of the temporary believer are nothing but false fruits of the old man ; but the true believer produces the fruits of faith. Matth. 13 : 23.

3. Justifying faith must be distinguished carefully from that by which miracles are wrought ; for with the latter we can be lost, but not with the former. (Comp. Matth. 22 : 20 ; 1 Cor. 13 : 2 ; Acts 14 : 9, 10.) This kind of faith is an instrument of divine power. The passage, 1 Cor. 13 : 2, is generally misconstrued by infidels and legally righteous persons, to prove by their works the doctrine of the excellence and merit of love. If they would only note the connection of this passage with the preceding chapter, they must perceive that the faith here spoken of is not any more real justifying faith than that of devils, referred to by the Apostle James. The faith of this passage is a miraculous gift, as in general the discourse here is concerning the spiritual, mysterious gifts of the Apostolic Church.

4. Faith receives neither its form nor its power from love ; on the contrary, justifying faith is the creator and life-power of love, as also of all other virtues of the regenerate man. (Gal. 5 : 6 ; Rom. 7 : 5 ; Col. 1 : 29.) Love is but the effect of the principle of faith acting in it, and lives and operates only so far as its principle lives and operates.

5. Faith and works stand related to each other as cause and effect. Faith consists as little of obedience as the tree of its fruit, nor is the pleasure and zeal of the believer to live after the whole law of God, to be taken together with faith. Where there is faith, there are also the works as evidences of its proper nature. James 2 : 26. But that these works are no elements of faith, is proved by such passages as Rom. 3 : 28 : "Therefore, we conclude, that a man is justified by faith with-

out the deeds of the Law." Who would dispute that the word of God distinguishes here pointedly between works and faith; nay, places them even opposite each other.

6. We must be very careful not to confound the assurance, that Christ has died for us, with faith. For this assurance and evidence is only the result of true faith. Such a confounding of cause and effect would plunge us, like the temporary believers, into the most dangerous security.

7. Very nearly allied to this last error, is the opinion of those, who consider themselves believers, because they, like Balaam, cherish the desire to die the death of the righteous, or to have Jesus for their Saviour. (Numb. 23: 10.)

III. Faith and regeneration are inseparably connected. With faith also the spiritual life in the soul makes its first appearance. Where faith through the Holy Spirit has manifested itself fully, there regeneration has also taken place. Although it is seldom the case, that the time of regeneration is precisely known, we can, nevertheless, make the inquiry, how faith and regeneration stand related to each other *in point of time.* And we must decide, that *substantially* they occur simultaneously. Only a mechanical, materialistic view, such as now prevails, can give priority to regeneration, because it is the mighty work of God and hence commenced by him. The Spirit of God performs but *one* work, namely, the work of salvation in general, and not two separately, first that of regeneration and then that of faith. And this work, single in its nature, he begins in us in an organic, living manner, so that it develops itself as a personal, free life of salvation.* Its first appearance is justifying, saving faith. According to order, therefore, faith does indeed precede the new life of regenera-

* Only an unbiblical exaggeration of the entire loss of the divine image through sin, can agree with the mechanical, unscriptural idea of a material, even impersonal regeneration, as it has lately been praised up by the exaggerators of baptismal grace. The Reformed doctrines like the Bible, have no sympathy with either. It is especially deserving of more thorough consideration, that the Reformed Church has from the beginning not consented to such extravagances. The great Calvin already distinguished very acutely the image of God as an essential quality of the soul, which has not been entirely lost through sin, from the mere attributes of the soul. See also Dr Ebrard's Dogmatic I. 309.

tion. For without Christ there is no life in us. Only in our resigning ourselves to this Lord, who himself is life, do we imbibe life. For us the origin of life rests in faith, which consequently precedes regeneration according to order, but not in time. Hence we must guard as much against that mechanical idea of salvation, as against the perversion of Christianity by those that seek first self-denial and sanctification. For in both of these errors, we have the surest means never to obtain spiritual life. John 12: 36, 46; 8: 12; 3: 15, 16; 11: 25, 26; 1 John 4: 9.

IV. The life-stages of faith manifest themselves perhaps in the following succession and development.

1. A deep knowledge of our spiritual misery, punishableness and lost condition, without all of which faith cannot be conceived; for this first urges us to hunger and thirst after reconciliation, righteousness, peace and life in Christ. That this is the beginning of faith, is taught also by the Lord in the example of the publican. Luke 18: 13 14. In this condition the soul is animated by a longing desire to find redemption in the merits of Christ,—and in the wilderness of her spiritual condition, Christ appears precious to her. 1 Peter 2: 7. She is enlivened with courage to give herself over to him, trusting in that glorious promise, "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled." Matth. 5: 6.

2. Then follows self-resignation to Christ as the only refuge. The soul clings to the Saviour like the woman of Canaan in the Gospel. Matth 15: 27, 28. And whosoever comes to him in this manner, shall in no wise be cast out. John 6: 37. On the contrary, the blessed promise of Christ is here fulfilled: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Matth. 11; 28. Blessed are all that so trust in the Lord. Ps. 2: 1, 2; Is. 45: 22; Ps. 36: 8.

3. The soul accepts of Christ's *promises and offerings confidently*. She places, therefore, also *all her trust* in his truth, merit and power. She gives him hand and heart, like the bride to the bridegroom, and espouses herself to him for all eternity. Thus we are the children and heirs of God, and

know forever of no other wisdom and righteousness acceptable before God, no other sanctification and redemption, than Christ and in Christ. 1 Cor. 1: 30; John 1: 12; Col. 2: 6.

4. The true believer, in the exercise of his confidence, trusts in Christ, and relies on him with all his hopes for time and eternity. Whatever strife there may arise, from within and from without, and however dark it may at times appear around us—under all circumstances, we rely on our Lord, who has bought us for himself. Is. 48: 2; 50: 10.

5. The finishing point is the assurance: "Jesus is mine, and I am his," (Song of Sol. 2: 16,) on which the Holy Spirit sets his seal. That this assurance occurs in some instances sooner than in others, and that the sealing is at one time less powerful than at another, is a fact well known to Christians. But that the true Christian *must* obtain this assurance, is just as certainly fixed. "For I know in whom I have believed," says Paul, and hence he adds: "I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day." Passages like the following deserve a careful consideration: Eph. 1: 13, 16; 4: 30.

V. The results and fruit of faith are very manifold, and furnish proper evidence that faith is the true life of the soul.

1. *Justification.* Rom. 3: 21, 22. "But now the righteousness acceptable before God without the Law, is manifest—namely—that which is by faith in Jesus Christ, unto all, and upon all them that believe."

2. *Peace with God.* Rom. 5: 1. "Therefore, being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." Gal. 5: 22. This peace banishes all fear and is eternal. John 6: 33; 3: 15–18; 5: 24; 10: 9; Luke 2: 10.

3. *The adoption as children.* Gal. 3: 26. "Ye are all the children of God through faith in Jesus Christ." Rom. 8: 15–17; Gal. 4: 4, 5; 2 Cor. 6: 18; 1 John 3: 2; Is. 65: 14; Ps. 10: 5.

4. *Free access to God's grace in Christ.* Rom. 5: 2. "By whom also we have access by faith into this grace, in which we stand." Eph. 3: 12. "In whom we have boldness and access with confidence by faith in him."

5. *Union with Christ.* Eph. 3: 17. "That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith." Thus true believers enjoy the bread and light of life. John 12: 46; 6: 35; 10: 9.

6. *Joy in the Holy Ghost.* 1 Peter 1: 8. "Ye rejoice with joy unspeakable." Gal. 5: 22. "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, &c." Phil. 4: 4; Rom. 15: 13; 14: 17; Ps. 51: 16.

7. *Cleansing of the heart.* Acts 15: 9; 1 Peter 5: 9; 2 Peter 1: 5–7; Gal. 5: 6; John 2: 17.

8. *Victory over all the enemies of our salvation.* 1 Peter 5: 9; 1 John 5: 4.

9. *Love and all kinds of good works.* Gal. 5: 6; John 15: 1–7; 7: 38.

10. *The sealing of the Holy Ghost.* Eph. 1: 13, 14; 4: 30; 1 Cor. 15: 49; 2 Cor. 3: 18; Rev. 7: 3.

11. *Eternal life.* John 11: 25, 26; John 3: 15, 16. "That all who believe in him, might not perish, but have eternal life."

VI. Justification by faith is not only the first result of a sincere, heartfelt confidence in Christ, but is of so vast importance and power, that all remaining fruits and results of faith are grounded in it. Without this justification by faith alone, there is no sonship, no peace, no joy in the Holy Ghost, no love, no assurance of eternal life. For this reason has the true Church always considered the article of justification by faith so vastly important. Zwingli and Luther, Calvin and Melancthon—those principal teachers of the Protestant Church—esteemed this article so highly and of such central importance, that they called it the article with which the Church stands or falls. In it is grounded our peace and comfort, the certainty of the state of grace and life eternal. But it is also in this, as in no other article, that the simplicity of the Gospel of Christ stands forth, at which not only our disingenuous enemies, but also the apparent friends of our Church take offence. How variously has the doctrine of justification by faith been of late perverted, even by writers otherwise respectable. Some teach that we are justified on account of love, or in consequence of the excellent condition of our faith; others again assert, that we are justified by a mixture of faith, of the aspirations

of faith and its present and future effects. But the plain sense of the divine word is, that we are justified, not on account of anything in us, but because of the complete righteousness of Christ, made our own by genuine faith. It would lead us too far, were we to undertake a review and refutation of all the new errors. Besides the "Firm Ground" of our Olevianus, strong in the faith, contains (Page 161) a representation of this saving truth, plain to every one, which is the explanation of the following questions of the Heidelberg Catechism: Quest. 60, 61, 62, 63 and 64. See Catechism.

VII. Justification and sanctification are, by the Romish Church, and by all unevangelical tendencies, either regarded as one and the same thing, or else they make the former dependent on the latter. The word of God separates them very distinctly. We point the reader to Rom. 3: 19–28, and especially to the 4th chapter of this Epistle. It is not said there, that we can be acceptable before God through the fulfilling of the Law, through holy intentions and aspirations, or even through *future* growing perfection; but it is stated how those are able to stand in the judgment of God, who have no works to present, and how even such can obtain forgiveness and salvation, whose own sinful condition is justly deserving of condemnation. The offender obtains pardon by grace, as offender, for Christ's sake; because he has embraced him as his mediator and Saviour. Not the converted, or the virtuous, or such as are filled with infused sanctification, or who imagine themselves acceptable already, in view of their future merit—not such does he justify; but the ungodly who believe on him, whose faith is counted to them for righteousness. Rom. 4: 3–5. We obtain salvation and eternal bliss, not through sanctification, but through pardon and justification. The opposite of condemnation in Scripture is not sanctification, but justification; because this is the liberation by grace for Christ's sake. (Comp. Rom. 8: 33, 34.) In other passages we have, instead of justification, also the expressions, "not imputeth," "not to remember." (Ps. 32: 1, 2; Is. 53: 25; Jer. 31: 34.) If sanctification were comprised in justification, then every one justified must be perfect. If "not to impute sin," meant as

much as to instil sanctification, then to impute sin must mean to instil sin, both of which contradicts the word of God and experience.

It is of the highest importance to a godly life, to understand and maintain this distinction between justification and sanctification, and we can, in a general way, understand it thus:

Justification is the gracious work of God, the Judge, through which he frees us from condemnation for Christ's sake, (Rom. 8: 24; Eph. 1: 24; Rom. 8: 33,) granting us the right to salvation, (Acts 26: 18,) and imputing to us the righteousness of our Mediator, whilst we, united to Christ by faith, embrace this justification and salvation as our own. The form of justification is divine absolution, of which God is the author. The meriting cause is not the righteousness of the regenerate believer, or his aspiration after holiness; but the merits of Christ and his imputed righteousness. The means by which this righteousness is appropriated, is faith, which brings us to Christ, lays hold of this Mediator's merits, according to which the judgment of God over us is determined, and then inquires after God with a good conscience, (1 Peter 3: 21,)—whereupon it accepts and appropriates the promises of God for those that believe in Christ, namely, "Of him (Christ) all the Prophets testify, that through his name, whosoever believeth on him, shall receive remission of sin." (Acts 10: 43.) He that believeth on the Son, hath eternal life." (John 3; 36.)

Sanctification, on the other hand, is the active love of the regenerate man, as it appears and operates through justifying faith; a love desiring to live according to all the commandments, and therefore hating sin. (Col. 3: 9, 10; Ezek. 16: 6; 36: 26; Rom. 7: 22.)

We can, therefore, distinguish more particularly between justification and sanctification in the following manner:

1. Sanctification arises from justification, and manifests itself throughout the life of the believer in thankfulness for the justification by grace.

2. Through justification we have divine absolution from guilt and punishment, and a right to salvation, whilst through sanctification we purify our life the longer the more.

3. Justification is unimprovable and complete from the start; but sanctification remains in the present life always imperfect, and develops itself by degrees.

4. Through justification our complete, unshaken righteousness, valid before God, is *beyond* us in Christ. Through sanctification we have righteousness in us, which must, however, pass through much opposition and struggles of various kinds.

VIII. From this distinction between justification and sanctification the firm and blessed state of believers becomes evident. They are now no longer tossed hither and thither like a reed; their hope is no longer a mere possibility, but a fixed certainty. Every believer can at least have the assurance of his justification and redemption. If you do not possess it, the Scriptures teach you to pray for it. (Ps. 51: 10, 14; 35: 3.) Do you desire examples of a life firmly grounded in justification, look to Job (19: 25,) to David and Paul. (Rom. 8; 38, 39.) The believers have received the Spirit of God, *to know* the gifts he has bestowed on them. (1 Cor. 2: 12; Rom. 8: 9.) This Spirit bears *sure* witness, that we are the children of God. (Rom. 8; 15, 16.) Therefore the justified man expresses his gratitude also for his interest in the inheritance of the saints in light, and that he has been transplanted into the kingdom of Christ, the Son of the Father's love. Eph. 1: 12, 13. We could not give thanks in such a manner for something that we have not actually received as a sure possession.

It is not from himself, however, that the believer has the assurance of justification and happiness, but through the Holy Spirit, (1 Cor. 2: 12,) who is the cause of a firm conviction that we abide in God and God abides in us. (1 John 4: 13.) He is the sure pledge of our inheritance. (Eph. 1: 14.) By him we are sealed unto the day of redemption. (Eph. 4: 30.) Finally, we are kept unto salvation by the power of God through faith, and not by our own power. God never repents of his calling, (Rom. 11: 29,) and when we fall, he does not cast us away. (1 Peter 1: 3, 4, 5; Ps. 37: 24; 89: 32–34.) Why should we then not feel assured of our blessed state?

Only those that lead the people into the error, to put their confidence in virtues, and in saints, and in the mass, and in

priestly absolution, leading them away from the only sure ground of salvation, from Christ the great high-priest—only they reject the precious comfort of the believer's assurance. Let us, therefore, hold on firmly to the precious doctrine of justification by faith alone, and let us always confess the assurance of the state of grace and salvation, enjoyed by true believers, and which is presented in the following passage of Scripture: "Wherein God, willing more abundantly to shew unto the heirs of promise the immutability of his counsel, confirmed it by an oath: That by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie, we might have a strong consolation, who have fled for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before us: Which we have as an anchor of the soul, both sure and steadfast and which entereth into that within the vail; whither the fore-runner is for us entered, even Jesus, made an high-priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec." Heb. 6: 17–20.

More instruction on this highly important subject of our faith may be obtained from the writings of Olevianus, Piscator's book on justification against Bellarmin, &c.

Cincinnati, Ohio. H. R.

ART. II.—THOLUCK'S GUIDO AND JULIUS.

Guido and Julius; or Sin and the Propitiation, exhibited in the true consecration of the skeptic. By Frederick Augustus D. Tholuck, D. D., Professor of divinity in the University of Halle. Translated from the German by Jonathan Edwards Ryland, with an introductory preface by John Pye Smith, D. D. pp. 238. *Gould and Lincoln, Boston.* 1854.

THIS book was published in Germany, more than thirty years ago. The demand for five successive editions attests its mer-

its and general popularity. The present translation was published in England in 1836. It may occasion surprise to some, that the work is re-published in this country at so late a day. But however desirable its appearance at an earlier period, might have been, there was perhaps no time when this book would have attracted so large a number of readers, as at the present. The literature of Germany, and the United States have, especially of late years, been brought into more intimate and pleasant relations. And much of the theological literature imported from the continent, that land of scholars, has become naturalized on our shores. The particular object the pious and learned author had in view in the preparation of this work, was to provide an antidote to the more subtle and fascinating forms of skepticism. And for such a work, there was in Germany, especially in the earlier part of the present century, a loud and imperative demand. Infidelity, in its various forms, had spread like a blighting mildew over the German Universities and Churches and threatened in the very cradle of the Reformation, the total extinction of evangelical truth. When Dr. Tholuck was appointed to the chair of theology in Halle, vacated by the death of Dr. Knapp in 1826, Rationalism had an absolute sway in the University, and the amiable Professor needed a military guard to defend himself and his dwelling from the attacks of fanatic students, embittered by the appointment of an evangelical teacher. In an address delivered by our author before the theological school in Strasburg, in 1837, he observes, "No one at this time doubts, that in the early part of this century, Rationalism was the only religion of all the more cultivated classes of society. The most that can be admitted is, that on the coast of the Eastern Sea, in Pomerania, or in the most remote parts of Prussia, there was yet here and there an orthodox pastor, and even these were expected soon to follow their more enlightened brethren! There was not even a contest with error; for such was the spirit of the times, so fearful and universal the spread of error, that there were scarcely any found who were able to take up the gauntlet against the host of learned enemies of evangelical truth. What Jean Paul says in a somewhat earlier period:

'There was at one time religion in war, but now, there is not even war in religion,' was literally true of the theological arena in the beginning of the present century." He adds: "In the beginning of this century, it occured at a celebrated German University that the theological students, arranged in a formal procession, conveyed the sacred Scriptures to the grave, and in the spirit of contemptuous derision, pronounced over the Book of God a funeral oration!" In this degenerate age the works of such men as Fichte and Spinoza, were far more popular than the holy oracles of eternal truth. Among others, whose productions have contributed to the great apostacy, were Eichhorn, Eck, Eckerman, Paulus, Schiller, Hartman, Gœthe, Wegscheider, Röhr, and even De Wette and Gesenius, as well as Hase, Vatke, and Strauss of Tübingen. We do not mean to assert, that all these had departed equally far from the standards of evangelical truth, but however widely they may have differed as to particular dogmas, they occupied essentially a common platform—they were of one mind in rejecting the fundamental, characteristic *principle* of Christianity. They assumed and professed the principle, that the Christian religion must be construed liberally, and must be accommodated to the growing wants of the times; meaning, that every doctrine and precept proclaimed by Christ, his prophets and apostles, must be brought to the bar of their own constituted goddess of reason, and only such doctrines as sustained the ordeal of that tribunal were admitted to favor with the polished classes. This principle being once admitted, the legitimate results speedily appeared. For "can a bitter fountain issue sweet streams?" The plenary inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, miracles, prophecy, and all positive revelation were first covertly, then openly denied. The Bible, as a consequence, was declared to be nothing more than a collection of mythological fables, family-tales, national songs, hero-stories, political schemes; and at last a sublime morality, a universal religion, pure Theism, which Jesus framed into an adaptation to all countries and all times.

From this description of doctrinal corruption, it is easy to see the necessity of a suitable antidote,—and such an one is

furnished in the excellent volume under review. Dr. Tholuck is known as a man of very superior intellect, and of profound and varied learning. In his early history, he was drawn into the whirlpool of infidelity. He even went so far as to maintain in a public thesis the superiority of Mohammedanism to Christianity. But through the influence of Dr. Neander, and a private friend, he was led to see his error, adopted evangelical views, and became a subject of their saving power. The renewal of the heart, the infusion of a new and heavenly life, his humility, love, and earnest piety, now combined with a sound erudition, prepared him to occupy a most important and influential position among the friends and advocates of evangelical truth. Even his former errors, his acquaintance with infidel sophistry and argument, could now be turned to good account in combatting error and vindicating truth. As a student, he had listened to the lectures of orthodox and rationalistic Professors, had mingled with students and scholars of every shade of sentiment, from the confiding, humble Christian, to the impudent scoffer and bold blasphemer. But "God makes the wrath of man to praise him," and he often employs the very weapons of his enemies to discomfit and scatter them. This he did in the present instance. Our illustrious author had become thoroughly acquainted with the manœuvering and tactics of the enemy, and the weapons he had so skillfully employed in the ignoble cause of infidelity, he now used with tremendous and glorious effect against the marshaled legions of the God of this world.

For the American reader, it will be proper to notice briefly, the particular circumstances which served as an occasion for the publication of this book. In the year 1832, Dr. De Wette published a work, in two volumes; with the title, "Theodore, or the Consecration of the Doubter," [or Skeptic.] The tendency of this book may readily be conjectured, when it is known that the author deduces all religion from an innate propensity in the human mind, cherished and refined by reason and experience; that he sees nothing supernatural in the mission of Moses, of the prophets, of Jesus of Nazareth, and of the apostles; and that, quoting his own words, "the divine excellency

of the Christian religion is especially conspicuous in this, that it directs men to seek their salvation within their own breasts, without any foreign aid whatsoever," and that "the soul oppressed by a sense of its sins, ought to seek rest and peace only from its own powers."* Dr. Tholuck detecting the rationalistic character and injurious tendency of this book, and being painfully conscious of the wants of the age, prepared a work to meet these wants, with the title, "The Doctrine of Sin, and of the Propitiator, or the True Consecration of the Doubter." The method pursued by De Wette, to appease the conscience and silence the doubts of the skeptical students, was, by conducting him into a refined, but spurious philosophy, and by entirely ignoring a positive revelation and the distinctive character of evangelical religion, a mystical Deism. Dr. Tholuck takes the doubting, perplexed and unhappy student by the hand, leads him step by step through the most profound investigations, carefully removing every obstacle as he advances, and scattering to the winds the various refuges of lies in which the children of error in their mad infatuation seek to entrench themselves. Thus with the torch of science in one hand, and the blazing light of revelation in the other, he conducts the bewildered and trembling skeptic to the glorious source of truth and life.

The work before us is divided into two parts. The first part treats on Sin, and the second on Propitiation. The author introduces to his readers two interesting youths, to whom he gives the names Guido and Julius. These, he tells us, grew up together as intimate companions, and enjoying favorable opportunities for mental culture, they pursued their studies with enthusiastic ardor. But alas for the times in which they lived! Education was rudely sundered from its proper and divinely constituted relation to religion; and even religion itself either ignored, or held up to reproach and derision. Still their case was not entirely hopeless. There yet remained some lingering rays of light to conduct them through the dark labyrinths of infidelity and error. But we will now allow the author himself to introduce his interesting youths, and in his own words; he proceeds—

* De Wette de Morte Expiatoria Jesu Christi, p. 94.

"Guido and Julius, early in life, became friends from a congeniality of disposition. While other boys of their acquaintance were satisfied with finishing their appointed tasks, and then gave themselves up to childish amusements, these two were simultaneously drawn by an irresistible impulse into the higher sphere of intellectual life. The noxious mists of earth were floating on the more delicate eye of their perception, and allowed no view of the distant and the lofty, when the pure air of philosophy invited them to its unclouded hills. That mystic music of sentiment, which, issuing from the interior of each susceptible spirit attracts it homewards, resounded in the secret recesses of their bosoms; and they followed the magic tones which called them to the depths of religion. The fine arts also, whose brilliancy casts a transient lustre over sober life, were not seldom the object which they pursued even to exhaustion. One thing only, they could not endure, the common, the vulgar, the mean. Their noble minds were full of vital sparks, inviting as it were the electrical wand which would relieve them from their charge; but it came not. Within the precints of their school was no Emmaus; no spring flowers flourished there, no groves of Academus. The new philosophy which they studied had established itself on the mouldering ruins of the ancient Stoa, and the deserted walks of the gardens of Epicurus. The director of the Gymnasium, an aged man, revered the pineal gland as the seat of the spirit; and had often indulged the speculation, whether the Creator, instead of a heart, should not have furnished man at his creation with a third hand, or a third foot. It was his office to teach religion. Most assiduously he dragged a skeleton, his own workmanship, day after day, into his lecture-room, and shook the man of bones so often as to fill his pupils with dismay. Nor were the other masters of a better kind; philologers, who in all their vocabularies had not one word of life-giving power. The preachers of the town were part orthodox, part neological, but all lukewarm and devoid of energy. What they had of religion was nothing better than cold lava picked up at the foreign volcanoes." From this extract the reader can form an idea of the circumstances in which our noble youths found

themselves, whilst pursuing their academical studies. In early youth, they had been taught to reverence religion, and to regard its claims as paramount. But like many others, they had not been fully brought under its life-giving and controlling influence. Still the truth, which, like a divine seed, had been scattered upon their hearts during a process of early training, however defective may have been their religious education, was not altogether dead and inoperative. They felt in their inmost spirits a want which no human philosophy, no acquaintance with science and literature could satisfy, and though they loved to linger at the Castalian fount, they felt an intenser longing to drink of

> Siloah's brook that flows
> Fast by the throne of God.

But alas! for their noble aspirations. They found themselves in a most uncongenial element. For not even their *longing* after the absolute and real, was in the least countenanced. With a new philosophy, there had also arisen a new theology, a theology not worthy of the name. All this was sad enough for Guido and Julius. And as might be expected, environed as they were with mountains of ice, the flame of their spirits was found to burn more faintly. But now and again the inward gathering new strength, spoke out in thunder tones and burst the barriers of religious indifference, and of an undefined, half-conscious skepticism. In the breast of each arose the question in solemn earnestness—*For what purpose have I been born?* This question, it seemed to these noble minded youths a crime to leave unanswered. Hence they gave themselves to reading and meditation. No one being at hand to direct them in their investigations, and finding in the books they read very much the same diversity as was found among their teachers and associates, their progress towards truth was slow and perplexing. Time rolled on, and the period arrived when they were matured for the university; and here we have their mental posture and condition at this period of their history. "They were enriched with solid acquirements, endowed with a sound, correct judgment; but having withal a sense of unhappiness and want, since they were neither able nor in-

clined to conceal from themselves that the longing for repose (that relic of the divine image in man) was still unsatisfied. With melancholy and deep sorrow they surveyed the past years of their life and beheld the path strewed with crushed hopes and wishes, with errors and faults; they looked with secret agitation on the floods of tumultuous desires within their breasts, the cataracts of unbounded emotions;—their inward life without a goal, their resolutions but so many fleeting clouds, and their principles a mass of stationary cloud, under which the former were hurrying along. And yet! can there be a life without a centre?—as little as a world without a God." Next comes the parting scene, and it is so interesting and touching, that we feel constrained to give it to the reader in the very words of our author. "The time for their separation was now come. Guido was about to study theology at the university of X——; Julius to study philosophy and history at Z——. Affecting was the day of their farewell. It was a bright spring morning; the sun had already risen and shone unclouded in the blue expanse. The meadow in which they had their last interview, was the very spot on which, when only nine years old, they had prayed on their knees to God that he would make them truly pious. "Now," said Julius, "who knows whether we shall not in this same meadow celebrate the answer to the prayer of our childhood?" "Who knows?" rejoined Guido, weeping; "with sorrowing eyes I look forward to the future. Ah, Julius; already the lower region of our life's Etna (childhood and youth) has been fruitful of sorrows; can we expect happier productions of the cold region of manhood and grey hairs? Scarcely will our much agitated hearts have become tranquilized when old age will precipitate us into the crater!" "I," answered Julius, "I cannot doubt that what we are seeking we shall find, though for the present I see no outlet. Like you, I exclaim, Wanderer! whence? Wanderer! whither? I know not. But I behold the sky full of stars, and the human heart full of secret longings and anticipations. Then let us, here, in the presence of the Omniscient, make a covenant, that we will wrestle and strive till we have attained that peace for which our souls thirst; that we will

faithfully and without wavering, follow the inward voice that continually, in whispers or in louder accents, is calling us to the pursuit." With these words they embraced each other and departed.

"Guido commenced his theological studies with great ardor. He attended partly neological, partly orthodox professors. In these lectures he first became acquainted with all the skeptical objections which modern times have raised against Christianity. He had formerly expended his energies on the different sciences, and from all had hoped to satisfy the longings of his heart; he now confined his attention for the most part, to theology. Here he saw an immeasurable field open before him, and he wished, above all things, to obtain certainty respecting the truths of Christianity. None of his instructors satisfied him. Some spoke so coldly and profanely of the characters recorded in the New Testament, that he, though not a believer in its divine origin, perceived something greater and more noble in them than these men could discern."

It is pleasant to notice that our student still retained a measure of respect for the Word of God and the system of religion it reveals. He felt that the sacred volume was pervaded by a mystic element, that it possessed a super-earthly character, and hence though its claim to an infallible, divine revelation could not be sustained, still its high moral character challenged a serious and earnest investigation. But to his extreme chagrin and disappointment, not one of his instructors approached in this spirit the book of God. Some in the spirit of a semi-skepticism made a half-hearted attempt to prove the truth of Christianity by an appeal to its outward, historical evidences, and this method they pursued with such admissions and modifications, that it carried with it but little force, and utterly failed to produce conviction. Other instructors grounded their whole system on the standards of the Church and sought to bear down every apparent contradiction and difficulty which presented itself to inquirers by demanding an unconditional submission of belief, and inviolable adherence to the letter. "Theology had now lost all its attractions for Guido. She seemed to him a rude barbarian, who herself accustomed

to a scanty diet, invited guests from the classic soil of beautiful Hellas, for whom she was unable to provide suitable entertainment; whilst she wielded her club in defiance against any who refused her the meed of hospitality. She appeared still further to betray her base origin and want of native dignity, when, with engaging airs, and obsequious civility, she begged philosophy to allow her to retain a few strips of land from that territory of which she had already been compelled to restore the finest parts to their rightful lord."

Guido now turned away from theology with disappointment and disgust and sought relief in philosophy, which he regarded the queen of human knowledge. But he soon found himself involved in similar difficulities. For if the holy science of theology must be degraded from her high position, could it be supposed that philosophy would escape the rude intermeddling of presumptuous men? In the reigning philosophy there was a hideous mixture of truth and error. In this miserable abortion, pantheism and fatalism were prominent characteristics. Our youth soon found himself on the tumultuous ocean, without chart or compass, not knowing in what moment his frail bark would be dashed to pieces. Having pushed his investigations into the remote regions of speculation, he found himself in the midst of a huge mass of error and contradictions and in the agony of his spirit he exclaimed, Is there truth? is there a God? What am I? have I an immortal destiny? But he continued to pursue his studies with the greatest diligence, without however obtaining rest for his dissatisfied and agitated spirit. From his friend Julius he had heard but seldom. The following, we quote as the substance of his several letters. In his first letter he informs Guido, "that he had commenced to read the Bible diligently; that he found it difficult to convince himself of its doctrines; but that the study of history had proved to him the need of an expressly revealed religion, as well as the excellency of the Christian morals, as exemplified in men who had sought uniformly to regulate their lives by the Scriptures. But suddenly, a year before he left the university, after a long silence, Guido received a letter from his friend, stating that he had undergone a great change, which he term-

ed *regeneration.* The whole language and style of the letter were new. Several things appeared obscure to Guido; but as Julius had expressed himself with great interest and firm conviction, on several doctrines of the Christian faith, he communicated frankly and in detail his own doubts and scruples; not concealing at the same time his apprehensions that Julius, in a flight of enthusiasm, had united himself to a fancied goddess, but in reality to a cloud; a union which would probably end, like Ixion's, in a progeny of chimeras. The next letter brought the unexpected news that Julius had devoted himself to theology; but he assured Guido that he might dismiss his fears about chimeras, for his heart had now learnt by experience the most indubitable, what truth was. That strong desire for clear views which he had always been wont to feel, still continued, and prompted him to the study of theology. He now wished to know the results of his experience in their various connections and relations, and recommended his friend Guido to allow the inquiry respecting evil to take precedence of his other studies; seriously assuring him that from this investigation a new light would speedily break forth. Guido was much affected; on the one hand, by the ardently joyful spirit combined with a firmly settled purpose of soul, of which every sentence in his friend's letter gave evidence; on the other hand, by the hints which Julius had given of several Christian doctrines, which he had hitherto viewed in a totally different light. He himself, had fallen of late into a comfortless skepticism; he had given up all hopes of finding the truth, and in this state had written to his friend, under great discomfort.

Julius in his answer to Guido, expresses the deepest sorrow, in view of his extreme mental perplexity. Guido indicates a spirit almost bordering on despair, doubting whether there exists what is termed *truth.* In this unhappy posture, his friend proceeds to impart in a most loving and earnest spirit, such counsel and instruction as his peculiar circumstances so urgently demanded. After a suitable and touching introduction he proceeds thus: "What I lay down as the δος μοι που στω, as the hinge of all human knowledge, is the Delphic inscription. Only the descent into the abyss of self-knowledge can render

possible the heavenly ascent of divine knowledge; and no pretended wisdom is more to be rejected than that which puts out our eyes, so that we cannot look into the interior of our own being. When I say to you, "learn to know thyself," I mean nothing else than to ask, What *lovest* thou?" Julius now proposes to Guido the grave and important question, *Whence is evil?* And after having stated the different theories, and elaborately exposed those that are false, he says, "Let others look for the root of evil wherever they please. For my part, as I have already shown, I can look for it only in the creature himself. I can never suppose evil to be coeternal with God, nor can I place it in God, as a self-consuming shadow. It is not original, nor is it a necessary defect; it is a deprivation—a contrariety. The Scriptures inform us that God made man upright—that I believe. From light, only light will be produced, and God is the Father of lights. James 1: 17. God, who is a law to himself, is also a law for all created intelligences.

Thus I believe that the Scriptures are the solution of the greatest problem in the universe; thus I conceive, will you also recognise in the 'foolishness of God,' more wisdom than in the whole Babel of human systems. I have spoken to you of that act of the first man, which casts its shadow over the remotest ages. And what is now our condition? Man is truly 'the offspring of God;' but no sooner does he view this aright, and look around, and within him, than all his glorying is at an end; he must throw himself in the dust, and lament that God's image is so shamefully defaced. * * * The more man learns to trace the operations of the living God as a real personal agent, by marking the diversified experience of his own heart, the more indefatigably will he make out, in the apparently confused mass of this world's events, the "*disjecta membra Poetae*," and thus obtain more frequent glimpses of the divine harmony subsisting amidst all the mysteries of our existence. It belongs peculiarly to those master-strokes of the divine hand by which its skill is most clearly shown, that in his plan of the universe, evil unfolds itself free and unhindered; but no sooner has it revealed itself distinctly as evil,

than it is obliged to enter the service of his wisdom, and to execute his will. Thus it is with the sinfulness of Adam. It appears in the whole race, since all are men; but 'if by one man's offence death reigned by one,' how much more they which have received abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness shall reign by one, Jesus Christ?"

Julius continues with the subject of sin, and maintains fully the ancient, orthodox position relative to its origin and propagation. He sees in Adam the proper representative of the race, and in his fall, the fall and consequent depravity of humanity as such. All pelagianistic notions are earnestly discarded, and the race is contemplated as in a guilty and hopeless condition.

After the lapse of almost a quarter of a year, Julius received from Guido an answer to his earnest and affectionate letter. He commences thus:

Dear Julius:

My soul is becoming calmer. A mild brightness begins to skirt the thunder-cloud, and the sound of the thunder is more distant. "Suns beyond suns float in the furthest ether; their unknown radiance has been, for thousands of years, darting onwards to our little globe, and has not yet arrived; but thou O, God, inexpressibly great, art also inexpressibly near!"

My soul is still too agitated; my eyes too full of tears. In a few words only, will I unfold to you the history of my heart.

Yes; now I know it. "Man can misapprehend, scorn and retard the truth; but circuitous and perverted as his course may be, he only wanders, and in the midst of that course, still seeks and means to find it. He cannot do without it; and when it appears to him, it is impossible that he should not do it reverence." But what wisdom is more foolish, to imagine that amidst a thousand systems devised by human folly, man may find truth during this hand-breadth of life, or to resign himself to the total loss of it in magnanimous despair?

Your letter and the suggestions it contained for the guidance of my inquiries, have had a powerful effect on my mind; and though I bow reluctantly, still I bow. Do you wish for an

image of my inward life. Receive it in the words of Schiller:

"Und es wallet und siedet und brauset und zischt,
Wie wenn Wasser mit Feuer sich mengt,
Bis zum Himmel spritzet der dampfende Gischt
Und Fluth auf Fluth sich ohn' Ende drängt.
Und ein arm und glänzender Nacken wird bloss,
Und er ist's, und hoch in seiner Linken
Schwingt er den Becher mit freudigem Winken."

SCHILLER'S DER TAUCHER.

And it whirled, and it boiled, and it roared and it hissed,
As when water and fire contend;
It sprinkled the skies with its scattering mist,
And flood on flood crowded on without end.
* * * * * * *
Now an arm, now a swan-like neck is bare;
* * * * * * *
And—'tis he! in his left hand holding up
With a flourish of triumph the glittering cup.

DWIGHT'S TRANSLATION.

Guido was led to see in the light of God's Spirit, and in the blessed Gospel, what he had never before seen, and what he had all along sought in science and philosophy. The Gospel poured upon his spirit such a flood of light, that he saw with deep horror the fearful depravity of his heart, and became a humble, trembling criminal before his holy and righteous Judge. "Henceforth," he says, "I am no longer ashamed to claim brotherhood with "the publican," who set little value on the pompous philosophy, the high-flown speculation which harangued from the stage, and preferred the humiliating lessons taught by experience, in the dungeon and the mire. (Jeremiah 38.").

"How gratefully the mind receives new lights,
Emerging from the shades of prejudice,
And casting old establishments aside."*

Guido being slain by the law, and condemned at the bar of his own conscience, and feeling himself bound by the fetters of sin and Satan, he earnestly called upon God from the depths of his misery, as the only one who could free him from wretchedness and ruin. By divine grace he was enabled to believe

* Aristophanes, Nubes, 5, 1381.

on the despised Nazarene, and being justified by faith, he had peace with God. And having communicated to Julius the mental process through which he passed, his varied spiritual struggles and experience, and his subsequent peace and blessedness in a living union with the divine Redeemer, he proceeds thus:

"My beloved Friend—I have now made you acquainted with the moulding of my soul. I hold 'the cup high above the foaming flood,' yet the billows still break over me. I think that you will already have learnt from my statements, that the lofty spirit has been brought low, and the stony heart has been crushed. Yes, I can truly say, I am not great in my own eyes. I am the unworthiest of the children of men. With David I can say, 'Before I was afflicted, I went astray; but now have I kept thy word.' * * * Sometimes, while I am sitting in silence, and bewailing that the wheat in myself and others is so much choked with weeds, a gentle voice whispers, "God is thy friend!" A blissful feeling then comes upon me, which I never felt before; I am often constrained to shed tears of joy, and seem as if I had already entered the mansions of the blessed. In my former repose there was an internal disquietude; while now each painful feeling is soothed by the gentle gleams of tranquility. My inward life resembles the close of a summer's day, when the sun is on the point of setting. *

* * Ah, my inexpressibly dear friend, would, that I could see you again! then we might unite in joyful thanksgivings, on that very spot where we prayed happily together in our childhood. How wisely have you guided my wandering heart to the truth! How rich a blessing has it proved to me, that you first called my attention to sin, in order to gain from that point a comprehensive view of the whole Gospel!"

We have now given the reader some idea of the *first part* of our book. With much interest and deep solicitude, we have followed our youths, through their various meanderings; we have traced their keen mental struggles, and witnessed their ultimate and glorious triumph. Their spiritual history furnishes a new and very important testimony in favor of the despised doctrines of the cross. When the light of divine truth

burst upon the spirits of our young heroes, whole systems of error instantly crumbled into dust. They were delivered from the fearful mazes of neological error, and conducted into the higher and purer regions of gospel truth and freedom.

In the *second part* of the book, we have a truly able and most interesting exhibition of the "Propitiator." This part consists of two letters, the first is a reply from Julius to Guido, the one last noticed, and the other is the answer to Julius.

Julius, in the commencement of his letter gives free vent to a heart overflowing with pure affection and devout gratitude. He now sees in Guido a brother beloved, and at the same time a trophy of redeeming grace. The burden of his letter is a masterly vindication of all the great, cardinal doctrines of Christianity, against rationalism, and every form of infidelity. His views on the origin of sin, the fall of man, the consequent depravity of our race, and the necessity of such a Mediator as the Gospel reveals, together with his views on regeneration, and a living union with Christ, are truly refreshing to the Christian heart. It is also gratifying to notice with what skill and consummate ability arguments from science and philosophy are selected and employed against the most subtle and insinuating forms of error. Thus are infidels met on their own ground, and slain with their own weapons.

In answer to the question, What is truth? he says, "this single question reveals at once the extreme penury and the amazing wealth of man. I have repeated even to weariness and disgust, says the wise man of the north, that the philosophers and the Jews are in the same predicament; neither of them know what reason, or what law is, or for what purpose they are given; namely, for convincing of ignorance and sin, not for communicating grace and truth, which must be *historically revealed*, and cannot be obtained by the exertion of man's natural powers; which no man can work out for himself, or receive as his birth-right."* We note also with much interest

* So likewise speaks even Solger, (Philosophical conversations; Berlin, 1817, p. 240,) "Thus it is that reason, if left to itself, however perfect it may be, perceives the necessity only of that which, through the goodness of God, is revealed to us; and that the divine benignity reveals it to us as a *living and present* reality, the necessity of which reason acknowledges, while it is utterly beyond her power to create that great reality.

how our earnest inquirers after truth regarded science and philosophy. In relation to these, they were no fanatics. They properly regarded God as the fountain of *all* truth. All the light of philosophy, in its different branches, together with the light of science, as well as of the glorious doctrines of natural and revealed religion, emanates from the same great Sun, the central Luminary of the universe. Human learning, therefore, they regarded as by no means opposed to Christianity, since the laws and principles of all science have their origin in God, who is himself the absolute truth. They held, moreover, that a superficial education, especially in the sphere of philosophy, was not desirable, that every student should seek by all means to be thorough, to make himself master of the different sciences; and hence quote with approbation the words of the philosopher of Verulam,* "It is an assured truth, and a conclusion of experience, that a little, or a superficial knowledge of philosophy may incline a man to atheism; but a farther proceeding therein doth bring the mind back again to religion." Says Guido, "You remember, Julius, with what deep emotion we read the noble expressions of the great Plutarch. 'As the initiated, at first, assemble with tumult and noise, pushing against one another; but when the sacred rites are introduced and exhibited, attend with silent awe; thus also at first, around the gates of philosophy, you may witness a great tumult, forwardness, and talking among those who are pushing rudely and violently; but whoever comes into the interior, and beholds an awful splendor like that of a temple, assumes another deportment, is silent and trembles, and humbly and reverently follows reason as a god.'"† This paragraph is quoted simply for illustration; for our regenerated youths had no mind to deify mere science, however highly they valued it; but they loved to view it in its real character, and in its proper relation to the glorious science of divine revelation.

The last letter, and which closes this deeply interesting vol-

* Vide Bacon's Advancement of Learning, book 1, p. 18, of Work's Vol. II. Montague's edition.

† Plut. de profectibus in Virtute, Op. Varia, tom, 1, p. 140, ed. H. Steph. 1572.

ume, was written by Guido. It is full of most precious truths, which shine on every page like dazzling gems. Towards its close he gives us a view of religion as it is actualized in social life. He now mingled with humble, and therefore loving, kindred spirits. He now understood, as he never did before, that beautiful article in the Apostle's Creed, "*I believe in the communion of saints.*" He not only realized that believers are made partakers of Christ, and all his benefits, that they are animated by his life; but that Christians themselves, being pervaded by a common life, the life of their glorious Head, are members one of another. In his fellowship with Christian believers, he gives us the following account of family devotions. He speaks of the father of the family as a most venerable, patriarchal man, whose piety appeared unusually deep and elevating. He says, "All the members of the family, and some of the neighbors, were assembled in a small room. First a hymn was sung. Then the old man, with a dignified voice, read an awakening sermon from a Christian magazine, without making any remarks of his own; for he was used to say, 'As long as we have the printed sermons of well qualified instructors, the people need hear none but these; a prayer from a broken and contrite heart often goes deeper.' Another hymn was then sung, of which the last verses were:

> "Saviour! see this little band,
> Join'd in heart, and joined in hand,
> By the sufferings on the tree,
> Pledge their souls, their all to thee!
>
> Let our evening sacrifice,
> Blest with thy acceptance rise!
> Now renew thy last bequest—
> Peace—*thy* peace in every breast!"

He concluded with a prayer. I could not have believed, Julius, that man could have so communed with God, as this aged disciple in his devotions. His language indicated no enthusiasm; for the deepest humility marked every word. His soul appeared to be lost in abasement in the presence of the Most Holy."

Guido concludes his letter with a most touching description of

a Christian's death. With this description our book closes. The object, no doubt, in introducing this dying scene, was to give a faithful and striking exhibition of the power of religion at the close of life—its glorious triumph over death itself. With this view, the case was well selected. We will quote the dying Christian's last words:

"Lord Jesus! oh that I could now, from this cottage, tell the world how happy is he who departs in thy name: For all I praise thee!" After a few moments silence, he again exclaimed, "I have overcome by the power of the Lamb!" These were his last words.

We have thus endeavored to notice a book of more than ordinary ability and interest. And most sincerely would we advise the reader to procure the volume for himself, that he may have the pleasure and profit of reading it entire. We would suggest also that a mere reading of the book will not suffice—it calls for retrospection, for careful study. The author, a man of profound and varied learning, is thoroughly versed in metaphysics, the ancient, the scholastic, and the modern, and into those of both the oriental and the European schools, he has plunged deeply. In the work before us, he frequently makes allusions to objects very much out of the range of ordinary literature and draws from them illustrations singularly felicitous. Though the work is not large, it contains more solid and important matter than many similar publications four times its size.

We have in our possession data, which authorize us to say, that Dr. Tholuck's book was not published in vain. Its influence has been especially salutary among students in the different schools and universities on the continent. And who can doubt that it is owing to its influence, in a good degree, that the tide of rationalism and infidelity, which threatened completely to inundate Germany, has begun to roll back? May God make it still a further blessing.

In the commencement of this article we gave a brief sketch of the fearful prevalence of error in Germany, especially in the early part of the present century. We would now present a more cheering picture of that land—the land of the blessed

Reformatien.* And we prefer quoting the following from the February number of the North British Review, for 1854, as a portraiture of the religious condition of Germany.

"The first pleasing symptom of the German Church, is the very general and increasingly cordial recognition of the principle that faith is the first of Christian graces, and necessary to love and good works—nay, what is for Germany much harder to pronounce, necessary to salvation. The so-called formal and material principles of the Reformation, viz: the supremacy of the Scriptures and justification by faith, with all that naturally clusters around them, make up the body of doctrine which is now in the ascendant. It is so in by far the most influential chairs of the different Universities, probably the majority as to numbers, and the same may be almost said of the pulpits, though here the point of number is more doubtful. No University, except perhaps Giessen, remains unsubdued by the movement party. Tübingen is now wrested in a great measure from Baur and his negative coadjutors; and Leipsig has ceased to bow to the sceptre of mere critics and lexicographers. Meanwhile the men of the middle school, who have constantly approached, by paths of their own, the biblical or confessional orthodoxy of the more advanced, may be said at last to have reached it, in the persons of Nitzsch and Hengstenberg in Berlin. Those two sections may be declared so to have been coalesced, as, while retaining their separate colors, to differ in nothing essential. The formation of the minds of the present, and of the next generation is in the hands of men—from Heidelberg to Königsburg—who have not only broken with rationalism, from theism, and spurious criticism, but actually conquered them; and of whom the most eminent (with rare exceptions) are as distinguished for attractiveness of personal piety as for learning and zeal. The party of unbelief, with the doubtful exception of the Tübingen school, are silent. Every thing but the theology of the Reformation is driven from the field, and the discredit into which speculative philosophy has fallen, which, indeed, is now numbered with the acts of the Frankford

* We would of course not wish to intimate that Germany is the only reformation soil—we could not thus ignore Switzerland and France.

Parliament, has greatly contributed to the victory of a pure and unsophisticated Christianity. The great majority of younger theologians are found to hold fast to evangelical truth."

There is good reason to believe that the sanguine hopes of Dr. Tholuck, expressed in this book, will ere long be realized. He says, "I see a time coming, in which gifted men will lift up their voice for the truth. Perhaps, after a few decennaries, there will be no one in some parts of Germany who will not wish to be called a Christian."

But it may be asked, Is a work like this needed on this continent? Is not this country distinguished for its Christian faith, its general orthodoxy? We may safely, and do most cheerfully admit that this, in a general way, is the character of the American people. Still, we must not be blind to our own faults. Human nature is in this country, the same as every where else, and here too, though in a limited degree, we have every form of pernicious error. Who can doubt that some of the best minds among us, minds enriched by the most elegant scholarship, are under the withering influence of the Pantheistic creed. And so there is no one phase of rationalism, that is not to be found in this country. That this should be so, is by no means strange. The works of Deistical writers, such as Collins, Tindal, Morgan, and others of the same tribe, were translated, and introduced into Germany, and have not these same English works been imported to this country also? In addition to these, we have a large portion of the rationalistic literature of Germany, and not a few have already been brought under its blighting and destructive influence. And have we not in our own country Unitarianism, Universalism, and other heresies whose name is legion? But not to dwell on these gross and obvious forms of error, are there no errors, in the bosom of the professedly orthodox Church itself? Certainly it is no breach of charity to maintain the existence of error even in this sacred enclosure. Let us but glance at New England, to say nothing of other sections of our land. And we do not intend to speak particularly of the grosser heresies which have become so fearfully prevalent on Puritanic soil. We do not wish to dwell on the Socinian heresy—to speak of Unita-

rian Institutions and Churches, from whose pulpits is proclaimed from Sabbath to Sabbath the denial of our Saviour's divinity, thus attempting to blot the very Sun from the ecclesiastical heavens, and burying the hopes of our race in one common grave. We would direct attention to the new views in philosophy and in theology, advanced in New England, by Dr. Taylor and his associates, whose views became known subsequently under the title "New Theology," as distinguished from the faith of the original Presbyterian and Congregational Churches. In this new theology, a fundamental point of difference relates to the doctrine of original sin. And here we would quote the language of Dr. Beecher. "The reformers with one accord, taught that the sin of Adam was imputed to all his posterity, and that a *corrupt nature descends from him to every one of his posterity*, in consequence of which infants are unholy, unfit for heaven, and justly exposed to future punishment. Their opinion seems to have been that the very substance, or essence of the soul was depraved, and that the moral contamination extended alike to all its powers and faculties, insomuch that sin became a property of every man's nature, and was propagated as really as flesh and blood. * * * *Our Puritan fathers adhered to the doctrine of original sin*, as consisting in the imputation of Adam's sin, and in a *hereditary depravity;* and this continued to be the received doctrine of the Churches of New England until after the time of Edwards. He adopted the views of the reformers on the subject of original sin, as consisting in the imputation of Adam's sin, and a *depraved nature, transmitted by descent.* But after him this mode of stating the subject was gradually changed, until long since the prevailing doctrine in New England has been that *men are not guilty of Adam's sin*, and that *depravity* is not of the substance of the soul, nor an inherent or physical quality, but is *wholly voluntary*, and *consists in a transgression of the law, in such circumstances as constitute accountability* and desert of punishment."*

* Dr. Beecher's controversy with the Editor of the "Christian Examiner in the Spirit of the Pilgrims," in 1828, as quoted in the "Biblical Repertory." See also "Old and New Theology," by James Wood, D. D.

Such then, according to Dr. Beecher, are the prevailing views of New England, on the important doctrine of original sin! And those who are acquainted with the "New Theology," know quite well, that this error does not stand alone—that this constitutes a starting point, from which are deduced legitimately, a long series of doctrines, which are very properly regarded as forming a *new system*. Such a Pelagian view of sin, must lead to a new conception of human freedom, of regeneration and conversion, and, in a word, must place in a modified aspect every vital doctrine of Christianity. The Church itself, in her proper character as a divine institution, the Christian ministry, and the holy sacraments, all, must suffer when viewed from this wrong stand-point. And what have been the fruits of this new system, of this departure from the original faith of the Church, the venerable standards of the blessed Reformation? Superficial views of sin, defective conceptions of regeneration, and of the union of believers with Christ—not a few indeed deny such union altogether. And how do such regard the Church, the Lamb's bride? Alas, with but little respect! And the holy sacraments? These, under the influence of such views are regarded not as *holy seals*, but simply as *signs*—they are stript of all mystery, and thus brought down to an ignoble level with carnal reason. Alas! where will these wrong tendencies end, unless they soon meet with a decided check?

Lebanon, Pa. F. W. K.

ART. III.—MARY WEEPING AT THE SEPULCHRE.

A SERMON BY DR. RAUCH.

We have selected one sermon more by Doctor Rauch. The sermon on *Faith and Reason*, published in the last number of this *Review*, may serve as a specimen of his method of, what may be called, philosophical preaching of the Gospel. He was a man, however, not only of clear and profound thought, but also of fine and tender feeling. Earnestness of heart was indeed characteristic of all his pulpit labors, but frequently his sermons were pervaded by a peculiar warmth of spirit, deep emotion and lively sympathy. As an instance of the latter class, we submit to our readers, *Mary weeping at the Sepulchre.*—EDS.

PRAYER.

Lord, our Heavenly Father! We approach thy Throne this morning to thank Thee for the many mercies thou hast bestowed upon us. Thou hast been with us from our earliest youth up to the present hour; Thou hast watched over us and protected us from all dangers; Thou hast given us strength to endure the heavy trials which life entails on every one, and hast preserved us until this day. But especially would we thank Thee, Lord, that Thou didst send Thy only-begotten Son into the world: our thoughts cannot comprehend the sacrifice He made for us, nor the sufferings He endured for us, nor the debt He paid for us, nor the blessings He procured for us.

O Lord, we are sinners and the reward of sin is death. As death follows sin, so the grave follows death; we cannot look upon our graves without remembering sin, and as life feels averse to death, so the sight of the grave arouses bitter feelings and thoughts in the heart of the sinner. But we thank Thee, Lord, that He, in whom thou wast well pleased, the Prince of

life, endured death and passed into the grave on our account. When we reflect on the grave of the Saviour, we may feel reconciled; we may rejoice and hope as we continue the journey at whose end the grave awaits every one of us. Now the grave is no longer the house of decay and destruction, but the silent chamber in which a new life develops itself; for the Saviour has subdued the power of death, and by his resurrection conquered the grave for ever.

May we often meditate on the grave of the Saviour; may we hear the Saviour's voice calling each one of us by name, as he called Mary; may we receive consolation and comfort as she did, and may our sadness, like hers, be turned into joy.

Lord, who art our Friend and Saviour, pardon our weakness when we sometimes tremble at the sight of the grave; when, overcome, by the evils of life and pressed down by a sense of our frailties, we are downcast and without hope. Be near us, as Thou wast near to Mary, when she wept at Thy sepulchre; may Thy mercy and grace speak a word of consolation to us and awaken in us a presentiment of the heavenly joy and happiness prepared for those that die in the Lord. And especially when the evening of life approaches, when our days are spent and our strength decreases, then, Lord, we pray, be near us and bless us with resignation and comfort and hope. Assisted by Thee, raised up by Thy mighty hand, and invited by the blessings and happiness of Heaven, our souls will hasten to rise on the wings of faith and hope to see Thy glory.

Lord, we pray that Thou wilt look in mercy upon the youth collected here. Though in the bloom of life may they remember that death calls not only the superannuated, but seizes also the child, whose first smiles have scarcely saluted the light of the sun. Teach them so to number their days that they may apply their hearts unto wisdom, and be prepared to meet their Judge whenever he shall call them hence.

SERMON.

Text: John 20: 11–18. "But Mary stood without at the sepulchre weeping: and as she wept, she stooped down, and

looked into the sepulchre, and seeth two angels in white, sitting, the one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain. And they say unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? She saith unto them, because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him. And when she had thus said, she turned herself back, and saw Jesus standing, and knew not that it was Jesus. Jesus saith unto her, Woman why weepest thou? whom seekest thou? She, supposing him to be the gardener, saith unto him, Sir, if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away. Jesus saith unto her, Mary. She turned herself and saith unto him, Rabboni, which is to say, Master. Jesus saith unto her, Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father: but go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father, and your Father; and to my God, and your God. Mary Magdalene came and told the disciples, that she had seen the Lord, and that he had spoken these things unto her."

The death of our Saviour had produced different effects upon His friends and enemies. The enemies of Christ constantly apprehended, that something would follow his death which would reveal his divine power, and expose themselves and their unjust cause. The convulsions which took place during the dying hour of the Saviour, and the favorable impression made upon many in their own midst by the sublime manner in which He bore His sufferings, were so many accusers, rising up to charge them with the murder of the Son of God. But especially the words, *that He should rise again on the third day*, seem to have sounded in their ears constantly and to have alarmed their sinful consciences. Hence we see them exercise the greatest caution lest some imposition should be practised upon them. They appoint a watch to observe what might be going on around the grave; they impress their seal, the seal of their authority and power, upon the entrance to the grave, as if they would forbid the dead to rise again. It is evident, that they half fear the possibility of Christ's resurrection, and half hope that all is only the well-planned scheme of an intended imposition, and to frustrate it nothing more is necessary

than their vigilance. Thus vibrating between hope and fear, they looked forward with much solicitude to the third day.

The disciples, on the other hand, had lost all hope and energy, since the death of their Friend. Christ had spoken to them of His resurrection, of the Heavenly Kingdom and its mysteries; He had prophesied everything as it took place in his latter days, but they did not understand Him at the time when He spoke to them, nor did they remember His words and recognise the fulfillment of His prophecies in the occurrences of the day. His enemies remember all this and fear; but His friends have forgotten it and despair. They are children of the dust and the wings of hope cannot rise beyond the sphere of their understanding. They seek Christ in the grave, whilst he has already broken the seal of sin. What they desire and most heartily long for, they do not dare to hope for, though it is already realized, though every breath of air might bear the glad tidings on its wings.

Among those that went early in the morning to seek Christ in the grave, was also Mary Magdalene. Seeing the sepulchre empty, she concludes that her Lord has been taken away; she weeps and cannot find any consolation until the Lord in his love reveals Himself to her. When I spoke last to you,* I represented the effects of Christ's death upon Thomas: it cannot be otherwise than interesting to see how it affected the *female* portion of His followers. To-day, therefore, the rich and attractive history of Mary Magdalene, at the grave of our Lord, shall engage our attention. May the Lord be with us and bless us while I attempt to show:

How the sadness of Mary Magdalene, when standing at the grave of the Lord and longing after Him, was changed into unspeakable joy.

The text says: *But Mary stood without at the sepulchre weeping.* The grave and tears belong together, they are inseparable. The grave is the monument erected by death to all that lives; it is the symbol, too, of the vanity of every earthly good. All that is on earth must sink into the grave.

* The previous sermon to the students was on the Unbelief of Thomas. John 20: 24–31.

Neither beauty, nor health, nor riches, neither honor nor splendor, neither power nor influence, neither strength nor youth can exempt any one from the common fate of all that is perishable. All must sink into the grave, where the blooming youth moulders with the grey-headed sire, where the ashes of the profligate mingle with those of the ambitious, where the pious and good slumber by the side of the wicked. Whoever, therefore, stands at a grave, if he be serious and thoughtful, will feel sad, either because he remembers one whose ashes repose in the grave beside which he stands, or because he is reminded of the graves of friends and relatives, or because he is led to think of his own grave.

But Mary stood at *the grave of the Saviour*—at the grave of Him, who, she once expected, would conquer death and triumph over the grave, but who now had Himself gone to this dark abode. The grave does not only remind us of the death of the body, a separation of the soul from the body, which separation is confirmed by the dark dwelling to which the body is consigned; it reminds us too of the death of the *soul*, which is caused by sin. As the body lives by the connection of all its parts, by the harmonious cöoperation of all its organs and by the power of life that pervades all of them; so the soul can live only by its connection with the spiritual world and by the power of God that reigns in it and animates it. This connection being destroyed by sin, the divine power is excluded and the soul is dead. The dust, into which the body is converted after death, does not feel its deprivation of life; but the soul, separated from God, is conscious of its death, and as often as it thinks of death, of its separation from the source of life, it cannot help feeling a horror which fills the heart with sadness and with a desire after One who can restore it to life again. When Mary stood at the grave of the Lord, who had promised the restoration of the soul to life and the annihilation of the power of sin, what else could she do but weep? and how could she feel otherwise than sad? Joy, permanent joy, we can possess only when a sense of everlasting life pervades us. But when we desire to know whether our all-controlling love exists beyond the stars, whether, when death has separa-

ted soul and body, we will ourselves continue to live and meet our departed friends again—when we desire to know this, and have no means to satisfy our desire, then we must feel sad. Such sadness does not depend on external circumstances, but only and exclusively on the absence of faith. Whether fortune smiles or frowns upon us, if we have faith we will be cheerful; on the other hand, nothing can remove our sadness, so long as sin keeps alive the consciousness of the separation of our souls from God and everlasting life. This was the sadness of Mary, which prompted her love to the Saviour while he was yet alive; and from it her tears flowed when she thought Him dead. She knew only of one joy—to be with the Saviour; with Him her time passed by like a festival, but without Him her heart must break.

But let us notice *the place* where she wept: "*She stood,*" John says, "*without at the sepulchre,*" when she wept. As soon, however, as she looks into the grave, as soon as she bends herself to examine it, her eyes perceive two angels, the one sitting at the head and the other at the foot of the place where Jesus had been lying. Yet Mary, absorbed by her grief, does not perceive that those before her are angels. Having lost Him to whom she had devoted herself with lasting gratitude, whom she served with the deepest tenderness, for whose promises she had been waiting, whom she loved and revered in greatest sincerity and earnestness—the whole world is without interest to her, is empty for her, however much it may offer to the eye. Her state may be compared to that of a traveler, who follows with his eyes the setting sun and watches it with intense delight until it sinks beneath the horizon; wherever then he turns his eyes, he perceives on every plant and every object nothing but the image of the sun. So Mary's eyes, clouded by tears, cannot see anything distinctly, except that she has suffered an irreparable loss. This heavy thought reigns in her bosom and shuts up every avenue to any other idea that might present itself from without.

Yet what Mary could not see we can see now. Angels, accompanying our Lord through life, followed Him into the grave. These invisible powers were invisibly active to develop

a new life, a power, which should conquer death and triumph over the grave. Angels are immortal. Their nature forms a most striking contrast with the work of death. Whoever sees them in a grave, cannot but be reminded, that whilst all that is earthly must die, there is something which will live forever; that whilst all belonging to time is finite, there is something which is infinite, which will continue after all that the eye can see shall have perished. It is impossible for our thoughts to be altogether occupied with death, when we see beings before our eyes that are immortal. But Mary did not recognize angels; for her mind was too full of the idea of mortality, decay and disappointment.

Woman, why weepest thou? the angels enquire. They ask this question, not from ignorance of the cause of Mary's tears, but from wonder and astonishment. "What cause have you to weep, when you stand at the grave of the Saviour who has broken the chains of death? See, there is no death in this grave, no decay, no destruction; this grave is not the abode of confusion, darkness and fear, but it is the sweet and cheerful chamber of life, where light, order and regularity reign. Here everything is in its proper place. Here lies the napkin, there the linen. Nothing indicates the power of death, but all manifests a peaceful, silent and miraculous development of life. Here there is no cause for weeping; here there is no tomb, not a chamber of death; here is the peaceful haven of rest, the smiling region of hope."

But Mary did not understand the meaning of the question. Occupied with one thought, filled with one grief, seeking One only and turning away from all that is not Himself, she says with female naivete: *They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid Him.*

These words, so tender and affecting, betrayed a child-like innocence and an attachment to Christ, of which the tender nature of woman alone is susceptible. She does not doubt for a moment but the persons before her know whom she means by the words, *My Lord.* She knows of but One who is her Lord; Him alone she seeks; to Him alone she belongs; His feet she had washed with her tears. Him she had followed to

the cross, not shrinking from the sight of scattered skulls, but exposing herself to many dangers and especially to the revilings of a rude and unfeeling crowd; Him she would now go to seek and if dangers of all kinds impede her delicate feet. There is a beauty in the love and sadness of Mary, which attracts us the more strongly, the more we examine it; the pen of man can never describe it; it must be felt.

When we contrast Mary's love with our own indifference to our Saviour, we must feel ashamed and humbled in the dust. There was a time when the Eastern continent, overflowed with infidelity, had taken away the Lord and no one asked where He had been laid. And even now in our own land are we surrounded by sects, that have stolen the Lord and buried Him, we cannot tell where. They have buried him in their reason and deny that He exists any longer. They have put their trust in that fallible and uncertain power, whose delight it is to doubt its own assertions—to doubt the only true Friend of our souls, on whom alone our peace rests on earth and our hope in the hour of death. They have removed Him out of their sight, lest some should adhere to Him and forsake them. Oh! that many would turn and ask like Mary: You have taken away our Lord; tell us where you have laid Him that we may go and seek Him! that their tears might flow and veil their eyes, so that they could see nothing but Christ, who loved them and died for them!

Again: When Mary in her grief had thus spoken, she turned herself back and saw Jesus and knew not that it was Jesus. He whom she seeks is close by her to console her, to comfort her, but she does not know Him; He stands at her side, but she seeks Him at a distance; He speaks to her, but she does not recognize His voice. What is the cause of all this? As Thomas was determined not to believe in the resurrection of Christ, so Mary, feeling convinced that He was dead, could not for a moment hope to see Him alive again. Grief and hope exclude each other; when one fully takes possession of the mind the other must depart. Mary *loved* the Saviour, but she is not yet able to *believe*. Hence it is, that though Christ spoke to her by the angels and though He speaks to her Him-

self, she, absorbed by the thought and the remembrance of the dead, cannot see the living. And is it otherwise with us? Christ is near us when we mourn, to comfort us—when we tremble in the storms of life, to strengthen us—when we have no rest in our bosoms, to give us peace—when passions rage within, to advise us, to direct us, to guide us. And though He is near us and speaks to us through conscience, by His Word, by adversity and prosperity, we do not hear Him, we do not recognize Him. It is faith alone that discovers the Lord in all that surrounds us. Hence the true believer, who desires to see the Lord and only the Lord, perceives Him every where; to him He appears in the rays of the morning sun; the evening breezes whisper the name of the Saviour in his ear; when the dew drops sparkle, when the stars of the night glitter, he feels that the Lord is near; for all that is reminds him of the Lord, points to Him, comes from Him and leads to Him.

Yet, though we may be unwilling and unable, by our own thoughts, to recognize the Lord, He can make Himself known to us, since His power exceeds every other power. *Mary!* He calls; and she who had lost herself in seeking the Friend of her soul, finds at once both herself and Him again.

There is a kind of grief whose strength absorbs every other feeling. In it we lose all desire for food and drink and for every thing else; our thoughts are no longer ours, or at our command, but they centre without our knowledge or will upon our affliction, which, like a whirpool draws within itself whatever comes near it, every desire, every wish and every thought. The greatness of such grief overpowers us and we are lost in it. Whatever is spoken to us cannot console us, for we have an ear only to listen to the sighs of our broken hearts. Neither kindness nor love can cheer us, for we are inaccessible to them. In such a state nothing can help us but a power which is able to bring us back to ourselves. Whoever, at any time, has stood beside a friend under the dominion of such a grief—whoever has tried and tried in vain to administer comfort and consolation in every way and by all means, will know that then the fullness of his love and sympathy burst forth in sim-

ply calling his dear friend by his name. So a mother does, when the little babe on her arms cannot be silenced by any other means. So Christ did, when he stood before Mary. The name by which friends call us, exercises a peculiar power over us. Though our internal being cannot be expressed by a mere word, a mere name, friends, nevertheless indicate clearly by the tone in which they pronounce it, that in the *name* they wish to comprise all they love in us. Our Saviour, therefore, frequently either humbles or elevates his disciples by the manner in which He addresses them by name. *Simon, son of Jonas*, lovest thou me? The name which the love of the Saviour had given this disciple was *Peter*. But when Jesus wishes to humble him, he calls him, not by the name of love, but by the name he had whilst in a state of sin. On the other hand, when he would console Mary, He only pronounces her name. If we had heard the sound falling from his lips and perceived the love, tenderness and compassion which it expressed, we could understand it better. Mary, having lost herself in grief, was now brought back again to herself by hearing the Saviour's lips call her by name, in the same tone of love in which she had so often heard Him pronounce it before. But this was not all. The remark I made with regard to Thomas, is true of Mary also. The will of the Lord accompanied the word spoken and produced such sudden effects. *Let there be Light!* and the element, not yet born, arises out of nothing and shines in the darkness! *Let there be Light!* and consolation breaks in upon the dark bosom of man! The Lord wills it and it is there. Mary! He says, and a light not known before streams at once into her bosom. Now every power within her exclaims, that He whom she loves and whom she adores is standing before her; that He who died is risen again; that He who was nailed to the cross speaks to her and is with her; and, like Thomas, overcome with joy, she stammers the word, *Rabboni.*

Oh! that Christ would speak to, and bring back, every one of us to Himself! that He would call by name every one who has lost himself in sensual lusts, or in thoughtlessness and levity, or in ambition and avarice, so that each might exclaim: *Rabboni!* or like Thomas, My Lord and my God!

But the Lord has different ways by which he effects His designs. He dealt otherwise with Thomas, otherwise with Peter and John. Before drawing some general inferences from my discourse, I shall yet cast a glance at *this difference*, as it presents itself in strict connection with the subject.

It has often been asked, how it was that Peter and John did not see angels whilst Mary saw them. The answer is, that Christ treats each one according to his nature and wants. In the case before us, He accommodates His dealings to the different nature of *man* and *woman*. In man there prevails by nature thought and reflection, strength and courage, judgment and a desire to examine, to investigate and to come to a result by his own activity. He is fearless and disdains mere wishes; he is decided in his belief or unbelief. Woman, on the other hand, is tender and delicate, full of feeling, retires within herself, and always seeks for protection. It is her nature to believe and confide, and when she can do neither, tears bedim her eyes and sadness fills her bosom. In view of this natural difference, Christ treated Peter and John differently from Mary. Let us follow out this difference.

Peter and John went to the grave, John fast, Peter slowly; John impelled by love, Peter retarded by the remembrance of his sin in denying the Lord. Arriving at the grave, John just *looks* into it, but Peter *sprang* into it; then, John having followed, they *examined* it, and finding the napkin and the linen, each at its place, they come to the conclusion that the Lord has risen. They stood, therefore, in no need of the sight of angels. But Mary needed comfort; she felt sad; she was under the dominion, not of *thought*, but of *feeling;* hence the Lord sends angels to console her and uses entirely different means to bring life and light into her heart, to change her deepest darkness into the highest joy.

We must, therefore, not expect that what we have observed in the life of Mary, will also happen in the same or in a similar way to us in order that we may believe. As the condition of every one, his disposition, his circumstances have something peculiar, so the Lord will approach him in a peculiar manner, in a way best adapted to his case. Let each one of us be

watchful and direct his attention to whatever may ripen for him in the course of time; let none of us suffer anything to pass by unnoticed which may tend to advance our eternal welfare; for the lowest as well as the highest, the least as well as the greatest, may be used by the will of God to lead us to Him.

Having now shown the effects which the sepulchre had on Mary and how her sadness, while standing at it, was changed into joy, I shall proceed to consider what consolation *we* ought to derive from the grave of Christ.

In contemplating the sepulchre of our Saviour, two thoughts present themselves; the one relates to our own graves; the other, to the grave of sin. We must all die. One supplants the other, and in turn he is himself supplanted. According to a certain order we appear upon the stage of activity, and according to a certain order we are called off again, the one amid joy and happiness, the other amid grief and distress. Whoever may have shone in honor or power, whoever may have been weighed down by the troubles and cares of his short existence, the one as well as the other, is destined to be confined to a solitary grave, there to moulder and be forgotten. At the end of our short journey the grave awaits every one of us, and yawns to receive whatever lives. Millions of graves are lying under the heavens, and every evening the pale light of the stars falls upon new ones. When we see the work of death around us, can we, much as we would desire it, avoid thinking that our time also will soon come, when we shall be alone and excluded from the light of the sun, when we must part with the sweet and lovely habit, to be and to live, and when a stone, which we shall not be able to roll off, will close up our dark and narrow dwelling? We are young yet; some of us at least are in the bloom of life; but death is not satisfied with plucking the superannuated, grey-headed sire, who, like ripe fruit, by its own weight, separates himself from the tree of life and falls into the hand of death; it likewise seizes the little child, when its first smiles have scarcely saluted the light of the sun, and with great ease converts the cradle into a coffin. When, now, we reflect on the grave of the Saviour, we must

think of our own also; it is our duty to do so; and when we see the stone rolled off from the tomb of Christ, we cannot help asking ourselves: Who will roll off the stone from our graves? or shall it remain forever upon them? Shall these members that now form a whole, that now are animated by the same stream of life and that we call our own, never be united again after they have once been dissolved into dust?

But again: Reflecting on the grave of the Saviour, we cannot help thinking of sin, which is followed by death, as death is by the grave. If the stone that lies on the grave is heavy and impenetrable and renders our dark abode inaccessible, the stone of sin that lies on our hearts is still more so; and if we cannot remove the former we can much less remove the latter. Its weight is heavy and presses us down; as the stone on the grave excludes us from the light of the sun, so the stone on our hearts excludes us from communion with God, impedes every noble endeavor and shuts us up within the sphere of our own transgressions and of our ruin. And at no time will the stone of sin press harder upon us than in the hour of death. Fear will seize us then; for to meet an offended judge without the hope of pardon, is an awful thought. To go into eternity without knowing what awaits us there, must render the hour of death more terrible than the most glowing imagination can represent it to be.

When such thoughts cast us down and we reflect upon Mary Magdalene at the sepulchre of our Saviour, we are disposed to ask: What *consolation* may be derived from the grave of Christ?

The grave of Christ was the first that could not retain its prey. He whom death attempted to destroy, came forth a conqueror over it. In rolling off the stone from His grave, He rolled off the stone of sin from the hearts of all those who believe in Him. The grave can no longer alarm the believer in Christ; for the Prince of Life of His own free will and from a desire to redeem us from the terrors of death, sank into it. The believer knows that the hour is coming in the which all who are in their graves, shall hear the voice of the Son of God and shall come forth, they that have done good unto the resur-

rection of life, but they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation. Before Christ had suffered death, the grave was dark, but now light shines around and in it. Its terrors are gone; it rather invites all those who, weary of life and worn out by sufferings and cares and anxieties, long for a haven of rest, to throw off their burdens and retire from the world. It invites the unfortunate, on whom the sun of life never sent a ray of joy and happiness, to come, leaving all solicitude and every kind of painful anxiety behind. For the grave also is the house of God and the gate of Heaven; there we shall lie down and sleep in peace, for we know that those who die in the Lord are blessed.

Again: To the believer who reflects on the sepulchre of Christ, the grave is no longer the work-house of destruction, but the silent chamber in which a new life will develop itself. The germ of a new creation may be discovered in the midst of destruction. As soon as we become the prey of death, it may commence the work of dissolving our bodies: but we have a right to hope that all the parts will be re-united and that, in a glorified state, the same bodies will again be connected with our souls. For Christ rose from the dead and became the first fruits of them that sleep; and as all die in Adam, so all shall live in Christ. This *raiment*, which we shall have to hand over to the grave, will be restored to us again. For what is sown in dishonor, will be raised in glory; what is sown in weakness, will be raised in power; what is sown a natural body, will be raised a spiritual body. The body is the seed sown by the hand of the Lord, to germinate and ripen for eternity. Since Christ has burst the chains of death, it cannot retain us, but we shall come forth formed for heaven and fit to enter the perfect glory of the Father.

Now we say to him who stands at the grave of a friend and weeps, because he remembers with sadness the ashes which once enclosed the soul he loved: Go to the grave of the Saviour, meditate on what He has done for you and dry your tears. Honor the memory of the deceased, but no longer consider them dead. They live and the connection between them and ourselves is not destroyed. They are citizens of the city

of God to which we also belong by faith, and which we hope to enter in the hour of death, when we shall meet them again. Having stood at the graves of our friends and remembered them with sadness, we ought to leave them strengthened in faith and rejoicing in hope.

Different, however, very different is the condition of those who have not embraced the Saviour. His grave exists for them as well as for us; they see the stone rolled off as well as we —but the stone of sin still rests on their hearts, and though they can see the entrance to the grave, they cannot see an egress from it. When in the hour of death the face grows pale, when the blood begins to circulate but slowly and the heart to beat irregularly, when their eyes grow dim and darkness surrounds them, then it will be in vain for them to exclaim with the great poet in the struggle of death: More light! more light! They must go, and they will go in despair. They must go to meet a Judge and they will be without hope or consolation. The grave yawns to receive them, an eternity awaits them, but what it will be to them they cannot know.

May Christ call each one of us by name, as he did Mary. In regard to every one of us, may He speak as he did at the grave of Lazarus: Take away the stone. May the stone of sin be removed from the hearts of all, so that all of us may believe in Christ and have everlasting life through Him. Amen.

Art. IV.—DR. MURDOCK ON RAUCH'S PSYCHOLOGY.

In a little work by James Murdock, D. D., entitled *Sketches of Modern Philosophy especially among the Germans* and published in 1842, the author concludes a review of Rauch's Psychology in the following language: "In his Preface, p. 4, Dr. Rauch tells us that one great object which he aimed

to accomplish was 'to give the science of man a direct bearing upon the other sciences and *especially upon Religion and Theology.*' And it must be admitted that he every where manifests profound reverence for God, and a deep sense of the importance of religion. But whether his philosophy is favorable to sound views of religion, deserves more examination than comports with the design of these sketches. If I have not entirely misunderstood him, he is a *Transcendentalist* and a *Pantheist* of the school of Hegel. It is also noticeable that his book makes no allusion to any *special revelation* from God, or to an *apostacy* of man, the intervention of a Saviour, the *forgiveness of sin* in consequence of an *atonement*, a future *judgment*, and an eternal *retribution* after the present life. At the same time, his pantheistic, transcendental principles seem to leave little or no room for these cardinal doctrines of the Bible; which are either discarded or essentially changed by all German as well as American Transcendentalists. He utterly denies the *freedom of the Will* in the natural man; and he gives to the *divine Will* an absolute control over the *human*, in the regenerate. See p. 155, et seq., 292, et seq., 309. He affirms that, by nature, or in his natural state, man is wholly *incapable of holiness.* See pp. 383, 398. He explicitly says: 'Religion is not a mere *quality*, but *the substance* of man. *

* * He ceases to be *man*, in the full sense of the term, when he has no religion.' See Pref. p. 4. He defines religion, true religion, to be, '*a peculiar activity of God*, which announcing itself to the *heart* of man, changes it, converts it, and restores man to peace with himself, with the world and with God.' See p. 388. He thus explicitly admits *a regeneration of the soul by the power of God;* but he makes it to be a change of man's *substance* or *nature;* a change too which seems to constitute the whole of man's redemption, or to leave no room for the *pardon of sin* through an atonement, and no work for a *Mediator* between God and man. The simple *activity of God upon the heart accomplishes the whole business.* In short, like other Transcendentalists, he seems to make religion to be *an operation of God, carrying out and perfecting the creation of a rational soul.*" pp. 199–201.

We have quoted the concluding paragraph of Dr. Murdock's review of Dr. Rauch's Psychology, not with the view of appending an elaborate criticism of his sweeping condemnatory judgment of a man who was a distinctively *Christian* philosopher, but to place it in contrast with the evangelical spirit pervading the two sermons which we have now given to the public. For the opinion of Dr. Murdock has not sunk into oblivion. A minister of the Presbyterian Church has recently published a series of articles in the *Christian Observer*, on *German Theology in America*, that many of our readers have doubtless seen, in which these views are quoted as an authoritative and conclusive testimony in favor of the *Pantheism* of Dr. Rauch. An extensive circulation is thus anew given to Dr. Murdock's review, in order to cast odium upon Franklin and Marshall College, and through it upon the German Reformed Church, because the College has, for the last twenty years, used Dr. Rauch's Psychology, at first in manuscript and subsequently in its printed form, as a text-book in Mental Philosophy.

For a satisfactory refutation of the unjust imputation that Dr. Rauch was a *Pantheist*, in other words, an *infidel*, that his "transcendental principles seem to leave no room for the cardinal doctrines of the Bible," such as the intervention of a *Saviour*, the *forgiveness of sin* in consequence of *an atonement*, and a future *judgment;* we may safely refer those who read without prejudice to the character of these sermons themselves, which both explicitly and by implication throughout teach these very "cardinal doctrines." For, the Doctor was not illogical. He did not inculcate philosophical principles from the rostrum or in his published works, which were contradictory to the Christian truths he proclaimed from the pulpit. Some men's minds, it is true, are so constituted, that they can hold contradictory fundamental propositions without a sense of inward conflict—without perceiving that the affirmation of the one involves by logical consequence the destruction of the other. They can affirm certain things to be true in philosophy which they deny in theology; and vice versa. It is not a gratuitous assumption, however, to assert that Dr. Rauch did not

belong to this class of scholars. He was capable of profound logical reasoning; not only capable, but was habitually systematic in all his disquisitions. He had a keen perception of logical inconsistency or impropriety. His mind embraced, also, a wide range of imformation on subjects belonging to various departments of science. He was well versed in the history of philosophy and theology. He knew precisely where he stood. He understood his relation to the false systems that had agitated the philosophical world, as well as his relation to Rationalism on the one hand and the Faith of the Church on the other. The truth of these assertions is attested by his labors as a Professor, by the character of his pulpit discourses, and by the structure of his published works, both German and English.

But he was not simply consistent logically. His principles in philosophy, his general mode of thinking, underlies all his doctrinal views in theology. His theology does not only tolerate his philosophy; but more than this: the manner in which he apprehends, holds and expresses his theological views is determined by the principles and the spirit of his philosophical thinking. On the other hand, the spirit of his philosophical thinking is not self-sufficient, but demands for its own satisfaction something higher and more substantial than mere human ratiocination. It implies the relative necessity of just such a supernatural revelation as is at hand in the divine human person of Jesus Christ.

Dr. Rauch was not illogical. Neither was he insincere. That he preached what he did not believe; that he taught in his sermons designedly what he knew to be inconsistent with the leading features of his philosophy, would be a supposition so derogatory to his character, that we may presume neither Dr. Murdock nor any other honorable opponent to be capable of entertaining it.

Taking these views of Dr. Rauch's sincerity and logical consistency to be correct, we may draw a just and forcible inference from his sermons, not to speak of other positive Christian teachings, against the truth of the charges preferred by Dr. Murdock. The direct avowal and the earnest inculcation

of the peculiar doctrines of Christianity by an eminent scholar, who seeks to be consistent with himself, must certainly outweigh the force of an inference which is drawn against him by construction from a work on Mental Philosophy, in support of the charge that he is a pantheist of the Hegelian school.

But we need not refer simply to Dr. Rauch's logical consistency. There are other important considerations which prove the charge to be uncalled for and untenable. In the first place, it is not proper to look for a formal recognition of all the "cardinal doctrines" of the Bible in a work on *Mental Philosophy*. What has scientific discussion on the nature and faculties of the mind to do with eternal punishment, or with the doctrine of the atonement for sin made by the vicarious sacrifice of Jesus on the cross? Does the thorough discussion of the one necessarily involve a satisfactory statement of the other? No. On the contrary, the unity and scientific propriety of such a discussion excludes these "cardinal doctrines." If they come to view at all, it can only be by incidental allusion. To introduce a formal statement of them would be a logical impropriety—inconsistent with the very nature and design of such a work. As well might Dr. Murdock demand a distinct recognition of these doctrines in a work on Logic or Rhetoric, and condemn the author as heretical because he could not find what he demands. We are far from intimating, however, that Psychology bears no inward relation to Christianity. On the contrary, we maintain that the relation is close and direct. Nor do we wish to intimate that the principle and structure of a work on Psychology, may not be such as by necessary consequence to involve a denial of what is peculiar to the Christian religion, although it contain no formal expression which directly or indirectly asserts such a denial. We imply neither the one nor the other. We only wish to say, that the want of any formal recognition of certain "cardinal doctrines," is, of itself, no argument whatever against the Christian character of a work on Psychology. All that any Christian can consistently demand is, that the work assume by implication throughout, the absolute truth of Christianity; that neither the general mode of thought nor any principle

laid down, conflict with any of its cardinal doctrines; and that whenever the treatment of a topic touches any essential part of supernatural revelation, its existence and truth be properly acknowledged. If these conditions be fully met, every believer in Jesus Christ ought to be fully satisfied.

From this point of observation, now, Dr. Murdock apparently prefers his charge of Pantheism against Rauch's Psychology. He finds fault with the book, because it makes no allusion to any special revelation, to an apostacy of man, to an atonement, a future judgement and eternal retributions; and then passes on to say: "At the same time, his pantheistic, transcendental principles seem to leave little or no room for these cardinal doctrines of the Bible." Here the point at issue, then, seems to be, that the principle and general views of the book are consistent only with pantheism—that by logical consequence they exclude or deny the cardinal doctrines of the Bible. But we have already shown, that, in the mind of Dr. Rauch himself, a learned scholar and a logical thinker, there existed no such inconsistency between his views in philosophy and his views in theology. He was as firm and earnest a believer in these very cardinal doctrines as Dr. Murdock, a fact which his Christian profession, his sermons and general religious teachings prove satisfactorily. The opinion of the learned reviewer is indeed worthy of respect. But it loses its force so soon as we see that it is positively contradicted by facts. The assertion, that Dr. Rauch's principles "seem to leave little or no room for the cardinal doctrines" of the Bible, is confronted by the undeniable fact, that *he did hold these cardinal doctrines*, loved them, taught them, and died in the faith of them. His principles in philosophy *did actually leave room* for all the principles of the Christian religion. Hence the opinion of Dr. Murdock is incorrect and untenable. It can be maintained only on the supposition that Dr. Rauch held contradictory fundamental principles. But we have already noticed the impropriety of such an imputation.

The book itself, however, affords evidence on the point at issue. Is it true, that it makes no allusion to those "cardinal doctrines" of the Bible which have been enumerated? The

reviewer says it does not. It "*makes no allusion*" to them. This is his language. Although the assertion, were it correct, would not of itself, as we maintain, be an argument against the compatibility of the book with the cardinal doctrines of the Bible, we will, nevertheless, briefly examine the question.

1. The general charge pertains to *Pantheism*. In this very book, however, Dr. Rauch explicitly repudiates the principle of the system. Discussing the nature of personality, he says: "It is not nature nor matter that produces personality, but God, who is the *ground* of all personality. We can know a thing thoroughly only when we are acquainted with its ground —so man must know God before he can become truly acquainted with himself. In saying that God is the ground of all personality, we mean, that he freely created man; that there was no *emanation*, by virtue of which the Deity flowed forth into man and could not return to himself again. If that were the case, our highest wisdom would become an Egology, and the Bible and Theology would become superfluous. So the personality of God differs widely from that of man. Its elements are omniscience and omnipotence and all the other infinite attributes. Those of human personality are a limited reason and will, attached to muscles and nerves." (p. 191, 4th Edition.) Here is a formal avowal of God as *Creator*—of His personality and His infinite attributes. The author draws the distinction between the personality of God and the personality of man; and denies in unequivocal language the doctrine of emanation and its logical consequences, which constitute the essential elements of pantheism. Impliedly he also avows his belief in the Bible, and a sound view of the science of Theology. The charge of pantheism, can certainly not stand in the face of an accurate definition and a decided renunciation of the theory. Besides, the book is full of references to God as a personal, absolute being.

To the same effect by implication, are the proofs we shall adduce to show, that Dr. Rauch believed in the apostacy of man, a special revelation, the intervention of a Saviour, et cetera. For a Scriptural view of these necessarily presupposes a Scriptural view of the Creator and of His relation to the universe.

2. Dr. Murdock says, that Rauch's Psychology "makes no allusion to any special revelation from God, or to an apostacy of man or the intervention of a Saviour." We will let the book speak for itself. In treating the characteristics of Imagination, he says, thirdly, that it differs also with regard to its form. This is either *symbolical*, *classical* or *romantic*. The *romantic* form of imagination "was not known to the ancients; for it has become possible only since the introduction of Christianity, which opened to the mind of man the world of infinite spirit. * * * Nothing in the world can represent in an adequate form that God *whom Christ has revealed.** The spirit is only accessible to the spirit; we cannot convey it by any image. * * The ancients had no clear idea of the Invisible and Infinite; they felt it darkly, but knew it not. Now *the Infinite is clearly revealed;* hence it is that no representation given it by imagination will suffice, for our consciousness of the Infinite will flow beyond every visible, finite form. The poet is overpowered by the riches of his theme, and yet he cannot dismiss it. * * * The elements of the romantic imagination are, the love of Christ, the vanity of all things, a desire for an eternal home, the transitoriness of this, and the immortality of a future life." pp. 246, 247. This is certainly more even than an *allusion* to a special revelation from God. Could we with any degree of propriety expect an author, whilst philosophizing on a faculty of the mind, to embody a more specific reference to a revelation by Jesus Christ? It amounts almost to a formal statement of the orthodox view. Yet Dr. Murdock, with these facts before him, presumes to say, that the book makes *no* allusion to a special revelation; and the injurious misrepresentation is now reprinted in a religious periodical and circulated far and near as the truth.

There are numerous references to Jesus Christ as the Saviour of sinners—to His life and character as portrayed in the New Testament—to the Christian religion as true—and to the Bible as possessing normal authority. But we will only quote a few among many passages bearing upon the point. Speaking

* "No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him." (John 1: 18.)

of the nature of Love—parental, filial and fraternal love,—the author maintains that men, left to themselves, are incapable of the love of mankind, because all nations are opposed to each other; and then puts the question: How is this general dislike to be removed? to which he replies, that it cannot be done by commercial intercourse, nor by Art and Science. "The only power left to remove national enmity and produce peace among all nations, is the Christian religion, which teaches us to '*love all men.*' We cannot love the whole race as a mass, but we may love every one we meet with, and take an interest in every nation and tribe of mankind on the face of the earth. This is the spirit of Christ and of missions; this ought to be the spirit of every man. The general possibility of loving all men becomes a *duty*, and this duty is the crown of all pathological inclinations. It commences with sexual love; it passes over to connubial love and refines itself still more in paternal and filial love, in fraternal, family and national love, until it appears in its highest beauty, in the love to all men. As the model of this love we have Christ, who, persecuted by all, Jews, Greeks and Romans, surrounded by malice, voluptuousness, faithlessness, standing alone in the midst of enemies, *loved all and hated none.*" p. 360.

Again: When referring to self-love in man as animating all his inclinations, Dr. Rauch says: "Christ alone was free from all self-love: he loved as none before or after him; he loved the world, sinful as it was, and loved it, having no scheme in view for himself, free from every calculation in his own favor. His love, the prototype of all, was not chained to his self, but free and pure; he loved the world for its own sake." p. 318.

In the discussion of the diseases of the mind, its causes and remedies, he evidently takes his position on Bible ground, and from this point of observation concludes thus: "We would rather repeat it as our conviction, that the mind, if it were directed to its proper object, to God and a Saviour, could rule over its body as well as over its passions, for it would then possess purity and a power over all things which are merely earthly. If it would keep itself aloof from them and be ready

to lay down the life for Christ's sake,* it could not be absorbed with the care for health or bodily defects. Some may perhaps feel inclined to reply, that mental derangement arises frequently from too deep a *religious* solicitude. This may be true, and yet it will not affect our theory. * * * When a man will not surrender his life, and yet longs for the privileges of religion, when he will not give up his sins, and yet cannot resign the possession of divine favor, and when he then feels the contradiction between his state of sinfulness and that of desired sanctification,—he may easily become deranged, not through religion, but by his relation to it." p. 159.

On page 338 we have an exposition of the passage of Scripture found in Matth. 19: 24: "And again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." The author is considering the nature of *covetousness*, *avarice* and *prodigality*. Referring to this language of Christ, he asks: "Why is this so? Is there anything in property itself that renders it impossible to preserve purity of heart or to become a Christian? This cannot be, for the Bible admonishes us to gather property, by saying: 'Let him that stole, steal no more, but rather let him labor, working with his hands the thing which is good, *that he may have to give to him that needeth.*'" There is no meaning or force whatever in the expository discussion which follows, except on the assumption that the Bible is true, that it contains a revelation from God, and that its plain teachings are absolutely authoritative for man, from which reason can make no appeal. Hence he says: "The Bible declares riches to be a great obstacle in the way of our salvation," and then endeavors to reconcile this undoubted truth with the possession of property as being nevertheless moral. The conception which plainly underlies the whole train of thought, is, that the Bible contains the only rule of faith and practice.

At the close of this section on the *Love of Property as a Passion*, the author asserts that *riches* may relate to any

* "Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it." Luke 17: 33.

object which man desires as the highest good. Referring to the influence of *ambition* and *vanity*, to draw the heart away from God, he adds: "In each of them we are fettered by sin, for truth alone, that comes from Christ, can make us free. Taking the term *avarice*, in this extensive sense, it may be justly said, that it is the root of all evil.* Christ demands our *whole* affection, and whatever we love on earth must have a reference to His kingdom, and we must love it only because of this, its relation. No *rich* man, no one that feels rich in anything out of Christ, can, therefore, enter the kingdom of Heaven." p. 340. So marked are these reflections upon Christ and the kingdom of Heaven, that a rigid logician would have some show of reason for objecting to the book on opposite ground—because the author steps out of his path, as he passes along, in order to vindicate the doctrines of the Bible.

These extracts could be multiplied. But it is not necessary. Those which we have selected, suffice to contradict directly the allegation of Dr. Murdock. So far from making *no allusion* to the intervention of a Saviour, as he alleges, the book actually does much more than make such an allusion, as any mind of common candor must admit, after reading the quotations which we have given. It recognizes Jesus Christ unequivocally, as set forth in the Gospel, whenever such a recognition, in the judgment of the author, is consistent with the scope of his reasoning. He even pauses at certain points to dwell on Christ in a spirit becoming a work on practical religion. That these extracts furnish a definition of the orthodox doctrine of Christ's person or the atonement, we do not mean to imply. The case does not call for any theological definitions; for the doctrines of the Bible are not the subject of the book. The case calls only for just such allusions to, and recognitions of, Christ and His work, as actually strike the eye here and there throughout the book from beginning to end—for just such reflections upon the intervention of a Saviour and the Christian religion, as a logical writer, occupying the true Christian stand-point and

* The design of Dr. Rauch is evidently to give the broadest signification to the language of the Apostle Paul in 1 Tim. 6: 10: "For the love of money is the root of all evil."

deeply imbued with the Spirit of Christ, would naturally make in preparing a work, for all classes of readers, on the Philosophy of Mind. Any theologian who will transfer himself to this, the proper position of the writer, and, from *his* point of observation, survey the whole field of philosophical discussion and sit in judgment on the allusions made to Jesus Christ, will, if free from prejudice, be led to the conclusion that Rauch's Psychology is really a Christian production, in as far as this character can justly be predicated of such a work.

We pass on to notice the apostacy of man. To this doctrine there are also numerous references. Indeed it could not be otherwise. A correct view of Jesus Christ, as a Saviour from sin, pre-supposes the Bible doctrine of the fall. As we might naturally expect, therefore, we find a clear and even formal recognition of man's apostacy from original righteousness. In the section on the Diseases of Mind, after describing *Melancholy*, *Insanity* and *Mania*, the author enquires: "How is it possible that the mind, a purely intellectual activity of divine origin, can become diseased. It would seem to have the power to keep itself free from every thing that might entangle it. But here we must remark, in the first place, that the soul is already diseased in its state of nature; for turned away from its proper objects, truth, and holiness, and the love of God, it is sunk in sinfulness and vice, and instead of deriving its food and nourishment from the good and noble, it seeks for it in the sensual and transitory." p. 154. Speaking subsequently on the causes of mental derangement, he adds: "If the will of man were pure, these powers of sin could not affect it. If man had faith in God, and loved Him supremely, if he confided in His providence, then he would not become the prey of every passion, nor would loss and misfortune harm him. But placing his sinful affections wholly on earthly things, he must despair when they are taken from him, or when he cannot attain the object of his highest wishes. He lives in the sphere of delusion; how easy then must it be for the demons of pride and wounded ambition, of unsatisfied vanity and sore jealousy to derange a mind that has no hold on any thing which is permanent and solid." p. 157. The true sense of these passa-

ges and their consistency with the context, can be understood only when we admit the apostacy of man, as revealed in the Word of God. Any other supposition does violence to the author's language.

The book, however, contains a more definite reference to the fall. The author is discussing the idea of property and its tendency to selfishness. "The correct view of the subject before us, is, that all property takes its rise in the will of God; for the earth and all that it contains, is his. Before the fall there was no *mine* and *thine*, but all was common to those that could use it. With the fall, selfishness rose in man, absorbing by its bitter root all healthful juice. Now, each sought for the centre of his existence in himself, and forgetting the common origin of all, he no longer recognized a brother in a fellow man, but saw in him a stranger. In his selfishness, man grasped after all around him. * * * But God, from eternal love, appointed the right of property, lest men fighting for possessions destroy each other. * * * Property was intended not to *strengthen* our selfishness, but to *bridle* it, to break and subdue our selfish will." p. 339. But Dr. Murdock says that Dr. Rauch's work on Psychology "makes no allusion to an apostacy of man." How can an honest and honorable man, a minister of Jesus Christ, in the face of so distinct an avowal of the doctrine, publish to the world that the book does not even make an allusion to it!

But greater prominence than this is given to the doctrine in question. Introducing his enquiry into the *General Nature of Will*, the author carefully distinguishes between man as in a state of nature and in a state of grace. "It must be remarked here, that *Will* may be viewed in a two-fold aspect, as natural and as moral will; in the latter respect, it is to be viewed in closest connection with *law*, *moral obligations*, *duties* and *rights*; in the former, it manifests itself by *desires*, *inclinations*, *emotions* and *passions*. Only the morally good is free;* the

* "And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." John 8: 32.

"If the Son, therefore, shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed."—v. 36.

"Now the Lord is that Spirit; and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." 2 Cor. 3: 17.

merely natural will is wholly dependent on external objects or internal passions; it does not determine itself by its own nature, but by the nature of that which is different from itself. In the sphere of the natural will we can recognize nothing but *determinism.* It will, therefore, be understood, that here we shall examine the will of man, *as it is by nature, and not as it is by grace* or religious influence. The natural will, then, lives in all our desires, inclinations and passions." p. 293. The fallen or natural condition of man is not only taught, as contradistinguished from a state of grace, but the fact enters into the very structure of the book. It determines the form in which the whole discussion on Will is conducted, extending over nearly *one hundred* pages. The apostacy of man becomes thus one of the leading principles of the book, to which Dr. Rauch adheres rigidly, in his treatment of desires, emotions, inclinations and passions. To admit the charge preferred by Dr. Murdock, turns the whole current of thought on Will into a palpable absurdity.

3. Dr. Murdock says: "He (Dr. Rauch) affirms that, by nature, or in his natural state, man is *wholly incapable of holiness.*" pp. 383, 398. We are at a loss to understand how the Reviewer can impose such a sense upon any language occurring on the pages to which he refers. For the plain declarations of the book agree substantially with the view, which generally prevails on this subject, among orthodox branches of the Protestant Church. The very language even of the author flatly contradicts the charge of Dr. Murdock; for he asserts in almost so many words, that *man can be sanctified by the Holy Ghost.* One or two short quotations will set the matter in its true light. On page 383, Dr. Rauch says: "*Self-interest* and selfish desires move the mass of mankind. There is nothing good in man from which pure religion or a knowledge of divine things might proceed, and hence, as long as man is in a state of sinfulness, God is *veiled* * from him, and though

* "But their minds were blinded; for until this day remaineth the same veil untaken away in the reading of the Old Testament, which veil is done away in Christ." "Nevertheless when it shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away." 2 Cor. 3: 14, 16.

he might see the divine wisdom and power of the *teleological* relations and grand phenomena of nature, he could not discover in them the *holiness* of God." The counterpart of this idea is brought out on page 398. "Man left to himself, is wholly unable to restore a proper relation between himself and God, to restore harmony and peace. Sin has its root in the will; unless it is sanctified *Holiness*, the soul and substance of religion will and must be absent. But this will can only be sanctified by the regenerating power of the Holy Spirit." The language of Dr. Rauch can bear but one construction consistently. Man left to himself, cannot produce pure religion—left to the power of his own unholy will, is incapable of holiness, because he is fallen, depraved, sinful; hence he needs a supernatural revelation, the religion of Jesus Christ, for he can become holy only by the regenerating power of the Holy Ghost. No other meaning can be drawn from the language itself or from the context. Where, then, is the error? Judge Dr. Rauch fairly by any received standard of orthodox Protestantism, the Westminster Confession of Faith, the Heidelberg Catechism, or the Thirty-Nine Articles, and he will prove himself to be a sound Christian philosopher.

4. The frequent allusions to, and sometimes even formal recognitions of, particular cardinal doctrines of the Bible, which occur in Rauch's Psychology, lead us to suppose that, if consistent with himself, the author's general view of the Christian religion itself, must be truly evangelical. But Dr. Murdock thinks his general conception is decidedly pantheistic. Like other Transcendentalists, Dr. Rauch "seems to make *religion* in man, to be an *operation of God, carrying out and perfecting the creation of a rational soul.*" These are his words. As we cannot with any sort of logical propriety, look for complete statements or definitions of particular doctrines in a work on Psychology, so, in the nature of the case, we cannot consistently expect to find in it such a satisfactory exhibition of religion itself as we have a right to demand in a work on Theology. Were such the case, it would, on this ground alone,

"The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." 1 Cor. 2: 14.

be open to criticism. This position, we presume, Dr. Murdock himself would not be disposed to deny. We have a right, therefore, to look only for such references to the general subject as, when interpreted in candor, do not conflict, but are in accordance, with the tenor of the Bible and the faith of the Church. Does Rauch's Psychology contain such references? The citations already adduced relating to particular cardinal doctrines, furnish of themselves an affirmative answer to the question; we could depend on them as altogether satisfactory; and honestly refuse to argue the point at issue any further; for no writer, it is almost superfluous to say, can have a pantheistic, transcendental conception of religion in general, whose views of particular cardinal doctrines are evangelical. But we do not wish to decide the question in this way; and therefore proceed to a direct examination.

Dr. Murdock quotes a passage from the Preface, page 4: "Religion is not a mere *quality*, but the *substance* of man. * * * He ceases to be *man*, in the full sense of the term, when he has no religion." This, together with other detached passages, furnishes the ground on which the Reviewer bases his decision, that Dr. Rauch is a pantheist. But the passage, as quoted, does not afford a clear and full expression of the author's meaning. The clauses which he omits are, not merely incidental, but essential to a correct apprehension of the idea he intends to convey. The whole passage runs thus: "Religion is not a mere *quality*, but the *substance* of man. He remains what he is, though he has no learning, no beauty, no wit, neither a strong memory nor an acute judgment, but he ceases to be man, in the full sense of the term, when he has no religion;—he is then only an animal, more cunning, crafty and prudent, than all the others, one that can invent machines, but he is no longer the lord of the earth, the image of his Creator." In other words: Man is not only a rational being, capable of judgment and reasoning, but he is also created for the knowledge and adoration of God, whose image he originally bore. The chief end of man, is, as the best Confessions teach, to know, love, serve, and commune with God. If so, the constitution of his being is just as inti-

mately adapted to living communion with, and perfect obedience to, God, which is religion, as it is to rational reflection; and in order, therefore, that the idea of his being may be actualized, he must not only be rational, but also religious. He sustains a relation to self, to the world and to God; each one, as real and vital as the other, belongs essentially to the conception of his nature; hence, to acknowledge and conform to these several relations, the lower held in proper subordination to the higher, is an absolute demand. Strictly speaking, he is not, and can not be, himself, that is, he does not, and can not fulfil the end for which his constitution is formed, unless he is true to the objective demands of each one of these fundamental relations. A man is not a man, therefore, in the full sense of the term, who is not rational; he is a man in ruins: neither is a man a man, in the full sense of the term, who is not religious—who has no sense of the moral and the divine and recognizes no relation of his personality to the unseen, spiritual world; he too, and most emphatically, is a man in ruins. He is a man, if his memory be weak, his judgment obtuse, his appearance repulsive, and his mind uncultivated; but but he is not a man, in the full sense of the term, if he cannot remember nor think at all. So too, a man is a man, if his faith, his sanctification and communion with God, be imperfect; but he is not a man, in the full sense of the term, if he has no faith at all, if he is destitute of all religious sensibility and activity. He fails as really to fulfil the end of his being and thus be himself, as if he had no self-consciouness. It is in this sense, that Dr. Rauch speaks of religion as belonging to the *substance* of man. Relation to God, to the supernatural, or religion, is an essential attribute of humanity. Without it, the proper conception does not exist.

That this is his meaning,—that he does not use the word pantheistically—is evident also from the language which immediately follows the last quotation from the 4th page of the Preface. "Now religion has for its soul, *faith;* this contains thoughts and ideas, as for instance, those of Providence, of sin, of sanctification, of regeneration, of repentance, etc. Psychology develops the nature of reason and consequently

that of its productions which are thoughts; and without understanding the nature of reason and its capacities, that of faith will not be clearly known; for if *faith* and *reason* differ, as they do, how can this difference be exhibited, unless the being of each is manifest to us? Again: Faith must be active by love, or else it is dead. It must, therefore, affect our will and fill it with love and animate it to good works. If so, the being of our will, in its state of nature, and previous to its regeneration, ought likewise to be known."

In the paragraph from which the quotation, just given, is taken, the author is exhibiting the bearing of Psychology upon religion and theology. Hence, as far as he thinks it necessary, for the purpose he has in view, he states what religion is. The soul of religion is *faith*. The contents of faith are certain ideas, such as providence, sin, regeneration, repentance, sanctification, etc. Faith works by love, influences the will, and produces good works. This implies the regeneration of man by the Holy Spirit. These are the views of religion, which Dr. Rauch gives in his Preface. Taken in connection with the acknowledgments of Christ as the Saviour and revealer of God, springing up here and there throughout the book, an unprejudiced mind cannot be at a loss to determine his general conception of Christianity.

This general conception, as now clearly brought out by quotations from the book, includes the following leading elements. The universe is not an emanation, but a creation. God has not flowed forth into man, but He is an objective personality, possessing infinite attributes. The highest revelation of God is given in Jesus Christ, who is the Saviour from sin. Man is in a fallen condition, subject to the power of sin. Hence, he must be regenerated and sanctified by the Holy Spirit. This can take place alone through faith in Christ; for faith is the soul of all religion.—Every point is fully sustained by the citations which we have adduced, when interpreted in their proper connection. Is this pantheism? Or do we not rather find in the allusions, recognitions and formal statements of Rauch's Psychology, both an assumption and a vindication of the Gospel of Christ, as held by the Presbyterian or Episcopal Church?

The conclusion of the book, which treats briefly of true and false religion, by way of transition to the study of Ethics and Theology, corrobarates this general conception of Christianity. Dr. Murdock quotes Dr. Rauch's definition of true religion from page 388: "It is a *peculiar* activity of God, which, announcing itself to the *heart* of man, changes it, converts it, and restores man to peace with himself, with the world, and with God;" and then puts his own sense into the language of the author. For a lucid explanation of this definition follows, which the Reviewer seems to overlook entirely; and sees nothing but a pantheistic view of religion in the definition. Dr. Rauch tells us plainly what he means by *activity* and *heart*. "This activity is *peculiar*, because it differs from every other divine agency, and announces itself as such to the heart. * * * It is the *heart* upon which it acts, purifying it and converting it. * * * It is the centre of man, uniting in itself thought and will and feeling, for from it good and evil thoughts proceed; it is, according to the Bible, the source of desires and passions, the seat of consciousness, of the conscience, and of our whole inner man. It being changed, the whole man is changed; it being converted from the world to God, from sin to holiness, all the activities, of which it is the seat, will be turned contemporaneously and for ever." p. 388. Here is certainly the Bible representation of the heart and its conversion. But what is meant by the *peculiar* activity, of which the author speaks? Dr. Murdock says, it is "an operation of God, carrying out and perfecting the creation of a rational soul." The author, he thinks, uses the phrase in a sense that imports only Transcendentalism and Pantheism. But Dr. Rauch informs us that this peculiar activity *differs* from every other divine agency; it is not like any operation of God's power in the natural world. But what is it? How is man converted from the world to God, from sin to holiness? Dr. Murdock says: "The simple *activity of God upon the heart accomplishes the whole business.*" But Dr. Rauch contradicts him in plain language, which, however, it does not suit the purpose of the Reviewer to quote or notice. "Religion, then, is always based on a communication of God to man, and where

this communication is wanting, where the regenerating power of the Spirit is absent, there cannot be true religion. We must, therefore, consider all heathenish religions as superstitious; they rest on a faith created by themselves, and not produced by God in them; they do not free man from sin by converting him, but lead him deeper into it." p. 389. In the light of the quotations given from different portions of the book, we must interpret the phrase, *a communication from God to man*, to mean, the revelation of God in Christ, a truth to which the author refers several times; and the peculiar activity of God on the heart, differing from every other divine agency, is to use his own words, "the regenerating power of the Spirit." On page 398 he adds: the will "can only be sanctified by the regenerating power of the Holy Spirit." Quite a marked difference between the author's own explanation of his definition, and the heretical sense which his Reviewer chooses to impose upon a few detached sentences.

From this examination of Dr. Rauch's Psychology, it follows conclusively, that the charge of Pantheism, a system which leaves no room for the cardinal doctrines of the Bible, as preferred by Dr. Murdock, is untenable and utterly groundless. So clearly do the facts in the case contradict the allegations, that we may justly say, the truth is expressed by directly opposite propositions. The book recognizes a special revelation from God, an apostacy of man, the intervention of a Saviour, the necessity of regeneration and sanctification by the Holy Spirit; and excludes every one from the kingdom of heaven who does not yield his heart to Jesus Christ.

Lancaster, Pa. E. V. G.

ART. V.—KALEWALA AND HIAWATHA.

KALEWALA, *das National-Epos der Finnen, nach der zweiten Ausgabe ins Deutsche uebertragen, von Anton Schiefner, Helsingfors.* 1852.

THE SONG OF HIAWATHA, *by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Boston.* 1855.

ONE of the most remarkable literary discoveries of modern times is the existence of a grand epic poem, unique and thoroughly national in its character, among the people of Finland. After floating for ages on the stream of tradition, passing from mouth to mouth and from generation to generation, like the Iliad and Odyssey, before the time of Pisistratus, its detached parts have at length been collected, brought together and given to the world in a form almost complete, under the title of Kalevala, or Kalewala.* This work has been accomplished chiefly through the indefatigable labors of Dr. Lönnrot, and the late Matthias Alexander Castren. High praise has been awarded to Castren for the extensive and perilous journies undertaken by him, in order to obtain the original direct and pure from the lips of those who recited it, as their custom is, by alternate chanting to the music of the *kantele* or national harp, at their fire-sides, during the long evenings of their northern winters. Lönnrot's first version in the Finnish language appeared in 1835; his second, embracing 50 *runes* and 22,793 lines, in 1849. Castren's translation into the Swedish, was published in 1841; Borg's (of the Lemminkäinen-cycle) in 1852; Le Duc's, into the French, in 1845, and Schiefner's, into the German, in the year 1852.

This wonderful poem, the creation of an unknown author, (if, indeed, it be the work of one and not of many minds,) has sung itself, for centuries, into, if not out of, the heart of a whole nation. "The Unconscious is alone the Complete," and

* The domain of Kalewa, Father of Heroes.

it seems to have been poured out instinctively as the song of a bird, from the promptings of an inward impulse. The vigor of its lines and their *naive* simplicity continually remind the reader of Homer. In it, as in a mirror, are reflected with surprising distinctness the manners and customs of a primitive race, blended with their wild and fanciful mythology, whilst the physical features of the land of its birth, the lakes, the waterfalls, the craggy promontories, the gloomy pine-forests and the wild animals, peculiar to that northern region, form a background, which lends to its pictures an indescribable charm. As far as we know, there is nothing like it in any other literature, save the recent poem, whose name is cited above.

When the Song of Hiawatha made its appearance, some months ago, the friends and admirers of Mr. Longfellow, every where, hailed it as an original creation of genius—the only epic yet produced, "purely American, both in form and contents." They even claimed the metre as a new and illustrious trophy of the poet's inventive skill. Others, however, regarded it as "a dangerous experiment," and its novelty immediately gave rise to innumerable parodies and burlesques.

In such a posture of things we ventured to call the attention of the public, in the columns of the *National Intelligencer*, (Nov. 26,) to the similarity, which it bore to Kalewala, and there expressed the opinion that Mr. Longfellow had transferred the form, metre, spirit and some of the most striking incidents of the latter poem to the North American Indians, and hence, that his song of Hiawatha, was not a creation, but an imitation. And although much has since been written, by way of defence, we see no good reason for changing that opinion in any important particular.

We now propose to give a condensed review of the whole subject. And first—"In the two poems, the peculiar metre, *with its Oriental repetitions*, is the same." So we have said, and so we still say.

An animated controversy, touching this point, has sprung up in England. A letter from William Howitt was published in the *London Athenæum* of Nov. 17th, in which he uses this language: "Allow me to add to the pleasure, which your in-

teresting article on Longfellow's new poem will undoubtedly have given to the public, *the information* that the metre, *which he has adopted and which you so justly praise, is the old national metre of Finland.* It is the metre of the 'Kalewala,' the great national epic." An answer soon followed denying the fact and pointing out the trochees of the Spanish dramatists, Lope de Vega and Calderon, as the true prototypes. Mr. Howitt rejoins; and last of all, we have a communication from the German poet, Freiligrath, now living in London, which is certainly conclusive. He writes thus:

"The controversy on this subject has not yet been settled. Perhaps a few more observations (not written at random, but with the distinct desire of bringing the contest to a close) may not be thought amiss.

"The case, briefly recapitulated, stands thus at present: Mr. Howitt correctly refers the measure of Mr. Longfellow's new poem to the Finn's; Mr. M'Carthy, on the other hand, attributes it to the Spaniards.

"There is not the least doubt but that Mr. Howitt, in his assertions about the measure of 'Hiawatha,' is perfectly right —though, perhaps, he was led to them more by his poetical judgment and metrical tact, than by a precise consciousness of a fact which, once acknowledged, cannot but place the question beyond the range of further dispute. Essentially, Mr. Howitt *has* alluded to this fact when he speaks 'of those repetitions of epithets, phrases, and lines which abound in the Finlandic poetry;' but he seems not to be aware that these 'repetitions' not only 'abound' in the runes—that they are by no means merely accidental and arbitrary—but that they form altogether a characteristic and distinguishing feature of this poetry, that they are a rule and a law of it. This law, to name it at once, is *parallelism*, viz: The repetition of the same thought, differently expressed, in two, sometimes even in three or four succeeding lines. Parallelism, together with a twofold sort of alliteration, is the peculiar attribute of Finlandic poetry—and a most remarkable one, I must add, indicating, it would seem, an Oriental origin of these Northern songs."

"I will not say that 'Hiawatha' is written 'in the old na-

tional metre of Finland;' but there can be no doubt that it is written *in a modified Finnish metre.*"

"Apart from all internal evidence, which is of itself sufficient to put the matter beyond all question, I may mention that, in the Summer of 1842, when Mr. Longfellow was on the Rhine, we often amused ourselves with the attractive metre and the quaint subjects of the songs of Finland."

The repetitions and '*parallelism*,' referred to by Freiligrath, are no doubt Oriental, since Castren in his Travels has clearly proven the Asiatic origin of the Finns, and shown that they and other tribes, nearly allied in blood and language, such as the Ostiaks, Samoyeds and the Magyars of Hungary, have migrated at different periods, from the region of the Altai Mountains. The national life and literature of the Finns, therefore, are generically distinct from those of their Scandinavian neighbors and conquerors, and hence all the talk about *Eddas* and *Sagas* is wholly irrelevant. Repetition or parallelism seems, indeed, to be a universal "law" of Eastern poetry. Every reader of the Old Testament is aware of its presence there. The following extracts will serve to illustrate this point.

BOOK OF JOB.

Hath the rain a father?
Or who hath begotten the drops of dew?
Out of whose womb came the ice?
And the hoary frost of heaven, who hath gendered it?
The waters are hid as with a stone,
And the face of the deep is frozen.

KALEWALA.

Wäinömöinen, old and truthful,
He, the everlasting wizard,
At his boat began to labor,
Toiling o'er the unbuilt vessel,
On the mist-enshrouded headland,
On the forest-covered island;
Wood was needed by the builder,
Boards to form the boat were needed.

HIAWATHA.

"Give me of your boughs, O Cedar,
Of your strong and pliant branches,
My canoe to make more steady,
Make more strong and firm beneath me."—
"That the water may not enter,
That the river may not wet me."

Thus far the verse of the two poems—rhymeless trochaic dimeter with Oriental repetitions—is the same. But the measure of Kalewala has another peculiarity. It is highly alliterative. And this is only possible in a language like the Finnish, which has some twelve or fifteen cases for its nouns and endless inflections for its verbs. And yet we find frequent traces of it in the translations of Castren and Schiefner, and still more in the song of Hiawatha. And this constitutes the sole difference, which, after all, is one of degree and not of kind. The genius of the English language would scarcely admit more. Compare for example.

KALEWALA.

"Kanteloista kuulemahan
Soittoa tagumahan"—
"Peukaloitanza pesevi."
"Oravat ojentilihe
Lehväseltä lehväsella."

HIAWATHA.

"Homeward hurried Hiawatha,
Empty handed, heavy hearted."
"I have given you bear and bison,
I have given you roe and reindeer,
I have given you brant and beaver,
Filled the marshes full of wild fowl,
Filled the rivers full of fishes."

And single lines like these are common:

"Over meadow, over mountain."
"He, the merry mischief-maker."
"Wandered eastward, wandered westward."
"Bore the body of the beaver."
"Smote the mighty Mishe-Mokwa."
"Wooed her with his words of sweetness."
"Peace of prayer and peace of pardon."
"How he made a hole in heaven."
"Warlike weapons, pipes and pouches."

There can be no doubt, then, that Mr. Longfellow has used "*a modified Finnish metre*," modified, however, not by him, but by the labors of Castren and Schiefner. And had he no right so to do? "Has any one taken out a patent for Trochaic verse?" indignantly asks an angry critic. The answer is plain. If a poet use common or well-known measures, no one

blames him for keeping silence, because they have become common property, and in this case there is no danger of mistake. But, if the form of his *entire epic* be derived from a distant, foreign and obscure source, of which the great mass of his readers are ignorant and likely to remain so, then are they justly entitled to a knowledge of the fact *at his hands*—and for the very good reason—in order to render honor *where* honor is due. Had Mr. Longfellow invented this verse, it would stand as the most brilliant achievement of his life and give him a fair claim to be called *poet* in the emphatic sense of the word. And although his name could never have been associated with it adjectively, as that of Spenser with his measure, posterity would not have been unmindful of his fame.

But the resemblance does not lie in the metre only. The general plan and structure of the two poems, the Finnish and the American, are the same. Mr. Schoolcraft's *Algic Researches and History of the Indian Tribes*, which furnish the chief staple of the Song of Hiawatha, contain nothing but loose, disjointed, independent, fragmentary legends. There is no relation between them—no such thing as *a connected tale* of Hiawatha and his exploits, taken down from the mouth of Indian bard, or musician,

"Nawadaha, the sweet singer;"

in other words, no nucleus of an epic. All this is the work of the poet, who has evidently chosen Kalewala as his model. The *runes* are alike; the *preludes* are alike. Both heroes are mythological personages—Wäinömöinen, the son of the Storm Wind and the Daughter of the Air, who comes down into the sea and is there wooed by him, and Hiawatha, the son of Mudjekeewis, the West Wind and Wenonah, whose mother, Nokomis, "in the unremembered ages, fell from the full moon." After numberless magical adventures, Wäinömöinen, the benefactor and teacher of the people and the noblest representative of Heathenism, takes his departure at the birth of the Christ-Child, whom he baptises; Hiawatha, after leading a life similar in every respect, retires at the approach of the Jesuit missionary, "the Black-Robe chief, the Pale-face," who came to the people, and

"Told them of the Virgin Mary,
And her blessed Son, the Saviour."

Both departed in a like manner—sailed away far over the blue waves and disappeared from the eyes of the spectators, in the horizon, their boats hanging midway between heaven and earth. If this brief outline does not satisfy, a fuller comparison will certainly convince every unprejudiced mind that the Song of Hiawatha is fashioned strictly after Kalewala.

Now, the defenders of Mr. Longfellow do not deny the soundness of the principle laid down above. Indeed, they virtually admit it, by attempting to show that *the form and metre of Kalewala were, and are, well-known and familiar.* And yet nothing can be more absurd than such a plea. Journals on every side have lauded the poet to the skies for this new creation; its novelty has occasioned innumerable parodies and burlesques; it has made a remarkable impression upon the literary public, and produced a stir and discussion, both here and in England, and whole libraries have been ransacked in order to discover its prototype—all which proves that a knowledge, even of its existence, was confined to a very narrow circle of English scholars. But the *Boston Atlas*, of Dec. 13th, discourses in this wise: "The public is probably not so ignorant of this poem as he imagines. In a book by William Howitt, entitled, "History of the Literature and Romance of Northern Europe," will be found some account of the Finland poetry, and an extract, translated into English, from this very poem of Kalewala. Howitt is one of the most popular authors of the day and his books are found in many American households. The means, therefore, of forming a comparison, to some extent, were within easy reach." The trifling and imperfect scrap, here alluded to, is the solitary example of Finnic poetry in our tongue* and attracted so little attention that Mr. Howitt himself considered it necessary to enlighten the English public on

*Gœthe was the first to introduce it into the German in a little love-song, which long stood as an isolated specimen in that language. We give it entire:

FINNISCHES LIED.

Käm' der liebe Wohlbekannte,
Völlig so wie er geschieden;

this very point, in a letter, in which bitter truth is conveyed in words of the most honeyed sweetness. We again quote from that letter: "In Howitt's 'History of the Literature and Romance of Northern Europe,' in the second volume, will be found some account of the Finland poetry, *which is as peculiar as it is unknown in this country*, and an extract from the 'Kalewala' may be here transcribed as showing how admirably Longfellow has seized its rhythm and its spirit."

Again: "He has most admirably succeeded in the use of those repetitions of epithets, phrases and lines, which abound in the Finlandic poetry. In his beautiful description of Winter

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Kuss erkläng' an seinen Lippen,
Hätt' auch Wolfsblut sie geröthet;
Ihm den Handschlag gäb ich, wären
Seine Fingerspitzen Schlangen.

Wind! o hättest du Verständniss
Wort' um Worte trügst du wechselnd,
Sollt' auch einiges verhallen,
Zwischen zwei entfernten Liebchen.
Gern entbehrt' ich gute Bissen,
Priesters Tafelfleisch vergäss' ich,
Eher als dem Freund entsagen,
Den ich Sommers rasch bezwungen,
Winters langer Weis' bezähmte.

TRANSLATION.

Should he come, my dear Acquaintance,
Just the same as when he left me,
I would flood his lips with kisses,
Though the blood of wolves had tinged them;
I would clasp his hand with pleasure,
Though his finger-ends were serpents.

Wind! if thou hadst understanding
Message to convey, and answer,
Something then should pass between us,
Pass between two parted lovers.
Glad I would forego all dainties,
E'en the meat on priestly table,
Rather than renounce his friendship,
Whom I quickly won in Summer
But in Winter could not hold him.

and Spring, he would almost seem to have had in his mind a poem by Olli Kymäläinen, a living poet, 'A Hymn of Thanksgiving for a Good Harvest.'" And we may add, in his Evangeline, "*he would almost seem to have had in his mind*" the "Elgskyttarne" of Runeburg.

Every connoisseur knows that the form of a work of art constitutes an integral part of that work, nay, oftentimes its chief excellence; for the material may be almost worthless, which, under the magic touch of genius, is transformed into shapes of beauty, that haunt the imaginations of mankind forever—like the bones of which Ariel sings:

> "Full fathom five thy father lies;
> Of his bones are corals made;
> Those are pearls that were his eyes;
> Nothing of him that doth fade,
> But doth suffer a sea-change
> Into something rich and strange."

When form and substance are brought into full harmony, perfectly joined in their mystic marriage, then art has reached her highest triumph. Destroy either and the glory vanishes. Take now from the Song of Hiawatha all that it owes to the Finns and its Indian legends will crumble back into the crude stories of Mr. Schoolcraft, or clothe them in a different garb and the whole character and complexion of the poem will be changed. The indebtedness, therefore, of this so-called "purely American epic" to the "children of Suomi," is, in our judgment, of such a magnitude, that it not only deserved, but had a right to acknowledgment; and the conduct of Mr. Longfellow is in no whit less censurable than that of a painter, who, finding by chance, in some secluded church or monastery in Italy, a master-piece of Rafaelle, which had hitherto escaped the notice of the world, appropriates the entire form, design and coloring of the picture, adapts them to other persons and another scene, and then, with shut lips, exhibits the work to people, who know nothing of all this. It stands in striking constrast with the behavior of Horace, who, in the full consciousness of his own worth, is proud to render frequent tributes of praise to Sappho and Alcæus, of whose lyric

measures he made such free use, basing his claims to immortality on grounds like these:

> "Dicar, qua, violens obstrepit Aufidus,
> Et qua pauper aquæ Daunus agrestium
> Regnavit populorum, ex humili potens,
> *Princeps Æolium carmen ad Italos*
> *Deduxisse modos.*"*

But further. Along with the form and metre, Mr. Longfellow has evidently transferred some of the Finnish legends and borrowed the spirit and coloring of others. By this, of course, we do not mean a transfer of *words*, but of ideas and conceptions. Now, it is the most natural thing in the world that, the long and earnest study of so glorious a poem as Kalewala, should make such an impression upon the mind of a poet, that, in taking away its form and metre, he should also, either consciously or unconsciously, carry off a portion of its substance. Hence, we do him no wrong in believing that all those parts of the Song of Hiawatha, *which are not fully supported by American authority and yet closely resemble passages in the Finnish epic*, have been imitated. We now give some of these parallels:

PRELUDE OF KALEWALA.

> These the words we have received,
> These the songs we do inherit,
> Are of Wäinämöinen's girdle,
> From the forge of Ilmarinen,
> Of the sword of Kaukomieli,
> Of the bow of Joukahainen,
> Of the borders of the North-field,
> Of the plains of Kalewala.
>
> These my father sung afore time,
> As he chipped the hatchet's handle;

* As a writer in the "Boston Atlas" of Dec. 18th, sets up a man of straw, by saying that we accused Mr. Longfellow of "*plagiarism*," and brings in a passage from a new Life of Gœthe by Mr. G. H. Lewes, where the great frequency and recklessness of this charge against poets is condemned, it may be well to note the following from the preface of the same work: "Acknowledgment of assistance is a cardinal point in literary courtesy too often neglected; and my book is in spirit, form and matter so widely different from those of Viehoff and Schäfer, containing so much, which they have not, and omitting so much, which they contain, that a reader, who should make a comparison, remembering that the same sources were open to me as to them, would probably form no idea of the assistance I have received; I am, therefore, the more anxious to acknowledge it."

These were taught me by my mother,
As she twirled her flying spindle;
When I on the floor was sporting,
Round her knee was gaily dancing,
As a pitiable weakling,
As a weakling small of stature;
Never failed there wondrous stories,
Told of Sampo, told of Louhi;
Old grew Sampo in the stories;
Louhi vanished with her magic;
In the songs Wipunen perished;
In the play died Lemminkainen.

There are many other stories,
Magic sayings, which I learned,
Which I gathered by the wayside,
Culled amid the heather-blossoms,
Rifled from the bushy copses;
From the bending twigs I plucked them,
Plucked them from the tender grasses,
When a shepherd boy I sauntered,
As a lad upon the pastures,
On the honey-bearing meadows,
On the gold-illumined hillock,
Following black Muurikki
At the side of spotted Kimmo.

Songs the very coldness gave me,
Music found I in the rain-drops;
Other songs the winds brought to me,
Other songs, the ocean-billows;
Birds, by singing in the branches,
And the tree-top spoke in whispers.

PRELUDE OF HIAWATHA.

Should you ask me, whence these stories?
Whence these legends and traditions,
With the odors of the forest,
With the dew and damp of meadows,
With the curling smoke of wigwams,
With the rushing of great rivers,
With their frequent repetitions
And their wild reverbations,
As of thunder in the mountains?

I should answer, I should tell you,
"From the forests and the prairies,
From the great Lakes of the Northland,
From the land of the Ojibways,

From the land of the Dacotahs,
From the mountains, moors, and fen-lands,
Where the heron, the Shuh-shuh-gah,
Feeds among the reeds and rushes:
I repeat them as I heard them
From the lips of Nawadaha,
The musician, the sweet-singer."

Should you ask where Nawadaha
Found the songs, so wild and wayward,
Found these legends and traditions?
I should answer, I should tell you,
"In the bird's nests of the forest,
In the lodges of the beaver,
In the hoof prints of the bison,
In the eyry of the eagle!
All the wild fowl sang them to him,
In the moor-lands and the fen-lands,
In the melancholy marshes;
Chet-o-waik, the plover, sang them,
Mahng, the loon, the wild goose, Wawa,
The blue heron, the Shuh-Shuh-gah,
And the grouse, the Mush-ko-dasa!"

WAINOMOINEN'S BOAT.

Wäinömöinen old and truthful,
He, the everlasting wizard,
At his boat began to labor,
Toiling o'er the unbuilt vessel,
On the mist-enshrouded headland,
On the forest-covered island;
Wood was needed by the builder,
Boards to form the boat were needed.
Who shall hunt the timber for him?
Who shall get the solid oak-wood
For the boat of Wäinömöinen,
For the framework of his vessel?
Pellerwoinen, idle Sampsa,
He must hunt the trees for timber,
He must get the solid oak-wood,
For the boat of Wäinömöinen,
For the framework of his vessel.
Off upon the road he travels,
Travels eastward to a mountain,
To a second, to a third one,
With a gold axe on his shoulder,
In the axe a helve of copper,
Till he meets a trembling aspen,

Three times higher than a man is.
He would strike the trembling aspen,
Fell it with his golden hatchet,
When the aspen spoke in this wise
Of herself, in haste demanding,
"What would'st thou, O Man, have from me?
What desirest me to grant you?"
Then did Sampsa Pellerwoinen
To this query answer, saying,
"This I wish to have, O Aspen!
This I seek and this I ask for:
But a boat for Wäinömöinen,
Timber for the singer's vessel."
Wondrous strange the words the aspen
Uttered with her hundred branches;
"It will sink, the boat will founder
If you frame it of my substance.
All my trunk is perforated;
Thrice within the present Summer
In my heart the worm has eaten,
At my root the worm has tarried."
Then did Sampsa Pellerwoinen
Further on his journey travel,
Turning now his wand'ring footsteps
To the region lying northward.
There he chanced to meet a fir-tree
Six times higher than a man is.
With his golden axe he smote it,
Struck upon it with his hatchet,
As he put the question, saying,
"Art thou surely fit, O, fir-tree!
For the boat of Wäinömöinen,
For the vessel of the singer?"
Hasty answer gave the fir-tree,
And her voice it rustled loudly,
"Of my body canst thou never
Build a boat, a six ribbed vessel,
I am but a faulty fir-tree;
Thrice within the present Summer,
In my top has hatched a raven,
On my boughs a crow has brooded."

Going southward he met an oak tree, to which he put the same question.

Prudently the Oak-Tree answered,
Gave these very words in answer,
"I have wood enough to spare you,

Without fault and free of worm-holes,
For the framework of a vessel.
Thrice within the present Summer,
Through me rays of sunlight shimmered,
In my lofty crown the moon shone,
In my branches called the cuckoo,
In my top the small birds rested."
Then did Sampsa Pellerwoinen
From his shoulder take the hatchet,
To the tree he laid the hatchet,
Equal strokes he dealt the oak-tree;
Soon the forest-giant tottered,
Down the stately oak-tree thundered.
First he hewed the topmost branches;
Then he clove the trunk, and fashioned
Boards, 'twere hard to tell the number,
For the vessel of the singer,
For the boat of Wäinömöinen.

"HIAWATHA'S SAILING.

"Give me of your bark, O Birch-Tree!
Of your yellow bark, O Birch-Tree!
Growing by the rushing river.
Tall and stately in the valley!
I a light canoe will build me,
Build a swift Cheemaun for sailing."
* * * * *
And the tree with all its branches
Rustled in the breeze of morning,
Saying with a sigh of patience:
"Take my cloak, O Hiawatha!'
* * * * *
"Give me of your boughs, O Cedar!
Of your strong and pliant branches,
My canoe to make more steady,
Make more strong and firm beneath me!"
Through the summit of the cedar
Went a sound, a cry of horror,
Went a murmur of resistance;
But it whispered, bending downward,
"Take my boughs, O Hiawatha!"
Down he hewed the boughs of cedar,
Shaped them straightway to a framework,
Like two bows he formed and shaped them,
Like two bended bows together.
"Give me of your roots, O Tamarack!
Of your fibrous roots, O Larch-Tree!
And the Larch, with all its fibres,

Shivered in the air of morning
Touched his forehead with its tassels,
Said with one long sigh of sorrow,
"Take them all, O Hiawatha!"
* * * * * *
"Give me of your balm, O Fir-Tree!
Of your balsam and your rosin,
So to close the seams together
That the water may not enter,
That the river may not wet me!"

And the Fir-Tree, tall and sombre,
Sobbed through all its robes of darkness,
Rattled like a shore with pebbles,
Answered wailing, answered weeping,
"Take my balm, O Hiawatha!"*

Again: Hiawatha sets out in his boat on an expedition to conquer a mighty sturgeon, "Mishe-Nahma, King of Fishes." Wäinömöinen has likewise an adventure on the lake with a monstrous pike, the Water Hound, and slays him. Part of the body is dragged into the vessel and brought ashore, where the maidens come and cook the flesh for the three heroes, Wäinömöinen, Ilmarinen the Smith, and Lemminkainen.† After the feast is over, Wäinömöinen constructs a harp from the bones of the fish, and fits it up with strings of horse-hair. Crowds assemble to look at the wonderful instrument. Several persons who attempt to play upon it, make nothing but discord. At length he takes it into his own hands, and the effects of his music are thus described:

KALEWALA.

Wäinömöinen, old and truthful,
He, the everlasting Wizard,
Puts his fingers now in order,
Moistens both the thumbs for playing,
Sits upon the rock of gladness,
Mounts the stone of song and sits there,
On the height with silver flooded,
On the gold-illumined hillock,

* A letter writer in commenting on these passages, says, "We need not be surprised at their similarity, since boats are very apt to be made of *wood*." Our reply is: Heads are sometimes made of the same material.

† There is also a trio in Hiawatha. With the hero are associated Chibiabos and Kwasind, the Strong Man.

Takes the harp into his fingers,
With his knee the arch supporting;
With his hands the harp he seizes,
Speaking, as he does, in this wise:
"Hither come ye all and listen,
Ye who never yet have heard it,
How immortal song resoundeth
To the Kantele's vibration!"

Then the aged Wäinömöinen
Straight began to play most sweetly
On the harp of bone constructed,
On the instrument of fish-bone;
Quickly flew his nimble fingers,
Upward rose the thumb in playing.

Now was gladness rolled on gladness,
Out of joy did joy come welling,
Now resounded real music,
To the song was added singing,
Tones were uttered by the pike's tooth,
Loudly rang the plates of fish-bone,
Loud the chords of hair resounded,
Shrill the twanging of the horse-hair.

As the aged Wäinömöinen
Played, within the forest-mazes,
Animals on all fours going,
Walking with long strides, there were none,
Who did not approach to listen,
Came not to rejoice and wonder.

Hither hurried up the squirrels,
Passed from bough to bough by leaping;
Hither turned their steps the ermines,
Placed themselves upon the fence-row;
O'er the heath the moose-deer bounded;
Even lynxes shared the gladness.

In the swamp the wolf was startled,
On the heath the bear was wakened,
On his bed among the fir-trees,
In the sombre, piny thicket;
From afar the wolf came running,
Through the wood the bear advancing
Placed himself upon the fence-row,
Leaned upon the fence's wicket;
To the rock it sank beneath him,
Dragging by its weight the wicket;

Then he tumbled to a pine-tree,
Scrambled to a lordly fir-tree,
Hearkened to the wondrous music,
Hearkened, to enjoy and wonder.

Tapiola's prudent senior,
He, of Metsold, the master,
And of Tapio, the people,
All the boys and all the maidens,
Clambered to the mountain-summit,
To enjoy the wondrous music.
She, the lady of the forest,
Tapiola's prudent mistress,
Now put on her gay blue stockings,
Trimmed herself with scarlet ribbons,
Sat upon a birch-tree's swelling,
On the curving of an alder,
Listened to the fine Kantele,
Listened to its tones of gladness.

All the birds that fly in heaven,
All the wavers of two pinions,
Hither came with joyous flutter,
Hither came on wings of swiftness,
To enjoy the notes of gladness,
To rejoice themselves and wonder.

When the eagle in his eyry,
Heard such music-tones in Suomi,
In the nest he left his young ones,
Pruned his feathers for a journey
To the lofty heroes harping,
To the song of Wäinömöinen.

From his height the eagle sallied,
Through the clouds the hawk came flying,
Ducks emerging from the billows,
Swans from the unsteady marshes,
E'en the very smallest finches,
Finches green in troops of hundreds,
Yea, the merry larks by thousands,
Sported in the air's wide spaces,
Chirped upon the father's shoulders,
At the tones of Wäinömöinen.

E'en the sprites that haunt the welkin,
Beauteous virgins of the welkin,
Full of wonder, full of gladness,
Listened to the harp's loud music;
One upon the arching sky-roof

Sat upon the bow of heaven;
On a cloudlet sat another,
Beaming on its crimson border.
* * * * *

Wäinömöinen, old and truthful,
Played a whole day, played a second;
Of the heroes there was no one,
No one of the men of valor,
Not a man and not a woman,
Not a girl with braided tresses,
Whom he did not move to weeping,
Did not stir the heart within him.
Wept the young and wept the aged,
Wept the men who were unmarried,
Heroes who had long been wedded,
Wept the half-grown boys and maidens,
Yea, the very smallest maidens,
At the old man's wondrous playing,
Playing full of grace and beauty.*

HIAWATHA.

Most beloved by Hiawatha
Was the gentle Chibiabos,
He the best of all musicians,
He the sweetest of all singers.
Beautiful and childlike was he,
Brave as man is, soft as woman,
Pliant as a wand of willow,
Stately as a deer with antlers.

When he sang, the village listened;
All the warriors gathered round him,
All the women came to hear him;
Now he stirred their souls to passion,
Now he melted them to pity.

From the hollow reeds he fashioned
Flutes so musical and mellow,
That the brook, the Sebowisha,
Ceased to murmur in the woodland,
That the wood-birds ceased from singing,
And the squirrel, Adjidaumo,
Ceased his chatter in the oak-tree
And the rabbit, the Wabasso,
Sat upright to look and listen.

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* This translation, though from the German, has been compared carefully with the Finnish text.

Yes, the brook, the Sebowisha,
Pausing said, "O Chibiabos,
Teach my waves to flow in music,
Softly as your words in singing!"

Yes, the blue-bird, the Owaissa,
Envious, said, "O Chibiabos,
Teach me tones as wild and wayward,
Teach me songs as full of frenzy!"

Yes, the Opechee, the robin,
Joyous, said, "O Chibiabos,
Teach me tones as sweet and tender,
Teach me songs as full of gladness!"

And the whippoorwill, Wawonaissa,
Sobbing said, "O Chibiabos,
Teach me tones as melancholy,
Teach me songs as full of sadness!"

The impertinent speeches of these modern birds give evidence of a sad degeneracy in manners as well as art, when compared with the reverent silence, joy and wonder of their ancient kindred.

Once more: The Christ-Child is born. Wäinömöinen baptizes him and departs:

Forth the aged Wäinömöinen
Moved amid the sail's loud rustle,
On the boat well bound with copper,
On the metal-girded vessel,
To the higher streak of mainland,
To the lower verge of Heaven,
Lingered with his boat there hanging,
With his vessel standing yonder;
Yet he left the harp behind him,
Fairest song he left in Suomi,
To the joy of all the people,
Fairest song to Suomi's children.

The Black-Robe priest appears and Hiawatha departs:

On the shore stood Hiawatha
Turned and waved his hand at parting;
On the clear and luminous water
Launched his birch canoe for sailing;
* * * * * *
Sailed into the fiery sunset,
Sailed into the purple vapors,
Sailed into the dusk of evening,

And the people from the margin
Watched him floating, rising, sinking,
Till the birch canoe seemed lifted
High into the sea of splendor,
Till it sank into the vapors,
Like the new moon slowly, slowly
Sinking in the purple distance.

The legend is thus related by Mr. Schoolcraft, in his History of the Indian tribes:

"At its conclusion," (that is, of his speech to the people,) "he went down to the shore and assumed his seat in his mystical vessel. Sweet music was heard in the air, at the same moment, and as its cadence floated in the ears of the wondering multitude, *it rose in the air higher and higher*, till it vanished from the sight, and disappeared in the celestial regions inhabited only by Owaynee and his hosts."

Now, it is easy to see that Mr. Longfellow has not followed this version at all, for, instead of sending his hero straight up to heaven, as the extravagant fancy of the Indian requires, amid cadences of solemn music, his nicer taste overcoming his sense of historical propriety, has led him off upon the track of Wäinömöinen. The point of identity does not rest in the mere fact of departing in a boat (other heroes are represented as doing that; the Mexican Quetzalcoatl for instance,) but *in the manner of the going.*

At the same time, we are free to admit that much of the similarity of the Song of Hiawatha has its ground in nature and in fact. The myths of the two races are not wholly unlike in their general character, whilst the physical peculiarities of the Lake Superior region bear a strong resemblance to those of Finnland, as reflected in Kalewala. And these circumstances probably suggested the writing of the modern poem. But, as the evident design of this poem was to portray the ideal Indian, as he existed in his native wilds, before the coming of the white-man, there was no warrant for the introduction of any foreign element. The Ojibway should have exhibited no traces of the Finn, either in thought, word or action. Whatever was added by the poet from the store-house of his own imagination, should have been in strict harmony with the legends themselves and the truth of history.

Had we never seen Kalewala, or had due honor been paid to it, we could have read the Song of Hiawatha with unmixed delight. As it is, our pleasure is marred ; and we regret it the more, because Mr. Longfellow certainly possesses a large share of "the vision and the faculty divine " in union with an extraordinary degree of poetic culture. He has no equal in his power of seizing upon and delineating the picturesque features of American scenery. Here, he is an undoubted master. In Evangeline, for example, how exquisitely beautiful are the pictures of the Lower Mississippi and the prairies, those

" Billowy bays of grass ever rolling in shadow and sunshine."

where the hexameter loses its limping step and dances with a freedom and a grace, that would have charmed an ancient Greek ! And in the present poem the descriptions of nature are found to be wonderfully accurate, even when subjected to the severest scrutiny. His language and his rhythm are faultless—raised to the highest pitch of refinement and elegance. Indeed, so smooth and liquid is the flow of the verse, that we are sometimes led to wish for the relief of discords. And these are the qualities, we believe, which have made him so widely popular, both at home and abroad. But when it comes to fertility of thought, originality of invention and dramatic power, when he deals with persons and not things, we discern a remarkable weakness. Here, it seems, he cannot walk alone. He must have crutches, must lean upon the works of others. And this, perhaps, is the penalty, which awaits every poet, who devotes himself to the enthusiastic study of foreign literatures, to the exclusion of real life in its varied forms.

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Art. VI.—THE IDEA OF PRAYER.

Four elements are generally reckoned as entering into the constitution of prayer, to wit: Adoration, confession, petition and thanksgiving or praise. Adoration, is the posture of spirit induced by a consideration of what God is, as the Almighty and Righteous Sovereign of the creatures of his hand. Confession, is but the proper effect of this consideration, as awakening man to a sense of the humiliating contrast between himself and his Maker. Petition, then, follows in necessary sequence, as the utterance of his nature longing for its restoration to harmony and peace with God, while the discovery of the unmerited loving kindness of his Father reconciled in Christ Jesus, in bowing to a commiseration of his hapless estate, calls forth those generous sentiments and expressions of gratitude which constitute the substance of thanksgiving. The first two of these elements are indispensable to the true idea of prayer, involving, as they do, the attitude of spirit in which alone this idea can be realized. Yet when more narrowly viewed they must be regarded rather as the antecedents, while prayer in its definite and specific sense, is the aspiration of the soul after the living God. This is petition, or prayer, in its ordinary as well as primary acceptation. Of praise it may be remarked, moreover, that while indeed it enters necessarily into our act of worship, yet is it rather the consequent of prayer, just as already shown, adoration and confession are the antecedents. Its position is beyond prayer—in the enjoyment of that which is prayed for. In its *perfect* conception it is the estate and employment of "the spirits of the just made perfect;" involving the removal of all the disabilities under which the soul of man labors in this world, and its restoration to full harmony with the eternal ground of its being. It is its province then to supersede prayer, being the actual enjoyment of all after which it longs. And in this view of the subject, it

may be truly said, that when God shall have gathered all his ransomed people home, and the last accents of intercession shall have fallen from the lips of our adorable High Priest—when he shall have seen of the travail of his soul and be satisfied, and shall call his chosen ones to his marriage supper, then will no voice of prayer be heard; for no want will remain to interrupt "the voice of the great multitude," and of the "many waters" and "of the mighty thunderings," in their eternal anthem of "Alleluia, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth."

With this explanation, it is proposed to enter upon the discussion of *the true idea of prayer.*

There are ministers of the Gospel not a few, who do err most egregiously in their practice, if not in their theory of effectual preaching. Their pulpits are made to resound almost weekly, if not with "the thunders of Sinai," at least with the severe proclamation of the imperatives of duty. Discussions of the fundamental articles of our Christian faith, the elucidation of the wonderful mysteries of grace, as presented in the doctrines of the incarnation, the atonement, the person, life, sufferings, death, resurrection and ascension of our Blessed Saviour; and the relation of our humanity thereunto; as also the dispensation of the Spirit—the Church as the living, operative miracle of redemption for the world, seem to be held as inappropriate to the ordinary wants of God's people, as contrasted with the "thou shalt," and the "thou shalt not." Duty, duty is made the burden of their ministrations, just as though its observance were possible in any case, in the absence of the obeying element, which is the *positive faith* of Christianity itself. No pains is taken to explain what Christianity is, its nature, constitution and *consequent* requirements, even in so far as this is possible by the light of revelation and reason, and yet the professing Christian is expected to exemplify all these in his life and conduct. No wonder that our most pungent practical preaching, as by a monstrous misnomer it is called, is so miserably powerless for permanent good, and that congregations are languishing, and piety declining, under an almost unceasing strain of this *un*evangelical preaching.

This were bad enough, but what makes the case still worse,

is the almost inveterate tendency to negativism. Obedience is urged not so much by considerations of the goodness of God and the consciousness of his favor, as by the sanction of his displeasure with the disobedient. It is sought rather to coerce by a sense of fear, than to constrain by the gentle persuasives of love and gratitude. Thus duty is made irksome, a burden hardly to be borne, while the whole order of piety becomes legalistic, and to the same extent, unhappy. Doubts and fears the Christian will indeed experience, as he seeks to work out his salvation. But it is seriously to be questioned whether the Saviour commissioned his embassadors for the purpose of intensifying this evil.

All that has now been said, applies with full force to the ordinary mode of presenting the duty of prayer, at least in the hands of many. True, they may present, as considerations for its observance, the many advantages which inure therefrom to the suppliant—the pleasure of our Redeemer in bearing their cries to the throne of his Father's mercy—their encouragement in the promise of gracious answer, and many more; but still is the whole subject usually rounded off with the inexorable mandate of Almighty God, and made to wear the aspect of a stern imperative. Now to admit that prayer is a duty, entitles no one to any special compliment, for none but a very fool will deny it. And to say that it is a Christian minister's duty to present it with all his power in that light, is equally clear. But it by no means follows, that he is to present it in that light and no other. A proper conception of the nature and ground of duty, must make this manifest to a demonstration.

What then is the ground of duty? Is it the commandment? No, verily. This is but the rule. A thing is a duty, not *because* it is commanded, but it is commanded because *it is* duty. The ground lies back of the injunction. Had God seen fit to proclaim a categorical mandate, that man should eat and drink, would the ground of obligation in this case hold simply in the mandate? If so, then the absence of such a mandate would imply the equal absence of the duty enjoined, and leave it optional, to say the least, with man, whether he would sustain life or not. So we must conclude, that because God forbids

murder, we are bound to do no murder, but if he had not forbidden it, then every man would be at full liberty to kill himself or any body else. Rather questionable morality we take it.

The ground of obligation, it may be repeated, lies back of the command, and holds in that, out of which this last itself proceeds, namely, the will of God. But here again care is very necessary to avoid a misconception. Under no circumstances must this holy will be regarded as arbitrary. In other words, we must never conceive of God as willing and commanding simply because he *sees fit* so to do. This were to make obligation ground itself in the *abstract* will of the Deity, which would militate fatally against the whole order of human responsibility. No, if the subject be rightly considered, it will be found that human obligation centres in the will of God, as that will has expressed itself in the form of creation. Here his will becomes concrete, clothes itself in a tangible form, and obligation in the case of this creation is but the inwrought necessities of its own constitution and being. The Divine will here is nothing else than the very vital energy and life of this its revelation. All its powers, functions and surroundings were constituted with specific reference to this animating principle, and the sum of duty for it is, the obligation of surrendering itself to its own inherent necessities, that is to say, to the law of its being, for this law *is* the will of God respecting it. Man is the head of this creation—its seat of consciousness. In him alone resides the power of an intelligent apprehension of the contents of the whole organism. Duty for him then, is an intelligent and voluntary conformity in all his thoughts, feelings and activities besides, to the normal law of his being as thus related to nature.

Nor does the presence of sin, as a state of disability and disorganization, affect materially this truth. Duty is for man since the fall, precisely what is was before, with this addition, however, the obligation, namely, to employ faithfully those remedial agencies which have been ordained for his elevation from the prostration of sin, and his restoration to his normal state of being, as provided for by grace in Christ Jesus. For the primary design of the incarnation was none other than to

restore humanity to its constitutional relation of union with the Godhead; while as a means to this end it invested its gracious Subject with resources for the extrication of that nature from the toils of sin, and it superincumbent weight of guilt. In the application now of this provision of grace, so fully completed, and so mercifully offered to all who will accept its terms, it has pleased God, instead of causing it to act in a miraculous way—in the instantaneous restoration of man to the original design of his being, and full communion with his Maker, to secure all these necessary ends in the way of growth, in conformity to the laws of his human life. But as conformity to these laws, involves the exercise of intelligence and will, and as sin has eclipsed the light of knowledge with the night of ignorance, and enveloped the rule of duty for the will in its darkness, it must needs be, that if the wanderer escape to the light of life, that he be gently led by the hand of heavenly mercy, while the voice of inspiration instructs him in the way he should go. This instruction, however, is but the repeating of the laws, graven by the finger of God upon the table of his own benummed heart, accompanied with such counsels and rules as may serve to lead him back again to the noon-tide of his Father's smiles.

What then are the commands of Scripture? They are, first, but the voice of God teaching man his holy will as implanted deep in his own nature in the form of inwrought law; and second, his injunctions to employ the appointed means and ordinances for the restoration of spiritual health. It must be observed, however, that neither are these latter commands arbitrary, that is, without any adequate necessity in the wants of humanity. They are grounded in, and consequently grow out of, the very wants they are designed to relieve. Nature laboring with hunger pains cries out for food, while nature's God, with the opening of his liberal hand, proclaims the command, Take and eat. Nature cries for food, and when it eats, it no less obeys the mandate of its Creator, than enjoys an unspeakable privilege.

From all this, it must be manifest, that those ministers who delight to insist upon obedience, so exclusively upon the ground of stern objective duty, do err,—that duty is always privi-

lege—the privilege, by the help of God, of doing his will, which will invariably includes the highest possible good for his children.

The solution of the question, whether prayer falls within the first or second class of commands as above distinguished, is of importance in the development of its true idea. If it belong to the first, then is it an original and permanent necessity of humanity, recognizing no event in its entire history as its special occasion. Although God, from the eminence of inerrable wisdom, pronounced his works "very good;" although he had it in store for man, on condition of his favorable response to the test of his allegiance, to admit him to the dignity of a participation of the tree of life, and thus to seal him with the sacramental and infallible boon of immortality, and confirm him in the possession of that supernatural grace which would ever have abounded unto the satisfaction of his every capacity; nevertheless, according to this assignment of the command, must he have experienced in his sinless and sanctified being the pains of moral imperfection and unsatisfied want. For prayer, in the sense of petition, as now under consideration, presupposes a sense of want, and in its absence, is wholly precluded, else would it be the mockery of asking for that for which we have neither the desire nor the want. It is indeed but the language of humanity stricken with the consciousness of imperfection. Unless now we suppose it possible for this evil to inhere in the original conception and perfect realization of our nature as the fruit of creative energy, prayer cannot be taken as an original organic necessity of humanity, but on the other hand, must be regarded as a necessity growing out of the disturbing effects of sin; and accordingly we give it its proper place in the second class.

This reasoning may serve to illustrate the justness of the position already in substance defined, that in so far as imperfection and sin are the unhappy characteristics of human life, prayer is a duty grounded in its deranged constitution. In as far as this derangement is overcome by grace, to the same extent it is superseded by the language of praise; and when at last the conquest of grace shall triumph in the adjudgment of

the people of God to their eternal reward, praise and glory to God and the Lamb, those normal activities of their being, will exult in the banishment of all painful want, for he shall be their portion and their fulness forevermore.

We are now prepared to define more specifically what prayer is. As to its outward form it is necessarily variable. Any befitting outward activity may serve to express its spirit, and while indeed it ordinarily clothes itself in language, yet is this far from being the only, or even the most prevailing form of expression. In whatever form the consciousness of human imperfection reveals itself, and seeks to satisfy its wants; in all its heavings and groans, its toils and its labors, its cries and its tears, does man, its unhappy subject, pray. In its deepest idea and life then, prayer may be defined to be, *the longing of humanity after perfection;* while in the form of the actual, *it is the exercise of its various powers in the use of their corresponding outward appliances, for the satisfaction of its sense of deficiency.*

In the light of this definition, it requires neither labored reflection, nor particularly keen moral sensibilities, to appreciate the force of this duty. It must be perceived that it grounds itself in our instinctive aversion to pain, and longing after peace. Moreover, until man becomes perfectly indifferent to his personal happiness, even in this world—until he can find rest in the throes of pain, and enjoyment in the convulsions of misery, if that were possible, he will—he must pray. Not that he will necessarily realize the Christian idea, or perchance pray even to the Christian's God, but still will he pray, and continue to pray, nor will the blight of Jehovah's curse, nor the weight of his terrific damnation be able to stifle the groans and cries of his nature, created originally for immortal praise.

The world around us, yea, the world under the bondage of sin and spiritual death, breathes forth its unceasing groans in prayer. And the Christian man need but have eyes and ears, that his soul be moved with pity as he contemplates. How shall we else resolve the riddle of this universal scene of disquietude and unrest? How else explain why man, the divinely constituted lord of

this terrene creation, should ever seek for rest and find it not? Why this dissatisfaction with all acquired resources? Why this thirsting after glory, and those fearful oblations poured out upon the quenchless fires of ambition? Why this panting after power, and those herculean efforts after empire? Why this mammon worship, which pays its daily offerings of sacrifice of the heart's richest gems, and even the heavenly casket of the soul itself? Why the impotence of misfortune and disappointed hope, to disarm the spirit of man of his energy in the conflict of life? Why all this restless, ceaseless toil and strife, confusion and noise, this treadmill plodding in the beaten track, and those gigantic efforts in the domain of mind? Why all these, and ten thousand fold besides of the indications of the world's unrest, and its struggling after some higher good? Are all these meaningless? Or speak they not of the divinity which stirs in the inner temple of the soul, and inspires it with anxious cravings after its lost communion with God. They are but the mournful evidence that humanity has capacities which in vain are sought to be filled with the unsubstantial tinsel of this world. They are but the living response which the world is ever summing up in answer to the startling challenge of the Lord of life, "What shall it profit a man if he should gain the whole world and lose his own soul." But yet what mean all these restless activities? They are the effort of the soul of man to satisfy its longings. It feels its painful want, and dark and unintelligent though this want may be, yet it feels it, and seeks through all the wide domain of nature, if perchance its peace may be found. Inspired by dreams of happy realization, it nerves its mightiest energies in the pursuit of its fancied talisman of peace. There are strains of seraphic harmony which ever rise amid the jarring discord of conflicting passions and emotions, from its secret chambers, which tell of its lost estate, and fill it with longing after rest. And these mighty and unceasing efforts are but the labors of this longing, if mayhaps it may find a panacea for its suffering consciousness. As such, they are the voice of the world's prayer. But hapless world, its cries go not forth to the Lord, the God and ground of its peace—for by nature it knows him

not—but to its own impotent powers, and to the fell divinity that sways the iron sceptre of its slavery. The god of this world hears these cries, and regales his delighted ears with these misdirected sighs; while by some hellish magic he presents the deceptive lure of rest, hard by the pitfall of eternal death. Thus does the world worship the Devil, and thus he answers its bitter prayer.

A careful contemplation of the workings of humanity, as they have developed themselves in the various systems of heathen religion, will serve still further to elucidate the idea of prayer as now exhibited. These systems themselves are not, as many will have it, but the fruit of a vague and corrupted tradition, telling of a God, and of man's allegiance and responsibility, handed down perchance from the righteous survivors of the flood, and wrought with various degrees of skill. Than this, no conception could well be more unsatisfactory. Such a tradition without a subjective basis in our nature, could not have survived as many decades of years, as are centuries claimed for it by this assumption. For the heart of man is too much averse to things of divine import to cherish them for an hour, but for their innate existence. We are well aware of the vehemence with which the doctrine of innate ideas has been, and still is, denounced by some schools of philosophy. But it falls to the lot of the nineteenth century to estimate the wisdom of their denunciations, as it contemplates their ruins upon the shoals of infidelity. Ideas are innate; deny it who will. Not indeed like wares treasured in the hidden storehouse of the mind, but rather as the vital substrata of being, permeating its every department, forming and shaping all its powers, and defining what it is and what it is not. The constitution of humanity presupposes the existence of God, and this too in the form of an inwrought concrete idea, according to which its every part and faculty were originally shaped—by it its very being conditioned. And substract this in thought, if we can, and it ceases to be human, a shapeless, meaningless, lifeless figment of the brain.

Such being the case, God is the permanent ground of our human life, which, unlike the product of human skill, which

falls from the hands of its constructor a separate and independent thing, "lives and moves and has its being in him." It has its innate affinities for the supernatural, and only as it rejoices in its vital union with Divinity, does it realize its own true idea. Sin, unhappily, has sundered the bonds of this union—deprived man of his necessary communion with his Maker, and overwhelmed his being with confusion, and inward as well as outward derangement. But it had no power to overthrow the fundamental idea of his being. Nor indeed could it, short of annihilation itself. His nature could be deranged, his faculties blunted, his will perverted, and his positive union with God broken up—all this, and much more, could be, and was, disastrously effected, but amid it all, humanity ceased not to be human. Still does the divinity stir in the deserted and ruined sanctuary of the soul, and whisper in its leaden ear the consciousness of its relationship to Heaven. Thus is it ever wakened to a sense of its own inward necessities and wants, and does it grope around in its blindness to find the God of whom its very being necessarily speaks.

The religions of heathendom, are but the efforts of benighted humanity, striving in its mighty weakness to discover its God. Its consciousness protests his existence, and points to him as the key note of all its lost harmonies. Its sense of guilt mantles his hidden brow with frowns of wrath, and guided thus by its own unconscious prophecies does it vainly seek to reconstruct its ruined altars, and lay thereon the imagined price of its Sovereign's smiles. In a word, all these untiring, noble, stupendous, yet impotent efforts of man in the sphere of religion, his confounding the divine with the human, and linking them together in unholy wedlock; his deification of the human, his hero worship; and especially his deeply solemn conceptions of the incarnation, that grand central point of all true religion, together with his horrible ritual of penitence with its rivers of sacrificial blood; all are but the strivings of his nature after the satisfaction of its instinctive necessities, goaded on by the crushing weight of guilt and imperfection—the outward expression of its longing for deliverance from its ills—its unceasing prayer for the realization of its true idea and relations of being.

But we turn now to the contemplation of our subject, as embodied in the Christian idea. And this, too, with the more grateful feelings, as our enquiring steps emerge from the tortuous labyrinths of nature, and pursue the path marked out by the hand of eternal verity. From groping in the wake of instinct, confounded by its own appalling mystery, we view it in the light of his revelation, whose life resolves the enigma of humanity, and whose words awake the soul to a consciousness of its own celestial import, its perversion, and its remedy. Here, and here alone, may we learn the cause and meaning of those painful appetencies of our nature which stir up the ocean of life with the storms of ceaseless unrest;—here, the meaning of our longings, and the activities with which they seek their appeasement—the idea and form of prayer.

We have already had occasion to remark upon God as the ground of our being—the fact of his existence as underlying its very constitution; that because of this fact, man is what he is, and to the extent that we seek to obliterate it, is it at the same time sought to efface his every distinctively human feature. The reason why man was created thus, is because God made him for himself, and establishing him upon the basis of his own self-existence, he must needs live in him, and from him draw perpetually, as the fountain of his life. This involves, consequently, a most mysterious, yea, most vital union. And to sunder this union, were to cut off the supplies of life from man, break up his constitutional relations to the Author of his existence, and leave the inwrought necessities of his nature to pant in agony after the satisfaction forever beyond his reach. Such indeed is the wretched estate into which he was plunged by sin; upheld by the force of an indestructible existence, despoiled of his life and truth, he exhibited a monstrous caricature of the creative wisdom of Almighty God—a miserable living lie. Thus were the life-strings of creation torn asunder, and it remained for creative energy alone to knit them anew. It was resolved accordingly in the councils of infinite mercy, to interpose in man's behalf. But this could be done, only as the divine attributes would be fully vindicated, and man's moral nature respected. For, on the one hand, om-

nipotence itself had no power to compromise the integrity of God's character, while, on the other, none but a voluntary allegiance, on the part of the creature, could satisfy his own nature, and comport with the reciprocal relations ordained between himself and his Creator. The divine will, as embodied in the constitution of man, constituted him a free moral agent, and as such, demanded his services; and to have ignored this quality, were to have violated that will, and to have eliminated one of the fundamental elements of his nature. "God is indeed merciful, but he is also just, and his justice requires" that even in his interposition for the salvation of the world, his truth and holiness must assert their immutable character, at the same time that the integrity of humanity be most uncompromisingly preserved.

Thus was it, that in the nature of things, both human and divine, the human will could not be set aside. Moreover, just as little was it possible, that it should be controlled by purely objective force. For this, in the end, involves precisely the same difficulty, as practically considered, there would be in either case a destruction of responsibility, and a defeat of the intention of creation. In the matter, therefore, of human redemption, while indeed it required the intervention of creative power to make it possible, and provide the means, yet the apprehension of the provision thus made, by man, could be effected only in accordance with, and through the operation of the laws of his human life. Now in the economy of his nature, the will is the energizing, operative principle, and is the power by which the dictates of reason and consciousness are carried into execution. Consciousness discerns the want, reason the object and means of attainment, and the will employs the means. This may be laid down as the general rule, subject indeed to exceptions caused by the deranging power of sin. But doubtless many of the apparent exceptions, will, upon proper reflection, be found to be resolvable by this rule. Thus acting, the will is free, even though the voice of consciousness is indistinct, and the prescriptions of reason entirely in error. The effect of sin was not only to break up the harmony of relations subsisting between man and the great centre of his

being, but likewise to envelop the rational faculties in the night of ignorance, and misdirecting them from apprehending God, led them to expend their energies, and, at the same time, those of the will, in the sphere of nature. But this alienation was not the result of merely objective and involuntary force. It was rather purely voluntary,—man's will yielding to considerations addressed to this rationality, so that if he would be delivered again from his alienation, he must necessarily be engaged in the exercise of the same will, to abjure his rebellion, and freely lay hold upon the proffered assistance of grace. How now, it may be asked, was this end to be compassed, averse, as by nature he is, to the service of the living God, so as not to interfere with the freedom of his will; as we have already seen, that the ignoring of the will, in any way, or its coercion by objective constraint, would have been to inflict precisely this injury? No way remained to induce this exercise of the will but through the means of reason and consciousness, as these might be roused to a sense of their misery and helplessness. Consciousness must, in the way of actual experience, discover its crippled and diseased condition, and reason must be convicted of its imbecility, alike to discover and attain the necessary remedy. Then only would the will be constrained, in full accord with its native freedom, to consent to and lay hold upon the provisions of salvation. All this required a process, and hence the necessity of that long pupilage of centuries prior to the revelation of grace in Christ Jesus. In pursuance of this end, it was first indispensable that man be given over to the workings of his own deranged constitution, and thus awakened to a painful consciousness of evil and deficiency. And this result was inevitable; for his nature could not otherwise than seek to satisfy its inherent necessities, and languish in its disability for the attainment. Deep within the soul were ever felt longings after peace, and there were heard the groans of conscious guilt, while conscience and his entire moral being, spoke of an offended but unknown Deity. And the earnestness with which the human soul groped after its God, and the prodigality of its offerings for the appeasement of his wrath, stand forth with prominence in almost

every system of false religion—those deplorable monuments of man's divinity and ruin—those abortive results of this painful experience.

Such was the discipline by which alone the natural man could be awakened even to a partial sense of his dignity and his misery. But from every attempt to purge his conscience in the stagnant pools of nature, did he rise befouled the more with the mire of its corruption. All tended to plunge him into the blackest despair, yet was he without the ability to believe its atheistical teaching. And in the prophetic language of one of the master spirits of ancient heathendom, did his heart teach him, that the "gods must bow the heavens and come down to man, or he was forever undone." Here arose the necessity for a revelation of the true God, as the ground of his being, and the object of all his longings; that, by the declaration of his holy law he might be still farther instructed in the mystery of his being and his guilt. This revelation was necessary, as he had yet to learn the unfathomed depths of his ruin and his helplessness. For the same fell spirit which at first had poisoned his imagination with dreams of self-sufficiency, sang again its deceptive strains, and bespoke him, that with a knowledge of the true God, and the light of his revealed will, he could himself reap the honor of his delivery from the fetters of his bondage, and scale the height of his relations to his Maker. And it was not until the merciless demand of the law had thundered its displeasure over his every altar of sacrifice, and stricken him in the dust from his every attempt to run in the way of its command—not until by its holy rule of righteousness it convicted him of the violation of its every precept, and in his actual experience demonstrated his inability alike to satisfy and obey—not until it had fired his desponding soul with the most agonizing cravings after the living God and communion with him, that as a schoolmaster, it had prepared him for the revelation of grace in Christ Jesus.

Who now that has ears attuned to the harmony of truth, can contemplate the wailings of humanity while struggling in its earlier wanderings from the Egypt of its spiritual death to the Canaan of its redemption, as exhibited in the ancient heathen

religions, and fail to discern in the harsh discord of its groans and sighs, its longings and cravings, its cries and its tears, its offerings, its vows, its altars of sacrifice, its worship, in a word, in the whole round of its inward and outward religious activity, one unceasing and heart-rending prayer, for deliverance from the bondage of guilt, and for the satisfaction of all its wants —its restoration to God, as the ground and perfection of its being. The same may be said of the Jewish dispensation, as the second stadium in the preparation of humanity for its redemption. Objectively considered, it was indeed the ordinance of the Most High—the projection of Christianity, in the form of type and shadow. But in that its ritual became the medium of man's intercourse with his Maker—the exponent of his consciousness of want, and his aspirations after perfection by union with him, did it sum up one continuous living prayer.

The office of the dispensation of the law, was to conduct its disciples to the keenest apprehension of their guilt, and impotence for all remedial attainments, thus indicating the necessity of their promised daysman and pointing to his coming. Beyond this, it had no power in itself to go. It could teach man his wants, but for their satisfaction it could but direct to Christ, the Messiah of God. So when this, its mission, was accomplished, and its insufficiency in itself came to be apprehended, while as yet the revelation of the incarnate God delayed, it could but excite in him the intensest longing for his Redeemer—the Desire of his aching heart.

Such was the painful experience, through which the human soul must needs be conducted to a deeper and clearer consciousness of its misery and imperfection, and to confound its rationality with a demonstration of its own impotence. By this course, in full accordance with the rights of the will, was it prepared to acquiesce in the provisions of grace, as in the fulness of time they might be revealed. It was only thus that it could be legitimately brought into a befitting posture for the reception of his grace, and this posture is that precisely of prayer.

The revelation of grace, as it was accomplished in the person of our Blessed Lord, and treasured up in his Body, the

Church, for the health of all succeeding ages, did not, neither was it designed to raise man at once and entirely, in a miraculous way, from the attitude of prayer to the full perfection of praise. Nor indeed could it, for the economy of redemption must needs have its limits, and be operative only in accordance with the laws of his constitution. For these laws were but the will of the Creator as it developed itself in his work. And God could not institute any remedial agencies, or order of procedure, which would in any way conflict with his holy will as already asserted, and therefore must this economy be thus constructed. As then involved in this general necessity, and as already asserted, the rights of the will as free, must be respected, and the power of acceptance and continued coöperation, or, on the other hand, of refusal, must be guaranteed. And this is true of every individual, in all ages, onward to the end of time. Hence could this plan attain its perfect consummation only in a gradual way. But what is thus true of this plan, as it relates to the general life of humanity, is equally so as respects its individual manifestations; for the perfection of the individual is conditioned absolutely by that of the general. Therefore, in his redemption there is a like gradual process. This presupposes the continued presence of sin in his relations to his race and to nature, and to overcome this is the design of his spiritual growth. During this process, now even with the presence of the divinely implanted principle of life, there will be a consciousness of remaining want and imperfection, and to the same extent the necessity and indeed the very principle of prayer.

The effect of regeneration, is to place man in such a relation to God in Christ Jesus, as to make his perfection attainable, not that it at once and infallibly invests him with it. The condition of this attainment holds in the coöperation of his powers with the divine assistance. This assistance is administered through the medium of his reason and spiritual susceptibilities, and involves the necessity of their legitimate exercise. Included herein, of course, is the activity of the will. What now, we may ask, is the consideration which constrains the will, averse, as it is by nature, to this very activity? It

will not do to say, the mandate of duty. For, as already shown, the outward command is but an index specifying the subjective necessities of our nature. This activity of the will is commanded because *it is* duty, and it is duty because the constitution of our nature as embodying the divine will requires it. The response to the above question then, must be, that the will is constrained by the necessities of our being, as contrasted with its present condition, and as apprehended by reason in the light of consciousness and revelation. But all these necessities are included in, and satisfied alone by the perfection of our nature, therefore is the longing of this our nature after its ideal estate of communion with God the constraining power.

It is, however, to be remarked here, that this longing in the case of the regenerate soul, is no longer, as in the case of the world, a groping in the dark. It has been enabled by the illuminating grace of the Spirit, to discern the goal of its being, in the person of Jesus Christ. And in proportion as it apprehends him, is it made to realize the rest towards which its disquietude has ever pointed. For in him, heaven and earth have come to a joyful marriage—humanity brought back from the wanderings of its desolation, and raised to that union with the eternal God, for which it was originally designed. In him it is restored to its true relations to its Creator; and the individual raised unto the dignity of a new creature, will ultimately realize the full perfection of his nature. But this in the way of gradual attainment. Meanwhile the soul having found the great object of all its struggles, grows still more impatient under the restraints of remaining imperfection, and fired with an all-consuming ardor of love, pants in its deepest consciousness to be lost in the object of its supreme affection. Thus does it realize the profound truth of the confession of the sainted Bishop of Hippo, "Thou madest us for Thyself, and our heart is restless, until it repose in Thee."

In the Christian's longing after perfection, which, of course, is nothing else than his panting after the living God, and vital communion with him, we discern the yearnings of love. Love, however, in its true conception, is not as too often imagined, a

mere feeling, than which it grounds itself vastly deeper in our nature. It is the vital tie which binds in living marriage the complemental sides of life—it is the bond of perfectness of whatever it may be predicated. "God is love." With him it is a state of being—of absolute perfection and harmony in all his relations, both outward and inward. With man it is also a state of being. A state of perfectness in all his relations—of complete union and harmony, both with God and his neighbor. Feeling, then, so far from being the ground of love, is its result or mode of expression to consciousness. Where it is consummated, the feelings will be in a state of peace, rejoicing in the embrace of its object. It excludes fear, anxiety, longing and the like painful emotions, for the simple reason that it is in a state of consummation. But to the extent that this completion is wanting, will our nature struggle after it in the experiences just named. The Christian throughout the pilgrimage of his mortal life, finds not this consummation of his love to his incarnate God, although at times he may enjoy its refreshing foretastes, and as a natural consequence, does his soul languish and yearn therefor. He feels the drawings of his Saviour's affection, and reciprocally does his spirit with anxious cravings, now raised by his reason and faith to the form of intelligent desires, bend forward after a perfect realization. Then is it that his heart, swelling with unutterable aspirations, pours forth its cries and tears at the throne of heavenly grace.

But the spirit of prayer exhausts not itself in oral supplication. God has been pleased, in accordance with the laws of our humanity, to dispense his ordinary mercies, not in a miraculous way, but by means of agencies which call for the exercise of our natural powers. He answers the prayer of the hungry through the channels of industrious labor; and the enquirer after truth invokes the aid of heavenly wisdom in vain, only as he seeks it in the use of those means which are its appointed channels of communication. Why does the student of the truth bend his powers to study? For the same reason that he prays; both, namely, that he may replenish his soul with wisdom, and endow his spirit with the pearl of priceless value. His thirst for knowledge expresses itself now in petition, then

in the use of the necessary means of attainment. In both alike does the ear of his Heavenly Father discern the spirit and the form of prayer. This spirit, therefore, confines not its outward assertion to language, but with equal relative fitness it expresses itself through every activity of our human life. But all power, both in heaven and on earth, has been given to him, "who is head over all things unto the Church," and thus made tributary either directly or indirectly to the economy of redemption. We must not suppose, however, that the power here spoken of, is merely that of unmediated omnipotence, by which all resources, both human and divine, are made subservient to this general interest. But rather, that the plan of redemption, as wrought out by the new creation in Christ Jesus, being the embodiment of the original design of creation, rescued from the perversion of the fall, comprehends again the full idea of humanity in all its relations and manifestations; as well as all divine power. In this view, the power on earth, as given to Christ, includes accordingly, not only the treasures and susceptibilities of inanimate nature, nor either as superadded, those alone of animate but irrational creation; for these at every point presuppose the presence and wants of the world of mankind. But all comprehensive as it is, it includes all the higher correlatives, as manifested in the corresponding human potencies. So that all the resources of learning, art, business, politics and civilization are fully included. All these were rescued from the dominion of sin, and given to our blessed Lord as trophies of his victorious conflict. These now, as thus sanctified, are ordained as means for the promotion of the divine glory, in their appointed ministrations to the plan of redeeming grace, and in this office are designed to call forth the corresponding human activities, with a full apprehension of, and consent, to this fact. In truth, Christianity covers the whole domain of human life, and all its powers and institutions are but means for its furtherance to final consummation. All this is evident to Christian consciousness, even while reason may for the time, fail to understand. The employment of these agencies, accordingly, as means to an end beyond themselves, presupposes the want of the end

thus sought, and the desire of its attainment, as the motive for their employment. It is indeed but the outward assertion of the infelt want and its lawful endeavor after satisfaction. But in all this does the pious heart feel its own impotence, and employs these instrumentalities in reliance upon heavenly benediction. Now what is this but the spirit of prayer longing for deliverance from the bondage of imperfection; which spirit conforming itself outwardly to the divine appointment, breathes itself into the sympathizing ear of the Redeemer. Oral prayer, and prayer in the form of actual life, are but different manifestations of the same spirit, through different powers of our being. As such we are enabled to view the life of the man of God, in so far as he is governed by the principle of love, as one unceasing anxious prayer; just as on the other hand, the life of the glorified spirit, is one continuous anthem of praise. Here on earth he "prays without ceasing," there in heaven his loud halleluias shall know no end.

Thus is the life of the Christian, if we except his attainments in sanctification, for in these he realizes to the same extent the idea of praise, from the womb, not only to the grave, but to the resurrection, one long unceasing prayer. With the first breath that inflated his new born lungs, did he lament the misery of imperfection, and cry out unconsciously for a deliverer. With his infantile cries and tears did he supplicate assistance. He prayed in the restlessness and ever recurring dissatisfaction with childhood's sports, and in his fatiguing quest after youthful enjoyment. He prayed in his aspirations after the fancied happiness and contentment of manhood's privileges and cares —in his offerings at the shrine of pleasure, in his devotion to his domestic comforts, in his sacrifices of anxious toil as offered upon the altar of mammon. He prayed when his soul, turning with unrest from the vanity of this world, sought with repentant tears the smiles of a compassionate Redeemer. He prayed in every pious act and every Christian duty—in every toil, in every sigh, in every effort to do his Master's will. He prayed and still prays, and here it reaches its culmination, when at the altar of the church he receives the treasures of Christ's redemption in partaking of his broken body and shed

blood. For as his labors after the meat that perishes find their consummation in the act of eating, so his Christian toils and prayers are in like manner consummated in the spiritual feast of grace and eternal life. Let no one imagine then, that he prays aright, and so as to insure the answer, who partakes not in this holy mystery of the altar. For what will it avail with our wants, though we labor day by day for bread, if wickedly we refuse to partake when it is ministered unto us? The pious soul longs for its full repose in the perfection of its being —it pants after the living God, and what will benefit all its panting, if when he offers himself in the grace of the sacrament, it refuse to eat and drink?

Prayer must not be sundered from the Eucharist, as though they were separate and independent spiritual exercises. As just remarked, this last is but the ultimate complete form of the first. For in it does the hungry soul open wide its mouth in protestation of its sense of want, and in supplication for its supplies, while God our Saviour, by the hands of his minister, dispenses the needful food. The Eucharist, then, is the point at which the divine and human activities meet. The very attitude of recipiency on the part of the human, is in itself the deepest and most comprehensive form of prayer of which it is capable. In it do all the powers of its being unite, whose every voice now hushed into the stillness of unutterable desire, breathes its most intense supplication into the ear of the divine, whose hand of mercy is outstretched to administer to its wants. Indeed, it may be said in general, that the means of grace are the media through which all true prayer for grace and faith is answered. The prayer for faith through the Preached Gospel; for forgiveness of sins and inclusion in the kingdom of grace, through holy Baptism; for growth in sanctification, and all things necessary thereunto, through the Lord's Supper. To stand wilfully aloof from these divine ordinances, prayer and all human activities besides are vain, for the reason precisely that their true idea is never realized, and their employment is not pursued with that growing importunity which is indispensable to an answer.

Chambersburg, Pa. S. N. C.

ART. VII.—THE EPISCOPATE, VIEWED AS A CENTRE OF UNITY.*

IT is perhaps less the duty of people to find the Church, than for the Church to appear before them. And the life which she may have, goes further to make her manifest, than the form in which she appears, indispensable as is an organized form in which her life must be externalized, in order to her manifestation. It may be questioned, too, whether those who have the most correct ideas of her form, have always the most adequate ideas of her character. The Church is, (as we have elsewhere expressed it,) less a subject for precise definition, than a supernatural object for an adherence "of a true heart, in love."† We cannot doubt that it was *thus* regarded (with whatever accompanying misapprehensions,) by the author of the hymn, so cherished by Episcopalians, "I love thy Church, O God." If that eminent congregationalist had tarried here till now, he would doubtless have been one of those who not merely utter regrets at the disunion prevailing, but do their utmost to diffuse a proper sense of the evils arising from "the divided and distracted state of our American Protestant Christianity" (as the memorialists to the House of Bishops expressed it.)

The time appears to be at hand, when there will be an abundant outpouring of the Holy Spirit, to impel the progress of Christ's kingdom in an unbelieving and anti-christian world; and the tenor of those prophecies, from which we infer the approaching visitation from on High, necessitates the expectation that there must be an unusual manifestation of His peculiar influences as a Spirit of Unity.

* This article contains some views, especially in relation to Episcopacy, for which the Editors do not wish to be held responsible; but as the discussion possesses value in its bearing upon one side of the great question of Church unity, we deem it worthy of a place and therefore submit it to the attention of our readers.—EDS.

† Αληθευοντες εν αγαπη. Eph. 4: 15.

Without asserting to our brethren of other denominations, that, if the Churches are ever to be united, this or that must be universally accepted,—we do not hesitate to express a conviction, that, when the Blessed Spirit of Unity shall be shed abroad as we are expecting, whatever ecclesiastical changes He may inspire, whether in pure or in corrupt Churches, Episcopacy will be retained and diffused through His influences, ordinary or extraordinary.

Not to bring up the question of primitive or historical claims, or that founded on the most prevalent acceptance of Episcopacy throughout the Christian world, its intrinsic recommendations are greater *conservatism* and (*cæteris paribus*) greater *adaptedness for efficiency*, than any other prevalent system. If the *former* attribute is conceded, it may then be assumed that, if unity is a desirable thing, the hope of its attainment could hardly justify, as a condition for it, the sacrifice of the very institution which has so marked a tendency to promote its conservation when attained. With reference to the *other* attribute claimed, the following observations are submitted. Every one of our chief pastors is a missionary to a section of country, called a diocese (in this country unreasonably and prejudicially extensive). Ordinarily, home missionaries are far from being the ablest or the most influential men in their respective denominations. But here is a peculiar feature in our Church, of a two-fold character: namely, that every bishop is, as such, a missionary, (though he may not be one of the "missionary bishops," so called;) and that every section of the country, practicable to the attention of a missionary of such order and such powers, has one assigned to it, whether it has or has not a sufficient number of *other* ministers. Whether he is a solitary pioneer of the Church, or is the stationed centre of consolidation to a numerous body of clergy, there must be every where, *one such* missionary. Every minister, in whatever part of the land he may be, has no less a one for a visiting co-laborer, so far as the latter can divide his energies among all in the field assigned to his supervision, and, we may add, in every form in which his aid can be ministered. Hence, we can understand how the inspired wisdom of the

Apostles led *them* to the diffusion of the Episcopal system, apart from any question of ulterior purpose as identified with the Episcopal *order*.

But the reader, if he be of a different denomination from ourselves, might well say to us: Your Church is provided, as you shew, with a body of chief pastors, selected on an average from your best men; having official duties characterized with variety, extension, and concentration, at the same time; and privileged with unlimited opportunities for the influential and efficient fulfilment of them: each of these high functionaries having the beneficial stimulus of a dignified and congenial rivalry on each side of his diocese, where another such functionary has a similar field; also the collateral stimulus of concentrated responsibilities, arising from the fact that, whilst the administration of this grand field is assigned to *him*, no other pastor similarly commissioned can enter it, except on an application for his indispensable assistance. In short, your pastors of this class have, *morally*, all the duties of so many apostles, and the privileges too, excepting such as depend on extraordinary inspiration. With such superintendence, and with a communion occupying in general the most favorable social position, with all this, what proportionate influence has your Church on the population of this land? Our neighbors, by making our representation of episcopacy, in one of its aspects, the basis of such reasoning with us, and by urging the same with power, may do us almost as much good, perhaps, as if they at once accepted the representation as a good ground for a movement, towards the incorporatiou of the religious spirit of the land with our organization. It should be remembered too, that, in speaking of the superior efficiency of Episcopacy, we assumed *other things to be equal*. And this brings home to our communion the question, whether its arbitrary regulations are calculated to give the episcopal system fair play. In the memorial to the House of Bishops, it is earnestly pleaded (in substance) that this question must be answered in the negative. It really seems as if, while other Churches were doing the best they could for themselves, our own had acted more prejudicially, than all her Protestant rivals together, to her interests.

Yet, were she to adopt at once a policy tending to make up for her crippled efficiency hitherto, there is little doubt that the rising generation would see her one day become the first denomination in the land, alike in numbers and in generally recognized efficiency.

Some time ago, our people had a habit—one far from being peculiar to our communion—of congratulating one another on the remarkable progress of the Church in every relation; and scripture phrase, thus applied, became cant, from repetition in congratulatory addresses at conventions. At what a rate we were said to be "lengthening our cords, and strengthening our stakes!" So it was with other communions. But we hear nothing of that kind now. As for statistics of progress, our people have not been lately very curious, for reasons which they well know. To be told that all the prominent denominations are in no better case, is poor consolation under the circumstances: for, what does it prove? Only that the Churches generally, are making little headway against the infidelity, so marked among the moral features of this age.* The enemy is "coming in like a flood," while Christians are divided, as if in order to be overcome.

It happens, in this case, that we Episcopalians can best serve others by seeing to ourselves. By placing the Episcopate on the vantage ground of greater independence, the effect, both within and without our pale, would soon be felt. Our members should frankly compare the inherent advantages of the episcopal system in *itself*, with the result of its *direction* by "the Protestant Episcopal Church."

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* The following extract from a prize essay on Infidelity, appeared in some of the public journals, about a year ago:

"The Edinburgh Review, which is not chargeable with countenancing exaggerated statements in these matters, said about two years ago: The 'total annual issue of *immoral* publications has been stated at twenty-one millions, being more than the total issues of the Society for promoting Christian knowledge, the Religious Tract Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Scottish Bible Society, the Trinitarian Bible Society, and some seventy Magazines.' More recently it has been affirmed, that, during the year 1851, the purely *infidel* press in London issued publications to the amount of more than twelve millions; the issues of avowed atheism, during the same period, exceed two hundred and forty thousand; and, in addition to these, were issued upwards of seventeen millions and a half of a negative or corrupting character. All this is exclusive of what are properly called newspapers."

Things do not look better in this country.

If the Bishops had free range to make their own selections of real missionaries, that is of men adapted to the several fields of enterprise,—as to whom they have *not* a choice, so long as they are confined to the Anglican type,—not only their official scope, but their views as men, would be more enlarged, and their impulses would be less under the influence of party associations.

If only unfettered, the Episcopate might perhaps gradually obtain general recognition as a central bond of unity among Christians,—regulating, without impairing, the freedom required for unfolding their life into the outward expression natural to it,—genially controlling, so as to justify, their divergences, and combining these in social operation for a common end, even to the breaking down of all sectarian partitions. At all events, instead of being a retired college within a circumscribed denomination, the Episcopate would be more sensibly felt, as related to Protestant Christendom at large; next, identified with its best interests; then, acknowledged to be of indispensable presence, by all conservative spirits.

A not tardy result of the restoration of the Bishops to becoming independence, would be their natural access to the heart of any evangelical body. They would ascertain, with better precision than from public appearances, whether the satisfaction of the several denominations of Christians, as to the adequacy of their respective organizations to the work of the Lord, has not found striking limits at this epoch; and whether there are not many thoughtful men in them who apprehend something to be wanting in the organizations to which they are respectively related, to complete the furniture of the same, either as an element of conservatism, or as an appliance for effective militant life in trying times. They would be in a favorable position for consultation upon such subjects, in which position they are not at present, being regarded as bound hand and foot by the trammels of an inflexible system. They would occupy in every respect a more advantageous observatory, for a free and unprejudiced contemplation of surrounding scenes, illustrating every form of spiritual want, and suggestive both of requirements and of resources for ecclesiastical provision and enterprise.

Hence, another very important advantage in the Episcopate, if thus free, is that it would be in a position to enter upon the question of flexibility in ecclesiastical usages, with other denominations, and that with a considerable vantage ground. It would feel more interest in ascertaining and exhibiting how far that quality marks the usages of those who have been complaining all along of our want of it; also in illustrating, through Episcopal acts, the compatibility of it with Episcopal institutions.

It would further result, naturally enough, from the advanced state of things contemplated, that the Episcopate could more *effectually* bring before the Christian public the sentiments characterizing the Protestant standards of faith in common, though insufficiently known *as* held in common. We will endeavor to illustrate this point. All the standards bequeathed by the Roformers contain statements respecting the sacraments, the substance of which, if put forth in merely equivalent terms by those who have subcribed to them, is regarded by many who have likewise subscribed to them, as of Romish tendency. So great is this their liability, that it is hardly prudent in a clergyman, addressing congregations instructed in the Anglican Catechism and Ritual, to cite the *stronger* statements of *other* Protestant symbols. Nay more, the same imprudence would be charged even on a *concio ad clerum*, containing such citations without qualification, if the hearers, from neglect of dogmatic history, are not awake to the bearing of expressions in their historical relations to doctrinal sentiments. Illustrations from those symbols are here unnecessary, and might only impart a more argumentative character to this brief article than is intended. Suffice it to repeat the observation of one of the ablest theological writers in this country: "It is remarkable, that what may be styled the *high* sacramental doctrine, is not put forward with any special prominence, in the teachings of the Church of England, as compared with the view held by the Reformed Church generally in the sixteenth century."† Now why are many good Christians,

† Nevin—Mystical Presence. p. 98.

of various denominations, *tenacious* of formal professions of faith, parts of which have no acceptance with them? Statements to which they subscribe, and require all to subscribe, as the condition of ministering in their respective communions, are condemned by them as savoring of heresy, when found incorporated with a ritual, as with our baptismal service. This is a mysterious inconsistency; for we are not speaking of those who indifferently and only formally subscribe to confessions, or who without honest motives and pious interests would censure any communion whatever. It is true, that "piety has a transmuting power, and often turns the inconsistency of the understanding into food for the goodness of the heart."‡ Possibly, too, it may thus transmute unfair prejudice sometimes, though morally perilous it is to be too confident of it. But this explains no more than the phenomenon of *upheld integrity* in this connection; it does not solve the difficulty in point. Intelligible enough are the objections made to portions of the baptismal service; but not so the adherence of the objectors to a dogmatic confession of certain principles with reference to sacramental ordinances, when such confession of faith is addressed to *men*,—while they condemn the same principles when grafted, less artificially, into a confession of faith addressed to GOD in the public worship (that is, included in a liturgy). In any question respecting the bearing of expressions, it seems indubitable, that imprecision or indefiniteness are of less account, on *principle*, where they occur in the utterances of the heart, in prayer or in exhortation, than where they are used for the logical and definite presentation of dogmas, or for the authoritative demarcations of sect. If justification for an adherence to the confessional forms of a past age is found in the admitted dissociation of them, at that period, from objectionable tenets now sometimes associated with them, we may fairly put this question: In behalf of what form of words, containing some expressions of undetermined significance, can the apology of history be more happily adduced, than in behalf of the baptismal service? For it is enough to advert to the fact that, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, the

‡ Edinburgh Review—Art. on Church Parties.

most fastidious of the Puritans made no objection to any part of it. We are free to say that, however inexpedient may be our indiscriminating popular use of that service,‡ yet any doctrinal ground of objection to it by those who retain the phraseology of the Reformers, is incompatible not only with their own antecedents, but also with their actual position.

But a candid attention to the language of our symbols will show any one, that our Church would not have to make any alterations in her theology (as almost every other Church would have to do) in order to act as a middle party for the concentration of Trinitarian Protestant Churches in general. In fact, she includes many members assimilating in their divers shades of opinion to such other denominations respectively—setting aside the question what form of Church government is the most perfect, or the best adapted to promote the well-being of a Church. This shews the latitude conceded by our Church, as regards *doctrine*. As an instance of the difficulty that would be in the way of the Presbyterian Church, acting as a central party, even for the association of *other Presbyterian* bodies, we need but refer to the article on the Church, in her Confession. This represents the Church as consisting of "those that confess the true religion, *together with their children*." Of course we are aware, that an inference which such expressions might seem to warrant, is not intended: namely, that there will be a perpetual *succession* of true Christians in any family in which *one* generation of such a character is found, since each generation certifies the pious character of the next one. That article has on this account drawn a smile even from strict Presbyterians; yet, on the other hand, there are some high churchmen to whom it must be quite acceptable as a form of sound words, if, as they have said for themselves, they were "born in the Church."

‡ In the baptismal offices, the use of the expression "regenerate" and, in the address commencing, "Seeing now, dearly beloved," might as well be left to the discretion of the minister, considering the degree of contention there is as to its import, and the different associations with it occasioned by variations to which the sense of terms is subject in the course of ages. The fact that the symbols in the Reformed Churches generally, substantially justify the words as they stand, is a strong guarantee that the faith will not be impaired by the relaxation of a rule, requiring the use of that mode of expression. In the first Prayer-book, the address referred to did not occur.

From what we have remarked, have we not at least as reasonable a claim to a liberal construction of our liturgical phraseology—related as it is to broad doctrinal articles—as any other denomination to a like construction of its more precise definitions of faith? And is there not more to be excepted against, in the *inconsistency* of our brethren of other Churches with their own Confessions, than in the *agreement* of our Ritual with those very Confessions?

Such home questions must engage the attention of Christians, before any measures of a tendency to promote Christian unity will be seriously entertained by them, however they may affect to deplore the present state of things. And who but unfettered Bishops, inviting general recognition, and in a position favorable for the recommendation of their claims, would be competent, both from their independent position, and by means of the personal associations that would gather around it, to set palpably before the different denominations, the extent to which unity characterizes the compared faith of the several Reformed Churches—the unfairness of most of these Churches towards others, holding that faith in common with them—and the happy consequences that would follow, from their return to a due appreciation of their respective creeds? Any number of persons fairly representing those different creeds, if united under the Episcopate, exercising less conditioned functions, would not present such internal disunion as that which marks the Episcopate Church *as it is*.

It may appear to some, that if there is (as we have remarked) so near a prospect of the Spirit of God taking this whole matter in hand, and working out the desired result in His own way, it is unnecessary for man to take urgent measures for that end. But should it not rather be considered as a reason for Christians to bestir themselves in good time, so as to be ready coöperators with God? That glorious fiat, by which evil is sure to be arrested at a certain point—"hitherto shalt thou come, but no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed"—is an encouragement indeed to patience in the *first* place, but not to patience *exclusively*. The Lord God condescends to make men co-workers with him, whether as fellow-laborers

aspiring to advance his kingdom, or as instruments in spite of themselves. They that are not for him are against him, as he himself said with a *human* voice, and in the character of a member of society declaring principles essential to the welfare of His fellow-men. It is only when we see that there is nothing for us to do as co-workers with God in any matter, that our "strength is to sit still;" and that, not in a spirit of indifference, but *waiting to see* GOD *work*, and looking forward with readiness for humble yet honored *participation* in his work, according to our calling.

Among such as are cold towards any present activity in this direction are those who, while they do not doubt the eventual triumph of the principle of Unity, think it useless to attempt to hasten its arrival, on the ground that it must be the work of ages. This actual delay must be admitted of all those attainments in general by society, which required a marked change in essential characteristics: and never more than in connection with the general subject now before us, have we felt the presence of an old and deep impression, received from the memorable words of HUGH JAMES ROSE (we hear them still): "Few of you can hope, in your generation, so slow is the progress of truth and of good, to see of the travail of your soul and be satisfied."* But the stern truth that the progress of any good is ordinarily slow, if used to discourage even feeble individual effort to impart to it impulses, the development of which may not be till "after many days," and perhaps generations, might as well be used to discourage the preaching of the Gospel. The spirit of every movement, and of any encouragement or discouragement of it, should have reference to the "light that shineth in a dark place," whereunto they "do well that take heed"—the sure word of Prophecy; likewise to the signs of our times, not the least striking of which is the progressive tendency, in many countries, of both Protestantism and Roman Catholicism to merge into Infidelity. We cannot but connect with this sign the state of the kingdoms—those in general of the old Roman world—the world of the

* Sermon on the "Duty of maintaining the truth"—preached before the University of Cambridge.

Prophetic Scriptures. If the political developments of our age, so rapid that time for them is of little consideration, are referrible, even conjecturably, to that place in Prophecy to which many enlightened persons refer them—namely, as connected with the latter times,—then, for the Churches to wait inactively for ages to bring them into a state of unity, is but blind indifference to the question, whether there shall be "faith on the earth," in times the most menacing to the foundations of Christianized society.

P. B.

SUPPLEMENTAL NOTE.

Since this article was written, which was not very recently, we have been surprised at finding that many Episcopalians, while consenting to such a relaxation of the canons as may promote Church-extension, have principally, if not exclusively, in view a lowering of the standard of qualifications for the Deaconate,—as if, with the present estimate of that ministerial office among us, a facilitated access to it would find acceptance with many, without an eye to a similar facilitation, by and by, of their attainment to the priesthood likewise! Now, we protest against a lowering of clerical culture for the present times, with reference to any grade whatever of the ministry; and we could even desire an understanding in common, if it were possible, among the heads of all Christian denominations, with reference to a higher culture than is now general in the several ministerial orders, with a view to save the clerical profession from that lower estimate by society, with which it is already threatened, through the neglect of its *material* support —and this just at the crisis when the forces of antichrist are gathering greater moral and intellectual strength than they ever have had. The method of Church-extension which we sustain, consists in opening the holy ministry *under Episcopal jurisdiction* to different types of the Trinitarian Protestant mind, in order to enrich our professional resources, and to strengthen our forces,—not to keep the one impoverished, and the other weakened, as may be expected from confining the ministry to one type, and lowering the required attainments

in a portion of this narrow circle—a portion, that, if so privileged, would be apt, at a future day, to jostle out other ministers from parochial demand, in consideration of the cheaper services of the former.

Art. VIII. LITURGICAL CONTRIBUTION.

THE LAYING OF A CORNER STONE.*

[After the sermon, the officers and members of the congregation being present, the presiding minister shall address them as follows:]

Beloved brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ, you are here assembled for the purpose of laying, with suitable solemnities, the corner stone of an edifice which you desire to build for the worship of God. This desire, we trust, has proceeded from that feeling of piety which ought to characterise you as a Christian congregation, and which can be acceptable to God, only so far as it springs from such a source. If you are actuated in this undertaking by motives which God approves, you may expect the Lord's blessing to rest upon what you are doing, and to realize what the devout Psalmist felt when he exclaimed, "How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of Hosts! My soul longeth, yea, even fainteth for the courts of the Lord."

The corner stone to which frequent allusion is made in the Holy Scriptures, was a part of the foundation on which the edifice rested. "Behold," saith the Lord in Isaiah, "I lay in Zion, *for a foundation*, a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone, *a sure foundation*." And in St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, we have these words: "Being built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner stone." Thus it appears the corner stone was a part of the *foundation* on which the edifice rested. Having

* This is a Form heretofore in use, but revised and enlarged.

its place in the corner, it united and bound together two walls. One corner stone was laid upon another, and the same was done at each of the four corners of the building. The corner-stones were therefore many; but all of them taken collectively, were spoken of as *one*. A single stone, larger, stronger, and more beautiful than others, was laid in one of the corners, either at the top or foundation wall, as the representative of all the rest, and of the whole foundation, and was emphatically *the* corner stone, the *chief* corner stone, or the *head* of the corner. Hence Jesus Christ is called both the *foundation* and the *corner stone*, in the glorious edifice of Christianity;—by which figure is meant, that what is taught concerning him in the Gospel, is that essential part of our religion which sustains and holds together the whole system, and without which Christianity falls to the ground.

The laying of the corner stone is the decisive act in the commencement of your edifice; that act by which it is announced that a beginning is made to build the house; it is particularly so, when the corner stone is placed in the bottom of the foundation, and is the first stone that is laid. This decisive act, so full of promise, and waking up emotions so pleasing and joyful, is justly made a prominent one, and when accompanied by solemnities suited to the occasion, it is well adapted to inspire us with an abiding sense of God's goodness, and our insufficiency without him. It is right and proper that we should publicly acknowledge our dependence on him, both in the attempt to erect the edifice, and in the prosecution of the object for which it is intended. Such an acknowledgment gives to God an honor which is due to him, and at the same time impresses our hearts with reverence and awe towards him. "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain who build it." This was the sentiment of Solomon, the wisest and richest of the kings of Israel, whose prosperity in all great undertakings was so remarkable, and brought so much glory to his reign. It becomes us, like him, on all occasions, especially in every important matter, to be deeply sensible of the power, the universal dominion, the all-wise, holy, and irresistible government of God; to feel that we are his needy creatures,

dependent on his pleasure for each moment of our existence; that we cannot even move without him; that the success of all our undertakings depends upon him; and that when we design to honor him, or to promote the public good, it is for *him* to say whether *we* are the instruments, and *our measures* the means which He will choose to employ for those ends. When David thought to build a house of God, the Lord forbade him, and said, I have chosen *thy son* to build me a house.

Let us, therefore, humble ourselves before God, and confess his name, and seek his favor in solemn prayer. But you will first repeat with me, rising up in your places, the articles of our Catholic, undoubted Christian Faith:

I believe in God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth: And in Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, our Lord; who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary; suffered under Pontius Pilate; was crucified, dead, and buried. He descended into hell: the third day he rose from the dead; he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God, the Father Almighty. From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost. I believe in the Holy Catholic Church; the communion of saints; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. Amen.

[Prayer by the minister.]

O Lord, our God, who art the king eternal, immortal, invisible, the same without change from everlasting to everlasting; who fillest all places with thy presence, and manifesting thyself in thy glorious attributes through all thy works; thou reignest in heaven and earth, and doest whatsoever seemeth good to thee, and there is none that can resist thee, nor say to thee, What doest thou?

We desire, O God, to be wholly guided by thy good pleasure, and we beseech thee to hear us only so far as our petitions are in accordance with thy blessed will. Thou knowest the object for which we are now assembled, and discernest the thought of every heart. Grant, O Lord, that, in erecting this house, we may have no desire which thou canst not approve; no motive or end but to promote thy glory, and to edify ourselves

and others in thy truth. Mercifully accept our purpose to erect this house for the worship of thy name; prosper our work, and help us to bring it to the desired completion. "A man's heart deviseth his way, but the Lord directeth his steps." We confess unto thee, O God, that without thy favor, our counsels and our exertions avail nothing. We cannot erect this house, nor attain to the end at which we aim, by any strength of our own, if the Lord be against us. We, therefore, turn to thee, and humbly beseech thee, to grant us thy presence and the light of thy countenance, to the end that we may be prospered. May the work of this house be performed without injury or accident to any person; may harmony and enlightened zeal animate every heart, and may the promotion of thy glory, in the salvation of men, and the good of thy beloved Church, be the great aim of all who shall worship thee in this place. May our undertaking be indeed subservient to thy glory, and to the interests of our souls, and of the souls of many who may come to this place to hear thy Gospel, and to honor thee. May we find here a house of God, where many are born again, and a gate of heaven through which many shall enter into life eternal. May we serve thee in singleness of heart, doing all thy pleasure, and learn in our experience that it is blessed to serve thee, and that we are most happy when we live nearest to thee, and are most devoted to thy glory. Hear us, O Lord; for thou art our God in whom we trust. Let us find favor in thy sight, and let thy great mercy be upon us. Pardon our sins and our infirmity, and accept our prayer, through the merit of Jesus Christ, our Saviour; and to thee, the only true and living God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be glory forever and ever. Amen.

[Here the stone shall be laid and adjusted; and after the Bible, Heidelberg Catechism, Hymn book, and other suitable books or papers are deposited in the excavation prepared in the stone for their reception, the minister officiating shall say the following form:]

In the name of the Triune God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, we lay this stone for a foundation of a house of worship to be consecrated to his service. In so doing we acknowledge his all-ruling Providence, and proclaim Jesus

Christ as the great Corner stone of his Church, and the foundation of all our hopes of present and eternal salvation; and may the infinite Lord hear us, and in his mercy accept us, through Jesus Christ, our Redeemer and Advocate. Amen.

[Here shall be read the 96th Psalm, as follows:]

1. O sing unto the Lord a new song; sing unto the Lord all the earth.

2. Sing unto the Lord, bless his name; show forth his salvation from day to day.

3. Declare his glory among the heathen, his wonders among all people.

4. For the Lord is great and greatly to be praised; he is to be feared above all gods.

5. For all the gods of the nations are idols; but the Lord made the heavens.

6. Honor and majesty are before him, strength and beauty are in his sanctuary.

7. Give unto the Lord, O ye kindreds of the people, give unto the Lord glory and strength.

8. Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name; bring an offering, and come into his courts.

9. O worship the Lord in the beauty of his holiness; fear before him, all the earth.

10. Say among the heathen that the Lord reigneth, the world also shall be established that it shall not be moved; he shall judge the people righteously.

11. Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad; let the sea roar, and the fullness thereof.

12. Let the field be joyful, and all that is therein; then shall all the trees of the wood rejoice.

13. Before the Lord; for he cometh, for he cometh to judge the earth; he shall judge the world with righteousness, and the people with his truth. Amen.

[Here the 96th Psalm, or an appropriate hymn shall be sung; and the people shall then be dismissed with the usual benediction.]

Art. IX.—SHORT NOTICES.

THE PROTESTANT THEOLOGICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA: being a Condensed Translation of Herzog's Real Encyclopedia, with Additions from other Sources. By Rev. J. H. A. Bomberger, D. D., Pastor of the First German Reformed church, Philadelphia, assisted by distinguished Theologians of various denominations. Part I. pp. 128. Philadelphia. Lindsay & Blakiston.

IN the last number of the Review we called attention to this Theological Encyclopedia and published *Abelard*, *Abraham* and *Adam*, sent us by the Editor in advance of the issue by the Publishers, as specimens of a new and valuable work. The orginal, uniting in its support the ripest Christian scholars on the continent of Europe, is undoubtedly superior, in point of historical and philological research and fidelity to Protestant Evangelical Christianity, to all others, excellent as many of them are, which have preceded it. The condensed translation, of which the first Part has just left the press, is, as far as we have had opportunity to examine it, a faithful reproduction of the original in fluent and idiomatic English.

The subjects which it embraces belong to the Literature of the Catholic and Protestant Religion and Church. It will furnish the most reliable results of recent study and discoveries in the various departments of Science relating to Christianity, including the following:

1. BIBLICAL LITERATURE: Biblical Philology, Geography, History, Botany, Geology, Natural History, Antiquities, Criticism and Hermeneutics.

2. SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE: Apologetic, Dogmatic and Moral Sciences, Polemical and Pastoral Theology, Homiletics, Liturgical Church Polity and Church Arts.

3. HISTORICAL LITERATURE: Church History and Antiquities, Theology, History of Sects and Heresies, Patristic History, Biography, &c.

4. HISTORICAL SYMBOLISM, or a Representation of the Comparative Position and Relation of the various Evangelical Denominations, and their respective Doctrinal characteristics.

The work is to be completed in twelve parts, of 128 double column,

closely printed pages each. It will be a Thesaurus of Biblical, Historical and Theological Literature, very valuable to all Christians and indispensable especially to clergymen and students of Theology. For there is nothing now in the English language which can supply its place.

The exterior execution attests the taste and skill for which the enterprising Publishers, Lindsay & Blakiston, have gained an extensive reputation. The paper, typography and general style of the publication are of the first order. G.

A Voice from the Pious Dead of the Medical Profession; or Memoirs of Eminent Physicians who have fallen asleep in Jesus: with a Preliminary Dissertation on the Cross, as the Key to all Knowledge. By Henry J. Brown, A. M., M. D. Philadelphia: Higgins & Perkinpine. pp. 320.

As the title indicates, the book opens with a dissertation on the Cross in its relation to the Life-Union, to Nature and to Medicine. Then follow well written memoirs of William Hay, Esq., and Drs. Good, Hope, Bateman, Godman, Gordon, Broughton and Capadose. The Dissertation is clear and sound. Taking his position at the Cross, and viewing the contradictions of the natural world, the difficulties of reason and the mysteries of moral evil, in its supernatural light, the author sees in Jesus Christ, very God and very Man in One, the only true resolution of every problem. The individuals, we think, are selected in good taste; and the Memoirs, as a whole, afford a forcible illustration of the testimony of the Medical Profession to the truth and divine power of the Christian Religion.

High intrinsic honor and moral worth, it is scarcely necessary to say, attach to the Medical Profession; and it includes without doubt many of the strongest minds, the most erudite scholars and the most exemplary Christians of the world. But it is also true that many physicians, both in cities and in the country, live in habits of open profanity and immorality, and do not seem to think the want of a decided moral character to be any material disqualification for the difficult and delicate duties of their profession. In truth, however, a profane and immoral physician is a monster, less hideous only than a profane and immoral minister of the Gospel. This book by Dr. Brown, serves two good purposes. It indirectly but decidedly rebukes the men who disgrace the noble art of medicine; and holds out bright and shining lights to allure young physicians into the path of wisdom and honor. G.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN CALVIN, THE GREAT REFORMER. Translated from the German of Paul Henry, D. D., Minister and Seminary Instructor in Berlin, by Henry Stebbings, D. D., F. R. S. In two volumes. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

THIS is a full and complete life of one who is, in a wide sense, a representative man. The book is rightly called "Life and Times," for it unfolds to us in nearly one thousand pages the general workings of the Reformation life during more than the first half of the 15th century. This was necessary in order to portray fully the life of the Reformer, whose influence was so mighty a factor in the history of the times. Though there have been lives of Calvin before this, yet the Theological public is agreed that this is the only work at all adequate to the theme. It is learned, thorough, and drawn from the sources. The author inspires you with confidence on every page. Its great excellence is its sober, dignified tone. It is not dramatical in the style of D' Aubigne, making characters frisk lightly before you, but a picture of earnest men with an earnest age as its background. Dr. Henry brings out the mind of Calvin, not only as it appears in his public acts, but also as it lies in his written works. How much of the deep and most earnest life of a man like Calvin, after all, is only found preserved as the soul of what he has written. This is frequently overlooked by biographers.

There is much brought out in this volume, which, if candidly read, will modify the views and feelings of many in regard to Calvin's peculiar theological views; especially in regard to his relation to the melancholy case of Servetus. What gives this vindication more force to the reader's mind, is the fact that Dr. Henry gives evidence abundant, as he passes along, that he has not taken up Calvin as a hero to exalt and praise, but with a steady hand records his faults as well as his virtues. We earnestly commend this life of Calvin to all who seek true and full information in regard to this man of history. His deep and strong sacramental spirit, however difficult, perhaps impossible, it may be to reconcile it with his views concerning the divine decrees, is much needed at the present day as a check to reformers of the Reformation. The book is gotten up in fine style, and every page is a true pleasure to the eye. The Carters, of whose list of theological publications we have frequently spoken in praise, have done a good work in bringing out this excellent Life of John Calvin.

H. H.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE OF THE LATE AMOS LAWRENCE; *with a brief Account of some Incidents in his Life.* Edited by his son, William R. Lawrence, M. D. pp. 369. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1856. Smith & English, Philadelphia.

Biographies of remarkable men constitute a most interesting as well as instructive species of literature. They furnish a practical exemplification of human nature in its very best forms. Especially is this the case, when the principles of Christianity underlie all the thoughts, feelings and acts of the individual, whose life is portrayed. The perusal of such books, therefore, not only affords interesting entertainment, but also cannot fail to leave its impress for good. In view of this fact, every friend of humanity must rejoice at their multiplication.

The work before us comes very properly under this class. It is made up mainly of extracts from what the subject of it has written himself, and his whole spirit and life breathe thus throughout it in an unadulterated form. It is the man speaking and acting for himself. The work was originally prepared by his son for private circulation, and a small edition of it accordingly printed and circulated among the nearest relatives and friends. It is now given to the public, at the instance of many of his acquaintances, in the hope that it may be useful to others, especially to young men, just setting out in the active pursuits of life.

Amos Lawrence was one of the most remarkable men of his age. He arose from circumstances of poverty to great affluence, and became especially distinguished for the number and amount of his contributions to charitable purposes. He was a man, who lived and acted in all things most strictly in accordance with rule, from his earliest to his latest years, and allowed the principles of religion to pervade his whole life and conduct. His example, as portrayed in these extracts from his diary and correspondence, furnishes most salutary lessons to all who would succeed in the business pursuits of life. No better book than it, therefore, apart from divine revelation itself, can be placed into the hands of young men. F.

THE

MERCERSBURG QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I—THE LITURGIC, AND THE REFORMED, THEORY OF PRAYER.*

BY A PRESBYTERIAN DIVINE.

AMONG the the variety of subjects to which the attention of the Church has of late years been directed, there is none which, taken in all its bearings, can be rightly esteemed of greater moment than that of the Liturgical interest, at present manifesting itself more or less in nearly all denominations of Christians. Leaving out the subject of missions, assuredly there remains no other which can be supposed to compete in importance with that of the Liturgy; because a liturgy for the church-service, if it deserve the name of such, together with the Baptismal and Eucharistic offices, is an artistic religious embodiment, as it were, of the fulness of true doctrine. It presupposes the fullest discussion and the final adjustment of the doctrinal symbol, in the way of intellectual study, discourse, and controversy, and then it comes in, embodying the truth in a far higher form, addressing far more noble faculties of the soul, giving to the lips, to the heart, and to the spirit, an adequate expression and utterance for the devotional wants of the whole man, and for his every time of need. It has taken up the science of religion, and removed religion out of the region

* As we shall be looking, in the course of this article, on the subject of prayer principally as an intellectual form, and hence a legitimate subject of philosophic criticism, the writer would, at the outset and once for all, ask leave to remind himself as well as others, that there is no such thing as prayer, in its true sense, except as it be that which is begotten in the heart and spirit of a Christian man through the effectual operation of the Holy Ghost.

of science, clothing it in the form of holy Art. If, accordingly, it be a Liturgy indeed, then is it an *universal Form for the Christian man;* not a discursive treatise for his understanding, not a pietistic hymn for his emotions and feelings, not a particular prayer for his individual experience or wants. It takes rank among things, yea it takes the chief rank among earthly things, which operate by means of an intuitional and inherent suggestiveness, rather than by moral means; except that a willing heart must co-exist on the part of the worshipper. In other and better words, a perfect liturgy is sacramental in its nature, and in its mode of operation. Such a service cannot but "lift up" our willing "hearts to the Lord."

Whatever true Art—and we acknowledge no art to be true except that which holds forth, or holds in solution, conscience and reason, as well as imagination and fancy, art, whose images our minds shall carry to our heavenly home—whatever such Art is to the whole being of the good man, contemplated upon the earthly ground of his imagination and taste, all that and much more is a sufficient Liturgy to his higher being, considered from the ground of religion and faith. Take, for example a true Christian, the form of whose piety has been moulded through a hearty consent and an humble submission to the word of God in His holy Church, visible and historical in her ministry, and ministrations, sacraments and liturgy, and compare him with the good man who has been so unhappy as to spiritualize away this glorious panoply of Heaven's mercy and love to men;—Wilberforce, for instance, with Gurney. Now these men had equal advantages as to all the refining and liberalizing cultivation of polished society and letters, but the piety of the one was of a complete form, graceful, considerate, catholic; of the other, it was exceedingly defective, contracted, incomplete, and unsymmetrical. What is there remaining to explain the difference, unless it be due to the fact that the one was in a Church in which every side of his mind and nature was well addressed, through forms having the sanction of the best ages of the Church, forms which made that Church a visible presence to his mind, so that the full scope of his earthly religious nature found its development; and that the other, in

his rejection of the manifest constitutions of God, and in his cutting himself off from the historical continuity of the generations of his fellow-christians, has reaped, as to his religious habitude, that diminution, that dwarfage, that narrowness, which must necessarily, and must always be the result of such individualism. They were both very pious men, but the piety of the one, while it could embrace the world, life, society, art, and all the good appointments of our heavenly Father, following the steps of its divine Master even as from the Marriage in Cana of Galilee, the contemplation from the Mount of Olives of the visible glory of the holy city, the reception of the costly gift of Mary of Bethany, to the "man behold thy mother" from the cross—that of the other, was constructively guilty of the denial of all the beauty which God has made and the implied imputation of unholiness upon somewhat of the crowning glories of our constituted being, even that faculty of imagination, and of spiritual wonder which compose the redeeming halo of our intellectual make and fashioning. What is all this but the same self-righteous and baneful 'noli-me-tangere' stigma upon some of the holy things of our Creator, which other Christian people have been suffered to perpetrate, as the due reward, it may be, of their presumptuous *adding* to the sacramental constitutions of the Lord, as the pious Friend has been suffered to perpetrate as the reward of his presumptuous *denial* of them? In other words and generally, the Christian who diminishes and disparages the word of God speaking in the visible Church, and operating in its sacraments, ordinances and liturgic services, has done a thing of the same kind as the citizen who denies the gifts of God in society, letters and art; both must suffer a dwarfage in parts and a monstrous development in other parts of their being; both are in danger of misanthropy, bigotry, and superstition. The Christian who has denied these things has denied all that glorious prerogative of his make which we call reason and imagination; in other words, the part of our natures which makes us capable of being intuitively affected through religious forms as well as through forms of natural and poetic power and beauty. The consistent and thorough carrying out of this view would seal the eyes to the

works of nature and art, stop the ears against all pleasant words and harden the heart to all graceful sentiments.

It is perfectly obvious, upon the slightest consideration of the matter, that Liturgical work is transcendental work. Not the man that possesses the science of the subject, not the man that sits down and labors to think out and elaborate the doctrinal particulars which go to make up the requirements of an office, not the man who would strive to recall and give form to the devotional experiences of his own favored moments, not the man who would mark out selections from the organ notes, the seraphic strains and melting passages of poets—no one of these alone, and not all of them together, will succeed till after very many trials, in preparing so much as a form for a single office, which shall merit to be made a fixed portion of a permanent Church Liturgy. And why not? For the same reason, in a liturgic progress, that the Belvidere Apollo in an artistic progress, was not made, to be perpetual, till hundreds of statues had been made, to answer their day and be forgotten. Let us look at a single instance in corroboration of the ground here taken, namely, that liturgical work, (we mean the making of liturgies,) is, in the highest sense, poetic work. If it is granted, for example,—as it must be, otherwise we shall find small audience in what we have further to offer on our subject—let it be granted that the communion office in the book of Common Prayer of the American Episcopal Church, is the most perfect Eucharistic office in actual use; and then by comparing with this norm, the labors which individual pastors have essayed, with a view of remedying the deficiencies of the extempore service, it will immediately appear how profound and difficult is the work upon which they have entered, and how many trials we must expect to make, before a degree of liturgical perfectness can be reached, which would warrant the final adjustment and stereotyping of the forms. In the abnormal (but it is hoped now at length transitional) state into which all the Reformed Churches in our country, except the Episcopal, have fallen, as it respects the Liturgy, we must certainly lay it to our account to go through much tribulation, study and patience, before we shall have attained the goal. In most

cases, not only is an adequate Liturgy to be prepared, but a correct liturgical feeling is to be formed. In other words, a far greater degree of express Trinitarian worship and devotion, and a far less degree of merely didactic service must be made the service of the Church, and become the chosen habit of the people. What is meant by Trinitarian worship, will be found in the opening sentence of the Lord's Prayer, at the beginning and at the end of the Epistles of the New Testament, and in the Baptismal Formula: *This name* of the Holy Trinity, into which we are baptized, is to be made the express form, and the never-ceasing undertone of the prayers and service of the Church, instead of the Judaic indistinctness as it respects the Saving Name, which so generally characterizes our present sanctuary-habits.

The only sufficient explanation of the completeness of that grand office to which we have just referred, is to be found in the fact, that Cranmer was in circumstances which constrained him to retain a form with its heretical and superfluous additions disengaged—which was the result of this tentative process already gone through with, and at last fixed, during an age of the Church when its devotional charismata were at their best. Not Cranmer, with all his bishops, and with the help of Continental Doctors, could have originated that form. Theirs was an age for the reformation of doctrine, and such an age is not an age for the creation of Liturgies, as the books of the Reformed generally show. During a doctrinal transition period, the mind is on the ground of science and criticism; and for the same reason that such a habit of mind cannot originate in the way of Art, so neither is it apt either to originate or to appreciate, in the way of Liturgical production. It is not by any means because the forms of the Book of Common Prayer, are in good old English, that they are so incomparably superior to modern forms—it is because those forms, that grand responsive service, those glorious hymns, those choral ascriptions, those apt and universal collects, are the religious Art of the Church. Let the offices and prayers, whether for Church or private use, composed now-a-days (we say composed, we do not say compiled) be seasoned by ever so much age, they can

never become meritorious as compared with the old Liturgies of the Church. They are generically different; they preach where they ought to worship, they pragmatize where they ought to pray, they discourse where they ought to send up the "Glory." The mind of our times, is in the iron bandage-straps of a scientific and critical habit, and when we go to write a prayer we cannot help falling off into preaching and discoursing. We may even see from study of the old forms as distinctly as the artist can see in the study of old marbles, where the superiorty lies; we may see and feel that the adequate liturgical expression is ever a devotional symbol, a form of Art, as we have already said; but the mere act of taking the pen in hand will cause our good views to evaporate, even as the taking of the chisel or the pencil causes to vanish the night-visions of the artist; so holy, so awful, so difficult, and so fugitive, is the work in which we have engaged. Our productions may come out in the form of instructive and affecting prayers; but the moment we look into the old liturgies we find that ours are intrinsically, constitutively deficient; and that, labor as we may, we cannot cure them. It is the common experience of such as have engaged of late, in liturgic work, that the inaccessible character of the short-coming of their trials, has at length landed them at the point of despair, a point made salutary by looking thence to the old liturgies for help. Why cannot we do what the English Church did, cast off the errors which have accrued to them, mingle the work of the Reformation with them, and adopt them. Why fatigue our souls to no purpose with original attempts in a region which, may we not say, the Head of the Church has already filled to our hand? For our own part we must say so without hesitation. It is our opinion, that the anaphoral offices of the liturgies of St. James, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, bear upon a scriptural comparison, far more divine marks than the communion or baptismal forms which it has been our lot to find in the pulpits of our churches.

It forms no principal part of our purpose and object at this time, to go into a formal discussion of the question, as between the comparative advantages of having a Liturgy, and being

without a Liturgy, for the use of the Church, because it appears to us, that is to say upon the real merits of the question, there is very little room for discussion. It will conduce to our purpose, however, to notice at this point, one or two of the arguments urged on the non-liturgical side of a controversy concerning which, we again protest that, did we not behold the fact of good people being against us, we could not admit a controversy in the case. We hold it an impossibility for one who has adequately reflected upon the vastness, the multitude and the very difficult character of the things requisite to make up a sufficient church-service, and then compared with this ideal, the actual daily deficiencies of the extemporal service,—deficiencies existing even where the individual prayers of the minister are the very best, for the reason that a complete service requires at least the complemental voices of the congregation and of the choir, as well as of the minister; or because, in other words, oral confession (the creed) responsals, praise, and worship, on the part of the people, are as much integral parts of a real Liturgic service, as is the voice of the minister; no man, we say, can have sufficiently thought upon this subject, and candidly made this comparison, without coming to one and the same conclusion, as far as regards the intrinsic merits of the question. If it is objected that according to the New Testament, the church-service ought to be "simple," it may be answered, *ad nominem*, so ought the sermon, but you never object to the sermon being elaborate; or it may better be answered, *to the truth*, that all profound, multitudinous, and perfect things are simple; that the prayer, for instance, is simple, and yet the hardest thing you can do will be to compose a right-good, satisfactory, short and all-inclusive prayer; that nothing is truly simple which is not manifold and suggestive, a living, organic, multiplicity in unity. Thus the Gospel of our salvation is simple, thus the world, the starry heavens, the Church, thus everything which is truly beautiful and really effective. And thus is the truly Liturgical service simple, and this is the warrant of its superiority, this the secret of its power. It is a simplicity which is the living, acting result of manifoldness and legitimate order. It is our unpremeditated

prayers and the desultory vagueness of our whole extemporal service, which is the real confusion, and which at its best estate can only be said to have a qualified unity, the elements being so few and so inadequate to the purpose, that a chaste uniformity is its very highest attribute, in these respects.

Whether or not, however, it is well, in the light of Church history, to trouble Christians who are getting on well enough for themselves, under extemporal services, by altering their devotional habits, as a real Liturgy certainly would do, this indeed may be a very serious question, and we should make it a deeply conscientious one; but whether a Liturgy (always meaning a real one) does not more fully exhaust the idea and fulfill the demands of a complete church-service, than an extemporal one ever can, is not a question to our minds, and we cannot make it such. If, from the experience of facts, or judging from the antecedent likelihood of the case, we could believe it possible for the human mind to extemporize what we mean by a Liturgy—or when (a far easier supposition) we can be brought to believe that Demosthenes or Cicero could have originated their orations from the rostrum, then and not till then can we imagine it possible for a minister to make an extemporal service as complete as a liturgical one. We are aware of but two arguments having apparent force against the fixing of the devotional service in liturgical forms. The one is that of formalism, concerning which we long ago saw reason for coming to the conclusion that to predicate formalism upon the matter of form, applies as much to a form of speech as to a form of print, and we are not able to detect the difference. As a matter of fact, however, it applies to neither. The form, spoken or printed, is not an element of the question. Formalism is a disease of the spirit, of the heart, of the feelings. It would be a sad thing indeed, if at whatever time the heart feels dull, we should be compelled to abstain from the use of the Lord's prayer, as we must if the general objection has any force. The other objection is, at first view, a far more serious one. It is that of the possible danger to the souls of such as are educated to the use of the sacred language contained in the liturgical forms, and yet are without the reality in their hearts. We can

only say, in reply to this, that the church-service ought to be the best service that can possibly be had, that we believe the Liturgical to be the best, that all persons *ought* to be, from childhood, habituated to the best forms and phrases of true, objective religion, and that the objection, carried out, would lead to the abolition of the sermon and of the reading of Holy Scripture, and, in fine, to the disuse of all the means of grace, except in behalf of those known to be God's children.

Another argument, more commonly brought forward, perhaps, than any other, in favor of the extemporal service, is, that it gives the minister liberty to adapt his prayers to existing circumstances and emergencies, at the time. We shall have occasion to make use of the theory, upon which this argument is founded, further on. We look upon it as one of the main causes, not only of much of the merely negative deficiencies of the extempore service,—under which aspect we shall speak of it in another place,—but of the positive faults to which the extempore service is ever liable. We shall endeavor to show that, in no public service of the church, written or unwritten, should the prayer proceed upon the theory of an exhaustive particularity of request, or of expression of any kind, but upon the theory of summary and general forms. In no way have our own feelings of Christian patience been more tried in the church services, than by long, enumerative, and particularizing prayers, formed upon the mistaken theory under review; and every minister must know something of the personal mortification which an indiscreet particular prayer for himself, or a prayer prayed at, or completive of, his sermon, has caused him as the price of unliturgic company in his pulpit. And as to particular providences abroad, to be improved in prayer, it has never been our lot to hear a solemn providence really improved, by particular prayer in the church. It might be well for our reverent practice could this "preaching to the times," be kept out of our sermons, as well as out of our prayers. We are not advocating the ignoring of special, solemn, providences in the Church, but we are maintaining, as to the *kind* of references which we, under the practice which is the result of our excessive general theory of particularizing pray-

er, have fallen into—that if these, as well as the general theory, and its general results, were abolished, it would be to the great advantage of the Church. So too have we heard confessions of sin in the church, so minute, so particular, so spun-out, that no person except the one stimulated by the speaking of them, could for very shame, as well as fatigue of spirit, have joined in them. And we have thought, as the confession still grew and went on, O that he would but stop, and let us say with the Prodigal son, or with the penitent Publican, or with Nehemiah of old, "We have sinned, we have transgressed, we have done wickedly." The Christian worshipper needs but a short form, for this matter in the church; and surely it is vain for a man to seek to goad his soul to penitence, through a mere prolonging of confession in the church. He has done it, or something better, at home, and the church meets him coming from his closet, as the father met his repentant son. So too have we heard prayers of thanksgiving, which began from Paradise, and sought to go through all the gifts of nature, and providence, and everything that could be thought of, till it grew a very weariness, and the thing for which we were tempted to be especially thankful at the last, was that the prayer had found its end. What heart, truly grateful for favors received, would thus seek its expression in a seriatim thanksgiving, through a perfunctory schedule of particulars! And what man in the church, had not better join in chanting, "Bless the Lord, O my soul," than be constrained to follow in this kind of thing? We shall endeavor to show that the instances here adverted to, are but so many of a large class of mistakes growing out of the notion that the church-prayer must be free to go to present particular circumstances; that the utmost fulness in connection with brevity, is the true quality of church-prayer—and that this is impossible to be attained in an extemporal service, for the reason that it is impossible to put the same weight of matter in as small a number of extemporal sentences, as can be done by study and reflection and patience with the pen. The practical test is found in their tediousness. When our people shall stand, or kneel, or give any other sign of common-prayer, we may believe the extem-

poral prayer is not so unsuitable for the church, as we are constrained to hold it.

Another argument much urged in favor of the extemporal service is, that the minister is free to use his gift of prayer, whereas the Liturgy gives no place for unction, and importunate pleading in prayer. Here again we claim this as a strong argument in favor of the Liturgy. In no other way have we known the feelings of reverent minds to be more distressingly pained by mistakes in the public prayer, than from the use of the very familiarity of pleading, and importunate urgency of entreaty, here claimed for the prayer. This kind of thing may do when the congregation are under such a state of religious feeling as turns the sanctuary into a closet, but for a minister to be pleading face to face with God, while the people are elevated into no right at all to such nearness of the Holy Presence, is very unbecoming. Besides, the popularity of this description of prayer is a temptation to ministers to aim at what is called holy eloquence in prayer, a thing which we take to be anything but holy, or at all proper in the sanctuary. As for that theory out of which this kind of prayer has arisen, that one object of the church-prayer, is for the "exciting and stirring up of devotion," we unhesitatingly pronounce it to be unscriptural. This is the business of the exhortation. So far from the notion that it belongs to the prayer to do this, the Holy Scriptures show us, in every form of public prayer contained in its inspired pages, and most significantly in the express form given for the Christian Church, that such prayer is ever to be characterized by the guarded solemnity, dispassionateness, and holy awe, of its phraseology, style and procedure.

The qualities of prayer above claimed, as against the Liturgical use, that of applicability to present occasions, and that of the spirit of importunate pleading, are qualities sacred to closet prayer. Here the Christian may get alone with the Saviour, and may be so humbled in his holy presence as to warrant the utmost particularity and urgency. But the service of the sanctuary is properly the Liturgical sacrifice of the church, and it proceeds, like the temple service of old, and like the angelic choirs above, veiling the face and bowing the head and singing,

holy, holy, holy, with reverent and deliberate carefulness, with the spirit of the most sacred awe.

We have thus brought into notice, what we take to be some of the characteristic defects of the modern style of public prayer, as contrasted with, what we have called the Liturgical, and may, for convenience sake, sometimes call the ecclesiastical, the churchly, and the patristic. Whenever we use either of these four adjectives, in connection with this subject, we mean thereby to describe a kind of prayer, or devotional service, which is generically, and very widely different, from the modern style of prayer and devotional constructions, and which we shall indifferently call the Modern, the Reformed, the Puritanic, never for one moment using any of these terms as implying disrespect. Our whole subject indeed is one that should be approached with solemn feelings, and if we know our own mind, we would not wish to say a disrespectful word of the true prayers of any of God's people. But it is our conscientious and most deliberate conviction and feeling, that our present church-prayers generally, and the theory upon which they are constructed, are for the most part, very seriously at fault; that the reformation, and modern, form of prayer, has not grown out of those constructive principles which lie at the foundation of the best church-service and liturgy. It must now be our aim, to make this charge and statement good, as against the modern use, and in favor of the patristic. In one word, it is our opinion that according to the modern theory and practice of church-worship, the sanctuary has been converted into the closet, and the idea of a liturgical service, which the Church on earth is keeping up together with the Church and the angelic choirs in heaven, has been lost sight of. We can admit no other account of the militant church-service, except that it is the Church on earth worshipping God after a manner as nearly as possible, in the circumstances of the case, like to that which is doing in heaven. And we look to the Word of God for the description and for the warrant.

Let us endeavor then, to state more specifically, the elements of distinction between the two kinds of public prayer. The modern prayer is subjective; it is the individual praying for

himself with a conscious personal application; the modern prayer is discursive, it endeavors to pray for everything by way of particular mention; so that, to be at all inclusive and satisfactory, it must become scientific. That is to say, it lies under the necessity of formal classification as to its elements, and so is constantly led off towards the catechism, towards the doctrinal symbol. The Liturgical prayer, on the opposite hand, gives to the mind and heart a series of collectual forms, pregnant sentences, sacred formulas and voiceful responsals, which have the force of prescriptive embodiments, suggestive of whole classes of religious needs, feelings, states, and desires; so that the same utterance in the service will be equally applicable to very different states of mind among the people. For example, the particular and narrative subjective prayer can only be followed by those whose present state is met as it proceeds in its petitions. Of course, we mean, as it respects the satisfaction of special states of heart. If it be a good prayer, it can be followed by all present; but it comes home to special feelings only as it supplies particular applications to such existing states of feeling. Hence the prayer must be very long, very particular, and very numerical. On the other hand, let the call *Cursum corda* in the Liturgy come, and all men, the penitent, the heavy laden, the happy and rejoicing, can equally find it good to lift up their spirits to the heavenly Presence. So too, how many states of heart are ever to be found in the congregation, to which the single versicle, "The Lord be with you," and the required return of blessing, "and with thy spirit," is a more healing cordial, and a more helpful prayer, than any personal petition could be, at the time? Thus, the Liturgical prayer is objective, it looks to heaven, it worships with angels, it moves amidst bodily realities, and it prays for spiritual things under tangible forms; thus leading the individual out of himself, and turning the particular voice of his private devotions into the one great voice of the Body, which is the Church. This is a point which we feel to be of the utmost importance. It is our firm conviction, for example, that to a spiritually minded Christian, the liturgical prayer is more spiritual, more scripturally spiritual, and more safe, or at least

more catholic, as the norm for the cultivation of the devotional habits, and so far forth of the Christian character and piety, than the particularizing form, which enuemerates every actual present state, and gives expression to religious feelings only, or chiefly, in the way of express and literal petitions. How often do we find young Christians down hearted and melancholic Christians, as well as excessively pietistic Christians, to whom we would say, leave off for a while the direct consideration of your individual cases, and sing a hallelujah Psalm, praise the Lord in a Doxology, say the Lord's Prayer, make supplication for the "king and all in authority," forget yourself in the body and mingle your note in the universal voice of the Church. How often is the private Christian in that state when laboring under trial or temptation, he has well nigh strangled himself in his vain attempts to elaborate his prayers to his particular distress, and the Lord's Prayer, if he is so fortunate as to be accustomed to its use, comes in like an angel from the skies, leading him out of prison. Now we are free to admit, that the Christian who thinks, in the petition, "Give us this day our daily bread," of nothing but temporal blessings, is in danger of resting on carnal ground; but the Christian, who, together with this, and under this form, holds in the view of his spirit, that unspeakable mystery of the Incarnation, through the grace of which the Holy Spirit feeds his soul and body and spirit,—the Christian who, under the the form of earthly bread, and while praying for earthly bread and all things, is praying for the consummation of the bread of life within him,—*that* Christian we believe to be making quite as spiritual a prayer, as when he is praying more directly for abstract spiritual graces. It is our opinion, indeed, that, so doing, he is engaged in making a *more* spiritual prayer than the other, and one infinitely more so, than what generally goes by the name of "spiritual." The inspired word of God teaches us, that the prayer for spiritual blessings under tangible and actual forms, should characterize our habits of prayer, for the same reason that the Person of our Saviour should characterize our theological and religious views. As that Christian is the most scripturally spiritual, who makes the

most of what the Holy Scriptures make the All in All, namely, the Lord Jesus, the Son of David, the Son of God; so that habit of prayer is the most scripturally, and of course, the most truly spiritual, which is formed upon the Lord's Prayer. The Lord's Prayer is like the Liturgical prayers, it is not like the modern prayer.

Before further urging, however, the Scriptural parallel, in favor of the patristic theory of church-prayer, let us in the present position of our subject, look back for a moment to the aesthetical argument. What, for example, is better calculated to draw a man out of himself, than to address his poetic and emotional nature by means of good art? What is better calculated to help a misanthropic, a settled down-cast, a religious-melancholy state of mind, than to carry the patient over the ocean, and place him in view of the cathedrals and the good religious art of the old world? How do our best and holiest domestic feelings find adequate expression only in utterances of signs, and symbols, and sacred services. What is the meaning of these senses of ours, through which all nature, in sights and sounds of loveliness, power, and glory, is exhibiting forms to the *soul's sense*, forms which are the only and the divinely constituted sufficiency of utterance to so many of our best feelings, and archetypal symbols exhibited to our noblest sentiments and loftiest aspirations? And why, throughout the entire frame-work of this, our mortal life, why in the Providential ordering of society, why in letters, art, and song, is this poetic prerogative of our constitution everywhere addressed, in form and symbol, far more ultimately influential over our whole estate and condition, than any other, except the directly divine means of spiritual conveyance to the man? Why, in a word, have we bodies, and why is it made necessary that we enter heaven, not in clouds of *abstractions*, but in a glory-train of intellectual and spiritual *forms?* And why is it, to bring the matter home at once, why is it that the cultivation of the man through arts and letters, so operates to refine, to humanize, and to render him unselfish and catholic, but that it tends to diminish his conscious individualism, throwing him into the midst of continuous generations and general powers? Now

the Old Testament economy, the actual life of our blessed Lord, and the manifest teachings of the whole Word of God, do not leave us at liberty to take man's poetic nature, as when sanctified, one great earthly instrument of insight and power, from the Church and the life of religion in the soul, any more than it requires the man to close the eye of reason and imagination to heavenly intuitions as they beam upon his soul and spirit through the world and through society. It is not *well* for a man to hold himself, feelings or interests too much in view, nor is it well for him to turn his soul from the salutary view of that grand array of forms which garnish the whole heavens of this our life in the flesh, and retire into the pent-house of his merely worldly faculties, to find his universe and home. So doing, he must become contracted in his views, ungraceful in his sentiments, bigoted and censorious in his judgments, and unamiable in his feelings.

To apply the principle to the matter in hand. We have said, substantially, that the essential distinction between the liturgical and the reformed constructive theory of church-prayer, lies in this, that the one is the creation of the intuitional and poetic faculties under the guidance of faith objective and the Spirit; the other is far more the product of the dualistic faculties, certainly under the same guidance, it may be under a more enlightened subjective faith, but not in the association of the intuitional faculties and the making powers of the soul; not so much under the control of imagination, nor in our opinion, of the best form of devotional feeling, because when the critical faculty is at work, intuition falls into abeyance and faith becomes self-conscious; and that the result is in the one case, exceedingly condensed and forceful, devotional forms of catholic application and power; precisely, as in the analagous case, the same age was commissioned to embody an universal formula of faith in the creed,—the results in the other case, were excellent, instructive, and as it were, provincial prayers, well adapted to the time, but altogether too partial for universal use. If asked how it is that the Nicene age could make the Nicene symbol, and also make a good Liturgy, while the Reformation age could make such noble catechisms, and did not make one good liturgy, we have no answer. It might have

been due to the age of the world, it might have been due to the fact that the critical attention of their minds were turned to the settling of divine and sacramental mysteries, rather than to the examination of more abstract doctrines—we can entertain no doubt of the premises, and can only say such was the Divine will. It is not improbable, however, that the four great Liturgies were formed long before the Nicene age. To return to the application of the principle referred to: It is simply, that, seeing we are addressed by the voice and hand of the Lord, everywhere else, through forms, forms in speech, forms in nature, forms in Providence, at every turn; and that these forms become, necessarily, signs and symbols to our best thoughts, emotions and sentiments, how can it be otherwise than that we should expect to be addressed in the same way, as it respects our religious nature and feelings? And further, since we *are* so addressed in the Church, and in the sacraments, it becomes highly probable, to say the least, that we should also be so addressed in the Liturgy. We regret the necessity of using the word Art so frequently, only, however, because the same word is used to include that which we abhor. But as we cannot but see that the visible Church and sacraments address the same part of our mental constitution, namely, our imagination, our reason, or faculty of intuition, and the faculty of wonder or mystery, which the Lord has given us, the same faculties which are addressed in lower forms of power and beauty throughout the world, and as there is no other term which embraces the facts, principles and products of the making faculties, except this term Art, we are compelled to use it. We say then, and can thus shortly express our view, that just what the Church and the sacraments are to the spiritual man, as a being capable of Art, that precisely, that is to say, that by the same "kind and force of working," is the Liturgy to him. And it is this sense we have in mind, when we say that the Liturgy is not only artistic, and *hence*, all-inclusive and very forceful, but it is mystical, and *hence*, has a character which makes it more truly than a didactic service can ever be, complemental to the Church and sacraments.*

* Only those who are not much accustomed to aesthetic phraseology would

The difference between the two kinds, will, of course, if the ground taken be correct, be fairly tested and clearly revealed, only in the actual experiments of them. The state of the case, as thus tested in the present practice of the Churches, is just this: The didactic prayer, the prayer which, in the absence of all suggestive forms, symbols, and inclusive apothegms of devotional phrase, is forced to the particular enumeration of states, conditions and graces, prayed for,—this kind of prayer, we find to be unable, as a matter of fact, to enforce or to conciliate the general attention of the people. It must be allowed, that the cases are exceptional, among the unliturgical Churches of our land, in which the people consent in a common posture of worship, or in general, have the appearance of solemn worshippers under the willing constraint of a dread and holy Presence. The liturgical prayer, on the contrary, the form of service which, we maintain, addresses itself more intuitively to the devotional nature, and upon a far profounder, and more complete theory of religious habit, does command the attention, and has secured the enthusiastic love of its most pious possessors. It is a simple matter of fact, which we feel constrained to account for upon purely intrinsic reasons, that the Episcopal congregations of our land are the most faithful of any among us, to their own form of worship. It is our belief that their Liturgy compels that attention, for the same reason that the Temple-service of old, compelled attention; and that that service compelled attention through the force of its artistic appeals, through the imagination and reason, to the faith and devotional sentiments of the worshipper.

It is equally a matter of fact, that the unliturgic Churches

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feel objection to the placing the Church and sacraments, in any sense, on the ground of Art. As we have said, we much wish there were a sacred word to use instead. The things included under the word *Art*, are the products of the poetic faculties, imagination, reason, taste, wonder, &c., and when we say "man is a being capable of art," we mean he is a being capable of being instructed, moved, affected, by forms addressed to these artistic faculties. The whole world of nature, the volume of Revelation, and the most permanent monuments of Divine Providence, constantly address this, among other parts of our nature, and surely we are so addressed in the Church and in the Holy Sacraments. What we mean, then, when we say that the Liturgy is a form of religious art, is simply that it addresses the sanctified man, as in other ways certainly, so also, through the intellectual ideal part of his nature, and *that*, in its own distinctive way, and not in the way of *mere* intellection.

of our land have not that in their mode of service which has succeeded, after any positive sort, in exciting the enthusiasm or winning the hearty love of the people. On the contrary, the general unsatisfactoriness of the extemporal service, has come to be a matter of serious complaint. It is painful, but it is truth, and the acknowledging of the truth will do us good. We ask as sadly as we do confidently: What number of the unwritten and unstudied prayers, which ascend from the altars of our churches on any given Sunday, would we wish, or be willing to have taken down and printed in a book? It may appear to some, that the practical test ought not to determine so momentous a question. We are of opinion that it ought, because to our mind the fact of an inattentive and irreverent congregation is a momentous wrong; and we hold that if the Liturgy offers to correct this state of things, then it is the churches' duty to make the trial.

If, however, we should still be called upon to make out more expressly what we mean all along by this "generic difference" between the patristic and the reformed prayer, we would instance the communion-service, or liturgy proper. And for convenience of reference, let us take that which we find in the Common Prayer of the American Episcopal Church, and compare it with Calvin's or with Baxter's forms. We will gladly stop a moment to say that we yield to no man in the degree of veneration and gratitude, we entertain for the memory and labors of these holy men. It is our belief, that no grander, no nobler, no more magnificent man has been sent into this world and into the Church, for many ages, than the great and good Calvin. Nor is the Church only indebted to his wonderful mind for the vast body of theological and exegetical labors he has left, but also for many excellent prayers. We refer especially to the short prayers printed with his lectures on the Prophets. They are more in the spirit of the ancient collects than any remaining prayers of the great Reformers.† Now,

† It is not to be doubted that, had Calvin come to Geneva earlier than he did, he would have made his Liturgy far more churchly than it is. It is on record in his own words, that he regretted, as it was, his consenting to leave out the Absolution, and the urgency with which he pressed and carried the

as it respects Calvin's Liturgy, it is chiefly valuable as a doctrinal symbol. The sacramental controversy appears on its pages. The true Liturgy expresses itself in the absolute forms of the truth, and never by emphasis, argument, or any other form of statement, starts the idea of doubt, or of controversy. For the purpose of regular use at communion, therefore, we cannot look upon this office as being properly constructed. We should fear to hearken even to Calvin's teachings over every celebration of the sacraments, for the simple reason that the holy sacrament is its own great witness and teacher. Baxter's Liturgy possesses the same didactic and doctrinal character. It gives a symbolic exposition of the ordinance, by way of argument and protest, discourses of its solemnity, and defines the qualifications of partakers. Let us look now at the old form, as given in the Book of Common Prayer. The service opens with the Lord's Prayer, and then a collect for the Holy Spirit. The commandments are read with responsals, and prayer is made for the sanctification of body, soul and spirit. The word of God is acknowledged in the Holy Gospel, and the "glory" is given to God. They profess their faith in the creed. The offertory is made, while Scriptures are chanted. The command that prayer be made for rulers, for the Church, and for all men, is obeyed. All penitent sinners, all men of charity and good-will, are invited to the holy feast. They confess their sins, and receive the form of absolution. They are reminded of the comfortable words of our Saviour; the *Sursum Corda*, and the Angelic Hymn, invites them to the Holy Presence. The consecration follows, which is in the simple language of the inspired narrative, accompanied by such a prayer of oblation and invocation as might almost reconcile us to the notion of the apostolic origin of portions of the Church liturgies. The partaking is followed by a short prayer, based upon the truth of the real presence, when they rise and worship God, giving thanks in the *Gloria in Excelsis*.

Now there is not in all this, except in the exhortation on

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point of the restoration of the Christmas Festival, is well known. Indeed no man but such as we call a churchly man, could have held the view of the real presence, and of the resurrection-day, which Calvin held.

the preceding Sunday, a word by way of catechetical instruction on the nature of the ordinance, and yet the very fulness of that instruction is embodied in the service, to a degree that none of the Reformed Liturgies, and it is our opinion none of the Reformed symbols, in this particular case, so well contain, although the Reformed symbols generally do contain the truth. What we wish to say is, that the truth contained in the Holy Supper, is of such a nature, that the adequate embodiment of the same in the Liturgy, will form the best book of instruction on the subject, at least a book indispensably complemental to the Catechism; or, as the great and good Coleridge has expressed it, that "the study, on the bended knees, of this office, together with the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel, will furnish the best preparation for partaking the sacrament."

But still now the question recurs: How have we made out the distinguishing difference between the old and the modern form, and in favor of the former? We have done this by actual reference to a Liturgy, and to the corresponding modern office, and by directing attention to the point, as a matter of fact and observation; by which it appears that, in the one case, there is exhibited to the heart and spirit, as well as to the mind generally, an EMBODIMENT *of the truth in the way of* FORM; while in the other, we have a PROMULGATION *of the truth more directly to the intellect, in the way of special dogma and literal discourse.* And we conclude that the one is most effective and the best, because most in accordance with the constituted theory of our human natures, as it respects the apprehension of sacramental truth; and that the same is most Scriptural because it makes far the most use of Holy Scripture, because by promise, confession, supplication, prayer and worship, it seeks to lift up the heart and spirit, towards the preparation of the Lord's coming, and then exhibits the holy sacrament, in its pure and single glory, to the sight and faith of the partaker, leaving the Word of God to work its own promise in the ordinance. Whereas the other form, instead of consisting principally in Scripture, prayer, confession, and worship, is too much made up of human discourse, discourse at the beginning, discourse even during the administration, and discourse at the

end. Thus is it in danger of hiding the Lord's mystery under an intervening mass of mortal speech; thus is it in constant danger of so dealing with the understanding as to bewilder the spirit and harass the faith of Christ's children, at the very time when they ought to be left to the word of ordinance and the Spirit of the Lord.

If it is asked, how the liturgical characteristics spoken of, appear in the other parts of the divine service, in the ante-communion, or proanaphoral portions; we answer, that the entire service of the ancient Church commenced, proceeded, and ended, in the constant doxology of the name into which we are baptized; we answer, again, that after the idea of the same all-including form, there are certain prescriptive liturgical formulas from Holy Scripture, in the way of responsals, versicles, doxologies and commutual benediction—forms which are originally well adapted, and which use has appropriated, as symbolical expressions, for all classes and states of religious feeling, and for the entire scope of public worship, and which are often accompanied with an astonishing power over the heart. Thus have we seen in our own churches, when the choir has changed the tune from the last hymn, and the whole congregation are led to break forth in a well known doxology to the well known *Old Hundreth.* Thus have we seen, when in the communion-service of the Liturgy, they have sought to join their voices, in the sublime *Tersanctus*, with the "holy" of the cherubic hosts above. Again we answer, this organic and embodied life-character of the old Liturgies, and of course their inclusive and suggestive character appears in those singularly condensed and perfect individual unities, the collect-prayers; in those scriptural songs of men and women pronounced blessed of the Lord; in the matchless holy march and grandeur of the "Hymn of Ambrose;" in that, surely, heaven-descended plaint and supplication of the Litany—in a word, and as it respects the whole, in something that we have not said, in something that we cannot tell, but in something which all who have fairly made the trial, know and feel.

As it respects the more direct religious bearing of the view we have thus far taken, we would be willing to test it even by

a personal and private experiment. Of course freedom from either habit of use must be supposed. Now let a Christian be standing in need of prayers to cover his whole religious state at any given time. Let him take any book which has been written containing general prayers, and prayers for particular occasions; Becon or Baxter or Erasmus or Jeremy Taylor. Let him try them, and then put into his hands the Litany and a collection of the old collects. If he does not find a sense of satisfaction in the use of the latter, which he was always feeling after and could not find, in the use of the former, his experience will greatly differ from our own, and, we cannot hesitate to say, from what it does appear to us, the Holy Scriptures define to be the best. This, we think, will fairly test the question, which is the best for direct religious use, the Liturgical or the Reformed? Because what the Litany and the collects are, such are the form and spirit of the entire ancient service. If we cannot make it appear that this form and spirit are most in accordance with Holy Scripture, then we must at once give up the question.

The general characteristic of the Liturgy, now insisted on, as contrasted with the almost exclusively didactic character of the modern use, is that it does not, as regards the general idea of its construction, have a conscious respect to the particular case and experience of the worshipper, but rather seeks through the exhibition of the visible Church, and of objective forms of worship, to draw the individual away from his present subjective state of mind and consciousness, whether it be a state of joy or of sorrow, and to constrain him, willingly and unawares, to become, with all his experiences, a veritable and assisting part in the confessions, repentings, supplications and rejoicings of the universal body which is in heaven and on the earth, one and indistinguishable.

Our first argument in behalf of the scriptural character of this theory of church-worship, might be drawn from the presumptions, at least, in its favor, as found in the public services under the Mosaic dispensation. We know very well, however, that this would be at once opposed and reverted by the fact of the abolition of that economy. This would necessarily lead

into a discussion, for the time, too far away from our subject. Suffice it then to say, that the study of the epistle to the Hebrews, as well as of the scope of the New Testament generally, must convince us that the coming of our Lord to fulfil the law and so to abolish the letter of it, has not rendered obsolete those principles of our religious being, which were addressed under the law. We still worship God in the sanctuary, we still keep holy the Sabbath day, we still teach our little children the commandments. The truth of this whole subject is symbolized to our minds, in the eternal reality of our Saviour's resurrection body. More than this we cannot say, in connection with the subject in hand.

We will turn, then, to a scriptural illustration, which shall leave no room for controversy as to its applicability. We refer to the Psalms of David. They were written for the public, as well as private use of the Church. The responsive reading and chanting of these sacred songs and prayers have formed integral portions of the Liturgies from time immemorial. Now it is remarkable, and must have been noticed by all who have studied the Psalms, how remote they appear to be from their historical occasions. This remark applies immediately, of course, only to those whose historical occasions we know. But of these, with the single exception of the Fifty-first, and in that the penitent loses his case in Zion at the end, how few apparent traces can we find of particular individual reference, that is to say, of such a *kind* of particular reference, as would prevent us from making the passage our own? With these let us class other inspired songs, as Miriams, Simeons, the Magnificat. Now, why were these Scriptures led forth in this particular, and, at *the same time*, general way? Why do the Psalms of David differ so much, so vastly, in this respect, from the uninspired psalmody of the Church? Why, if we wish, say in the pulpit, to select a sacred song with a special reference to the sermon, do we turn to the hymns, instead of turning to the Psalms? Why but that there may be a deep and universal principle of the religious life involved in it, namely, that the case of the individual is significant primarily and principally as it respects the edification and the unity of the Body

of Christ, and that the best way for the soul to become truly religious, and to grow religiously, is to get out of itself and merge itself in that Body? It teaches us imperatively that it behooves the individual who is conducting a church-service to see to it, by the earnest labors of his soul, that he give not his personal experience to be the norm of what should be, and the Bible requires at our hands, a general service, a service of common prayer, common faith, common hope and common worship. It is under this aspect of the subject, that we are always struck with the solemnity and awfulness of the office of the *Leitourgos*—what patient study, what self-restraint, what emptying of one's self, what a world almost of pre-requisites, are involved, what an universal and many-sided symbol, as it were, must he become, who would undertake to extemporize a complete church-service. Alas, is it not asking too much of any mortal man to do such a work of himself? It is more than most men can do to carry a single litany in mind without having committed it to memory.

Our next scriptural reference, in corroboration of the scriptural construction of the Church liturgies, is to the Lord's Prayer. And here we are met by the obvious fact that among all the Churches of the Reformation in this country, there is one, and one only, which has retained this prayer in its Sunday service, and whose people are generally in the private use of it, and that Church is a liturgical Church. Now we may seek to explain this as we choose; we may even take up the constrained sophistry of our persecuted Puritan fathers, inexcusable even in their case, and voluntarily put away from our souls the possible blessedness of having a prayer in the very words of our Saviour to His Father and ours, upon the possible supposition that it is not a form, but a directory of prayer. Whichever it is, it is equally certain that our Churches make no general use of it; we do not pray it, and we do not pray according to its theory and spirit, and our people are not, after childhood, in the regular use of it, or of its method. We do not pray in the Church, according to its theory and spirit, inasmuch as the Lord's Prayer is made up of successive unities of worship, petition, ascription, doxology, each perfect in itself,

each a symbol of the whole class of things which it contains and suggests, and all related into a perfect unity, even as the man is one, having many faculties and members. Whereas our Church prayers, generally, are long, continuous, didactic and exegetical productions, or else they are rambling, we must say in many cases, not reverent, rhapsodies, and tiresome, desultory special discourses of request and supplication, among unarranged particulars of graces and blessings. There is no better evidence of the truthfulness of the essential incompatibility of our style of prayer and the Lord's Prayer, than the fact that where our ministers are endeavoring to restore the use of the Lord's Prayer, it seems at first so difficult to make it fit in with the style and spirit of the service generally. In the Church liturgies, on the contrary, it is not only homogeneous with the other parts of the service, it is the type and exemplar of the whole, so that it may be used, without the least awkwardness at any point of the service, and carried concurrent with it. It forms the leading portion of each great division of the Liturgies, and may be repeated, as it is on Communion in the American Common Prayer, and several times repeated as in the English, and it is well done. As they begin, or ought to begin, in the name by which we are saved, and continue the same throughout the service, as they ought to do, so they may enter the church and say privately the Lord's Prayer, they may use it in the service, and they may say it privately at the close, and they shall do well, they shall do according to the entire spirit and scope of their liturgy; and they shall do according to examples of Holy Scripture. It is the favorite method of Holy Scripture to repeat the word and the service, as in the constant repetitions in the Psalms, the forms of confession, blessing, doxology, and once for all, as in that sacred example of our suffering Lord, a reference to which need only be indicated here.

Our next and last particular scriptural reference for the similarity of liturgical worship and scriptural worship, shall be to the cherubic hymns given in the Book of the Revelation. "And they rest not day and night, saying Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty, which was and is and is to come."

"Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honor and power, for Thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created." "After this I beheld, and lo a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations and kindreds and peoples and tongues, stood before the throne and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes and palms in their hands, and cried with a loud voice saying 'Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb;' and all the angels stood round about the throne, and fell before the throne on their faces, and worshipped God, saying 'Amen—Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honor, and power, and might, be unto our God, forever and ever,—Amen."

We certainly are not about to maintain that any such worship as this is actual in any portion of the militant Church. But what we do maintain, is, that if there is a church-service upon earth which does resemble it, that service lies in the compass of the old liturgies, and that service is actual in the liturgical Church. We have only to compare the Reformed and modern form and usages of church-worship, with the responsive and Amen service of the Liturgy, its Angelic and Cherubic Hymns, its "Therefore with Angels and Archangels," its "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be," along side of the above inspired description, in order to see which is the most like the church-service of the Apocalypse.

Here then, we have all these things:—the Psalms of the Old Testament Liturgy, the Lord's Prayer, the Baptismal Formula, the Christian Doxology, the Apostles' direction as to the "first of all" of the public prayer, the divinely enjoined Amen, the inspired apocalypse of the heavenly worship, both as it respects its material and its responsive form, and a fulness of scriptural lessons, from the Law, the Prophets, the Gospels and the Epistles, all uniting as integral parts and well adjusted unities of a single service. How can it be otherwise than that a service which is so full of actual Scripture, and of the very parts of Scripture sacred to devotional purposes, should possess a Scriptural character in its remaining parts also, and

that the whole should be a homogeneous product? It may, indeed, as we have already admitted, and do again admit, be a question whether the worship of the present Church be properly that of a liturgical service, or whether it be that of a larger meeting of Christian families for instruction and prayer; but, looking upon the Reformed and its present descendants, as well as upon the Ancient and its present descendants, in the light of a *Service*, there cannot be room for question, which is the most Scriptural. Most Scriptural, that is, in possessing most Scriptures, and in being like the Scriptures in the form, style, theory, and spirit of its devotional make and fashion. We do not say that our services are unscriptural; may we be saved from the imputation; we are sure that the people of God, the saints of the Most High have ever been and are in our Churches; but we cannot but see that our services have not so much of Scripture as to actual amount, nor, we fear, so much as to what we cannot but feel to be the right theory of church-worship, as the revival of the liturgy would give us.

When we look at the amount of Scripture exhibited daily to the ancient people of the Christian Church, (and they had their "Sacred Books" at home as well as we,) when we remember how their souls were fed in the chaunted Psalter, daily, nightly, at early morn, at festivals, fasts, funerals and litany-supplications, when we remember the perpetual readings out of the Old Testament and out of the New, when we consider how the one ceaseless voice in the Church was to them almost exclusively the very Word of God; and then when we compare with this broad, and ever-flowing, this living stream, the small, the diluted, the paroxismal, rivulets of Holy Scripture furnished in the Reformed and modern service, how can we help being arrested by this most significant difference, how at least *must* we not examine this matter and see if we have the true view? How, unless it be that we are under the blinding influence of a false theory, how is it that with our undoubted private love and reverence for the Word of God, how is it that our people like to have so little of it read in the Church, and so much of human talk about it? How is it that we have not leaped to the Lord's Prayer? How is it that at the Holy Supper, be-

fore and during and after its celebration, the people can prefer to listen to the confusing words and exhortations of man, when the Bible gives us the very words of Institution, the circumstances of it, and the identical discourse and prayers of our Lord connected with it? It merely evades the question to say, we have our Bibles at home. The Bible belongs to the Church, and it is upon the Word of God that the Church feeds and is fed.

The fathers of the primitive Church made their sermons upon the Scriptures of the day, and the clergy were very early prohibited by rule from taking their subjects except from the Lections, and from ever making an exposition or exhortation, till after the full passage had been read in its place. How is it that our people prefer a running commentary on the chapter? Can it be that we have so little practical faith in the efficacy of the pure word of Inspiration? Christians of old met, as we meet, in what we *call* prayer-meetings, but which are with us, in reality, meetings still for discourse and exhortation; they spent the time in the reading of Scripture and the responsive chanting of the Psalms. How long would it take us to bring our people to a hearty and profiting consent, to the occupying of the evening lecture by a prayer, a hymn, and the continuous reading of an Apostolic Epistle? Why, in a word, do we feel it actually necessary to mingle our human teachings, with every service and with every sacrament? Is it in order to keep up the attention of the congregation, and if so, what does it imply? Whatever be the reason, we cannot hesitate to say, that it is wrong. It is not necessary that every service should be a sermon, and it is not good that we should practice so little holy daring in reference to the simple word of Inspiration. Our own opinion is, that the early Christians found the word of God, as read, to be sufficient, for the same reason they found that word as existing in their liturgical forms, sufficient, and that is, that they were thoroughly habituated to the suggestive, the all-inclusive, the mystic power of the words of Holy Scripture, both as read and as prayed; and that in our case the spiritual effort involved is too hard. We prefer discourse and exhortation, in the church, for the same

reason that the Sunday paper or the religious story, is but too apt to tempt us to withdraw our minds from the holy volume in our houses.

We will conclude our argument with one more reference. It is to the voice of the Church. And we simply suggest if there be not room, at least for the presumption, that men whose only book was the Bible, men who were commissioned to settle for all ages, the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation, men living at the very age of the Church and of the world, which we might naturally suppose would be set to the work of arranging the liturgical service, men too living in an age before the progress of society had impaired the mystical sense (which is the main liturgy-making sense,) and men who actually did prepare Liturgies,—is it not at least probable, we ask, that from these productions we can learn something as it respects the question of what the public service of the Christian Church ought to be? Do not these liturgies at least come down to us with an imperativeness equal to that of the creeds?

If now we have at all succeeded in what we have taken in hand, we have shown, at any rate we have tried to show, that between the patristic forms of prayer and church-service, and the Reformed, or modern (in which we include, as well the written forms of the Reformers, as our present written, or unwritten practice, based upon them) there is a very wide and essential difference, a difference, not only formal, but intrinsic and real. We have taken the Psalms of David, the Lord's Prayer, and the Angelic Hymns, as being the constitutive elements of the patristic form and theory of prayer, and endeavored to show that the difference between the Reformed offices and these Scriptural types, is the same as that which obtains between the Reformed and the Patristic. That that difference mainly lies in the fact that the scriptural prayer, and form of devotion, is symbolic rather than narrative, general (we are speaking in relation to the church-service) rather than particular, and hence suggestive and universal. That even those scriptural forms of devotion, praise, thanksgiving and prayer, which originally grew out of particular national

and individual occasions, are nevertheless so framed, and were so framed for the individual, that they should answer the religious needs of the whole world and for all time. That the inference is legitimate and fair, that the church-service should be so framed that all individual experience, hopes, fears, joys, sorrows, supplications, and worship, should be gathered into one voice and symbol of Common Prayer, and that the Liturgy, in virtue of its mystical, objective, and symbolical character effects this grand result. That it can only be effected in this way, as against the modern prayer which becomes inclusive only by being particular, (except as the *leitourgos*, may happen to be a good religious artist or poet,) that its constant temptation is to discourse, or else to become eloquent, that in consequence of these characteristics, consequence and cause, it becomes principally a mental effort, it becomes conscious of itself and method, and then nothing but the supposition, which we cannot always make, of the true *spirit* of prayer, can save it from becoming little else than a narrative, an argument, a sermon, or a raphsody, which had better be said with the eyes open, and the face turned upon the congregation. We hold, therefore, that the liturgical prayer is the most spiritual prayer, because it is like the Lord's Prayer, because it addresses through sensible forms and symbols, a greater number of the spiritual parts of our constitution,—our faculties of reason, imagination, and wonder, being more exalted than the faculties of memory and understanding; and because it can be most spiritually used, that is by the minister, provided his heart be willing, without which he is guilty of formalism in either use, since it does away with the necessity of the mental effort, and leaves the heart and spirit free.

Let us look for a moment at the practical bearing of our view of the subject, upon the liturgical movement, to some extent excited of late in nearly all our Churches. We look upon it as one of the most hopeful signs among us. We believe that many questions will be solved by it, and among others not the least, the truly perilous state of the Church as brought out by the growing sound of the people's murmurs and complaints of the preaching. We would say then, let us get the best service we

can. We believe that any one of the Reformed Liturgies is preferable to an unstudied service; while, at the same time, we believe that they are all so very defective, that we should hesitate to fix the weekly devotions of a congregation to the perpetual use of any one of them. Still we are not permitted to look upon this matter on merely abstract grounds. Doubtless there are clergymen in our Churches who do make the service a matter of most conscientious study, and whose services, therefore, are satisfactory and edifying. But when we call to mind the cases of our younger brethren, when we recollect how many of our ministers feel that they ought *not* to make liturgical preparations, when we think of the feeble churches on our borders, in remote country places, and of churches, without pastors, and then too when we think of our crying need of baptismal, eucharistic, marriage and funeral offices, we are almost ready to say, let us have the Liturgy, and let us have it fixed; though it be no more complete than Baxter's or Calvin's, still it would be far better, on the whole, than the actual state of things. There is, however, a more excellent way. Let us have a good and large selection of the Reformed Liturgies printed, and let us have a large collection of the old Liturgies, at least those known as the four great Liturgies, printed with them, and let us have a copy of the Book of Common Prayer by their side. If this were done, and our ministers would consent to study these volumes, the very best thing would, in the end, be secured and accomplished. We are not to forget, however, that the people also are of the Church. We may not impose a form on any people. We may not volunteer to trouble any people by the question, who are getting on well enough for themselves, and do not wish to be troubled about it. We may judge their way to be very defective, but if they are not in positive error, it behooves us to proceed very carefully and then to do very kindly, and to do without noise, whatever we may think it our duty to do, in order to improve the devotional practice of such as wish for improvement. The work, however, like every reformation work, must in some way proceed from the clergy. Our own opinion is, that it should proceed in the way intimated. Let a minister study the old, as well as the

Reformation forms. This will naturally affect his own practice: he will come to make liturgical prayers more than didactic prayers, Trinity prayers more than Judaic prayers; he will make more of the simple Word of God in the service; he will of course use the Lord's Prayer; he will introduce Trinity hymns, instead of sermon hymns; he will use the creed; he will introduce the doxologies; he may get his people to chaunt the *Te Deum*, and the greater "*Gloria*;" he may even, after a season, invite his people to say the Lord's Prayer with him, to say Amen, and to read the Psalter together. All these things may a minister gradually do, if so be he conscientiously believe the people's piety would be benefitted by them. If not, he had better leave their ways alone. Now when these things are done, a proper liturgical work is done. A people thus prudently and piously trained, will soon feel the propriety of a common attitude of worship, soon feel the sententious and suggestive force of a good office, soon recover the objective idea and feeling of the Church, and it will not be long before they will request that these forms be printed for themselves and for their children. The way is then open, and we can answer their request by placing in their hands, and placing in the pulpit, such a Liturgy as the united work of the primitive and the Reformation Church, in these respects, will furnish. Luther and Basil, Bucer and Cyril, Cranmer and Ambrose and Calvin and Augustine, will have joined hands around the holy altar of the Church and the true day of freedom and love, of good will and good service, will have come.

And what are the bearings of our subject, as it respects the day of charity? The Church which has preserved the Liturgy for us, is indebted to us for doctrine. Take the thorough orthodoxy, the strict conscientiousness, the well cultivated sense of the Divine sovereignty, the private reverentialness, the spiritual depth, and the missionary spirit of Presbyterian religion and experience, and cast the same into the objective realness, the tangible churchliness, the catholic charity, the scriptural worship and the artistic finish of the genuine liturgic forms, and you have the earthly-perfect form of religion and piety. We hold that all that is best for the Christian man on earth,

is included in the Presbyterian and Episcopal branches of the Reformed Church. It is our opinion that the time has arrived at which, the sooner they are united, the better, for each, or both, and for the world. Again and again, we say, may the time come, and may this begin to be the time, when Calvin and Cranmer shall at length be united in the militant Church.

Art. II.—SKETCHES OF A TRAVELER FROM GREECE, CONSTANTINOPLE, ASIA MINOR, SYRIA AND PALESTINE.

VII. MY TRAVELS IN PELOPONNESUS.

A. HISTORY OF THE DORIANS AND DESCRIPTION OF ANCIENT AND MODERN SPARTA.

Condition of Greece during the Turkish dominion—Earlier travelers—Late discoveries—Grecian tribes—Ionians—Dorians—Their conquest of Peloponnesus—Lycurgus—Sparta at the height of her power—Roads into Laconia—Cynuria—Sellasia—Valley of the Eurotas—Fair of the Virgin—City of Misthras—Papa Oikonomides—Rusians of Sparta.

No country, in the old world, with the exception of Italy, has for the last three centuries been the object of so many literary inquiries, as ancient Greece. The collection of works, descriptive of that country, and of disquisitions on its history and antiquities, from the time of the revival of letters in the sixteenth century, down to the present day, would by itself, form an entire library. Artists and philologians have vied with one another to exhibit, in laborious publications, the monuments of the golden ages of ancient Hellas, to decipher and explain her numerous inscriptions, and to describe the interesting theatre of her eventful history.

Yet during the earlier part of this period, until the middle of the seventeenth century, the monuments, the scenery of the country, and the condition of its inhabitants, remained little known to the learned of western Europe. Greece, almost entirely devastated during the fierce wars between the Venetians and the Turks, and after the expulsion of the former in 1718, by the continual feuds of the Klephts or robbers, the indomitable mountaineers, against their Othoman oppressors, was but rarely and hastily visited by European travelers. In their rapid sketches, therefore, they often mixed fiction with truth; they described ancient monuments as still existing, which had disappeared centuries ago—nay, they connected the classical associations as lightly and uncritically with every locality in Greece, as the pious, but credulous pilgrims in Palestine, bestowed their scriptural names on every mountain, cavern, or modern convent.

The maps and illustrations accompanying those descriptive works were as extravagant and tasteless as they were incorrect, and we now smile at their laborious representations of ancient *Hellenic* cities with *Gothic* spires and towers, adorned with armorial escutcheons and streaming banners, or of Doric temples entirely disfigured by domes and cupolas in the quaint and absurd Dutch style of those times!

But soon a better taste in architecture began to result from deeper studies and more correct designs of the Hellenic monuments in Greece. The French painter, Jacob Carrey, who accompanied the Marquis of Nointel on his embassy to Constantinople, in 1674, was the first artist, who, in spirited sketches, copied the splendid sculptures of the Parthenon at Athens, as they still existed on the temple before its desolation during the siege of the Acropolis, in 1687.*

Nearly at the same time, Sir George Wheeler collected numerous inscriptions and gave a faithful account of the manners

* This collection of drawings in red crayon is deposited in the imperial library at Paris, and has not yet been published. Though roughly sketched, the designs are precious, as they enable us to explain the entire series of the now lost sculptures of the Parthenon, and to arrange and restore the different fragments which have been discovered during the late excavations undertaken by the Greek government on the Acropolis, at Athens.

and social relations of the Greeks, while the naturalist, Tournefort, 1700, visited the islands of the Ægean, and described the celebrated grotto of Anti-Paros; and the French Abbe Fourmont, in 1725, enriched our knowledge of Laconia by important inscriptions from Sparta and Amyklai, which, though for a time considered as inventions of the arrogant and vain Frenchman, have by the latest discoveries in Laconia been found alike precious and genuine.

Soon a new period in the history of architecture began with the publication of the magnificent volumes of the English architects, James Stuart and A. Rivett, which embrace the noblest monuments of Greece and Asia Minor, and have ever since exercised a permanent influence on the study of the fine arts both in Europe and in America.

With Stuart, in 1751, begins the long series of distinguished travelers, mostly English, French, Danes and Germans, who, with ardor, have continued their earlier investigations, and contributed by their writings, to throw quite a new light on almost every part of Grecian history and antiquities.

Important excavations, on a larger scale, were then undertaken on the islands, at Eleusis near Athens, and in Arcadia, and the inimitable statues and bas-reliefs from the Parthenon, from the temple of Minerva at Ægina, and from that of Apollo at Phigalia in Arcadia, were transported to the north, and now adorn the museums of Munich and London.

And yet great were the difficulties, the hardships and dangers of those enterprising travelers in the times of Turkish dominion in Greece. They had to flatter the haughty and suspicious Pashas, who would either refuse the European traveler admittance to the ancient monuments, nearly always forming part of the modern Turkish fortifications, or would only grant permission for undertaking excavations by bribery and rich presents. They were often exposed to attack and capture by the ruthless pirates of the sea, or by the Klephts in the mountains.

The English architect, Stuart, was in imminent danger of his life among the superstitious Turks of Saloniki, in Macedonia. Baron Stachelberg was captured by the wild pirates of

Skyros, and Chevalier Brondsted robbed and rifled of his baggage and papers by the Mainott outlaws of Mount Taygetos in Laconia.

Highway robbers in other countries are the outcasts of mankind. In Greece, on the contrary, they were looked upon as heroes and protectors of the oppressed people, who, by the desperate resistance of those savage mountaineers, baffled all the attempts of the Turks to obtain quiet and permanent possession of the country.

Protected, like the Circassians on Mount Caucasus, in their present warfare against the Russian aggressor, by their natural ramparts and their indomitable courage, the sons of the mountains made such havoc among the Turks of the plain, that they forced the indolent Pashas to take them into military service as a regular *police*, for the security of the country.

These large bodies of free-born mountain Klephts were now called by a nobler name, *armatoli;* their chiefs became *capitanæoi*, and the wild warriors themselves *pallikaria*, or handsome youths. The highlands were divided into captainships, (*kapitanata*) where the command of the district succeeded from father to son.

Yet, the Turks soon perceived the danger arising from such an organization of armed and daring native Christians. They repeatedly attempted to destroy the armatoli and their captains by treachery, and the ballads of modern Greece are full of the astonishing deeds of the heroes of Boukovalla, and Agrapha.

When at last the general insurrection broke out in the year 1821, it was these independent klephts or armatoli, at that time the only armed and organized part of the Greek nation, who, at once uniting with the clergy, the peasantry, and the shepherds of the plains, defeated the Turks, under the command of Kolokotronis, Botzaris and the other Captains, and thus became the bulwark of Grecian independence.*

* At the close of the war, the captains and their pallikars were rewarded with honors, money and lands, by the government of King Otho. Yet the roving propensities of the mountaineers still continued; the frontier lines on Mount Othrys, toward Thessaly, were frequently crossed by the wild Albanian bands, who, eluding the vigilance of the gendarms, would, like prowling wolves, commit depredations even in the very environs of Athens.

This insecurity, and the desolate state of the country, often obliged the travelers, at that time, to follow more or less the general route throughout the Morea and continental Greece, and put insurmountable difficulties in the way of any exact admeasurement of the interior. The maps of Greece, therefore, remained in a high degree incorrect and defective; and different regions of that country were almost entirely unknown. The first exact map of Greece, on a larger scale, and based on trigonometrical admeasurements, was begun, and in part published, by the scientific expedition which accompanied the French army of occupation in the Morea in 1828. Several engineer officers of the French staff were ordered by the government of Louis Philip to remain in Greece after the return of the troops, and they continued their labors for ten years, during the administration of Count Capodistrias and the reign of King Otho. The large map, in six sheets, was published in Paris, in 1838, and is a masterpiece of art. By the indefatigable exertions of Captain Bennoit and his colleagues, who suffered the greatest dangers and privations during their arduous undertaking, the site and true position of the ancient cities, castles, temples, sanctuaries, consecrated grottoes, and historically important passes and defiles, were now for the first time laid down with an accuracy which at once proved our ignorance of the topography of that beautiful and interesting country. Many of the most important events of Grecian history, such as, for instance, the invasion of Xerxes and the Persian army through the passes of Mount Oeta, the rapid and astonishing marches of King Philip of Macedon, through the defiles of Elateia, and the daring expedition of Epaminondas to Laconia, became clear and intelligible, and with these French maps in his hands, the traveler now finds himself as much at home in the wild mountain regions of Arcadia as in any part of civilized Europe.

Yet the reader, no doubt, will ask, if the desolating war of independence, raging throughout Greece from 1821 to 1830, has spared the monuments of better days. And it is with satisfaction we can answer, that no very material damage was done to those gigantic structures, which still to this day rear

their immense columns proudly above the humble modern dwellings at their base.

At the establishment of the more regular government of Count Capodistrias, care was taken for their preservation, and a national museum became formed on the island of Ægina, which at that time was the capital of liberated Greece.

Yet all this was only a beginning—a morning dawn of a more brilliant day—for quite a new period of inquiry and research began for Greece, and all learned Europe on the arrival of King Otho, in 1833. A sum of money having been assigned by government for antiquarian discoveries, regular excavations on the Acropolis at Athens commenced, and were continued for several years with great success, under the direction of the learned Dane, Dr. Lewis Ross, and afterwards of the zealous and active Athenian, Pittakis. The entire platform of the castle-rock was cleared of the Turkish and Venetian fortifications, and the accumulated rubbish of centuries. The beautiful temple of the wingless goddess of Victory, with its precious sculptures and columns, was discovered and rebuilt on its old foundations, in front of the gateway of Pericles—the superb Propylaia—which likewise were laid open and used as a museum of the numerous sculptures, inscriptions and fragments of architecture found everywhere.

The northern portico of the Erechtheion was restored, and one of the beautiful Caryatids supporting the entablature of the Cecropeion replaced. The parthenon itself was not only cleared of the rubbish and of a small mosque, which the Turks had built in the interior of the temple, but several of its gigantic columns were raised, and thus the two fronts, on the east and the west, which had been severed by the explosion of the year 1687, have been reunited by the restoration of the lateral colonades. Within and around the monuments were found many fragments of colossal statues, bas-reliefs from the friese and metopes, bronzes, statuettes of alabaster and *terra cotta*, and architecural ornaments, with *polychrome* or painted decorations, nay, even beams of *burnt wood* from the earlier temple of Athene, the Hecatompedon, destroyed by Xerxes during his invasion in 480, B. C.—all in a high degree interesting and

instructive, which, together with the numerous inscriptions, soon began to fill the temporary museums erected on the Acropolis for their reception.

Still more extensive were the excavations in the ancient harbors of the Peirœeus, the Zea and the Munychia, where the adjacent swamps had been drained and a new flourishing town of five thousand inhabitants built. There on the rocky peninsula of Munychia were discovered the ancient market-place, the temple and theatre of Artemis, the foundations of the arsenal of Pheilon, the Athenian emporium, the subterranean baths of the Serrangion, porticoes, streets, numberless wells and cisterns, the entire range of the walls with their towers and gates; and further north in the plain, the extensive *nekropolis*, or burial-ground, with thousands of tombs, marble sarcophagi and sepulchral stones. Even the bottom of the port, on the cleaning of the harbor, gave its tribute in statutes and bronze relics.

On the coast of Eleusis the fishermen caught a winged goddess in their net. At Marathon were found bronze helmets, swords, and Persian spear-heads, from the battle-field, and among the ruins of a country-seat of Herodes Atticus, a beautifully preserved statue in the Egyptian style, and quite a number of busts, among which, those of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Socrates and of Herodes Atticus himself. More precious than these sculptures, was a sepulchral bas-relief excavated from an ancient tumulus at Brauron, near Marathon, which represents the hero Aristeion in full armor, with the helmet on his head, and the lance in his hand; it is beautifully sculptured in the stiff archaic manner, ornamented with brass decorations, and painted in brilliant colors; the inscription tells us that it is the work of Aristocles.

Near the village of Kaprena, in the plain of Chæironeia in Boiosia, was disinterred a colossal lion of white marble, placed there, according to Pausanias, in commemoration of the sacred band of young Thebans, who had perished on that field in the battle against Philip and his Macedonian phalanx. Not far off, on the celebrated plain of Leuktra, at the base of Mount Helicon, was excavated a rotunda, formed of thirteen marble

slabs, with sculptured shields, supposed to be the ancient trophy, raised by the Thebans on the very spot where the proud Spartans were routed by Epaminondas and Pelopidas, B. C. 371, and forced to throw away their shields to facilitate their flight.

The museums at Athens were likewise enriched by antiquities from the islands of the Ægean. From Andros were brought two splendid statues, a Hermes (Mercury) and another, a headless figure, enveloped in the pallium, which both in beauty and perfect workmanship may be compared to the celebrated Apollo of Belvedere in the Vatican and the Aristeides at Naples.

From Naxos and Thera several Egyptian statues and Phœnician inscriptions were sent in, which corroborate the account given by Herodotus, that those islands were, in early times, occupied by Phœnician and Egyptian colonies.

The German historian, Charles O. Müller, excavated the foundations of the great temple of the Pythian Apollo at Delphoi in 1840, where several interesting inscriptions were found, which latter have been published by Professor Ernst Curtius in his Delphica.

In Laconia a new Sparta arose on the banks of the Eurotas, near the ruins of the ancient Doric metropolis. Here statues, inscriptions, busts, and sepulchral monuments were discovered; the sarcophagi of the Agidæ, the treasury and sanctuary of Menelaos and Helene at Therapne, an ancient highly remarkable Doric bridge at Pharis, at the base of Mount Taygetos, other antiquities at Gytheion, the port of Sparta; at Hieraki, and in the neighboring Messenia, the harvest has been still richer by the extensive excavations of the French scientific expedition at Messene, and the important discoveries of the temple ruins of Artemis Limnatis, the site and ruins of Andania, Steniklaros, Ampheia, and the celebrated fortress of Eira, on the banks of the Nedon.

All these investigations have furnished copious materials for a more extensive and profound study of Hellenic history and archæology, and they have been most happily employed by the German and English historians of the present day, as will ap-

pear on nearly every page of the excellent works of Wordsworth, Thirlwall, George Grote, Welcker, Scholl, Ulrichs, Ross, Curtius, and others.

Yet their inquiries did not stop within the limits of classical antiquity; they soon discovered that Greece contained numerous monuments from the Byzantine era of the middle ages, a period of history hitherto almost entirely neglected, but still both interesting and important, by the relations into which the Hellenic race entered to the different Sclavonian tribes occupying the greater part of Greece from the 6th to the 9th century, by the conquests and feudal settlements of the French crusaders, the Catalan freebooters and the Othoman Turks, who successively ruled over the most fertile regions of that beautiful and unhappy country.

This direction having once been given by the French historian, J. A. Buchon, to the mediæval studies on Grecian history, he was soon followed by the eloquent German Prof. Fallmerayer, by Zinkeisen of Leipzig, by Ross and others.

Ruins and relics, hitherto almost entirely disregarded, and neglected by earlier classical travelers, such as castles, churches, monasteries, mediæval sepulchral monuments, sarcophagi, coins, armor, and inscriptions from that long and dreary period, were now minutely studied and described. Every notice regarding Hellas dispersed in the voluminous Byzantine historians, was collected and commented upon. Modern Greek, Italian, French, Spanish, and even Turkish manuscripts and documents, illustrating this period, were discovered, and to the indefatigable researches of the late lamented Buchon, in the dusty libraries of Italy and France, we now owe his highly interesting collection of papers on the history of Greece, during the times of the Crusades and the feudal dominion of the French barons, and embracing that hitherto obscure period of the political and commercial intercourse between the eastern and western world, which, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, exerted so beneficial an influence on the general progress of civilization in Europe.

These studies on Mediæval Greece, and the great controversy among the learned, with regard to the influence of the

Sclavonian conquests and settlements on the manners and language of the Modern Greeks, did not for a length of time, attract the attention of the English public. Even the three important works of Colonel Finlay, recently published in England, do not appear to have met with great success, no doubt on account of the hostile feeling of the British nation toward the Greeks, as ardent friends of Russia in the present war.*

This subject, though highly interesting, being still little known in America, I have thought to render the readers of the Mercersburg Review a service, by giving them an account of the late discoveries made in Pelopennesus, which throw a new light on Spartan History and on the conquests and settlements of the Sclavonian tribes and the Crusaders during the Middle Ages.†

The Hellenic nation did not, like the Persian, Macedonian and Roman, stand forth as a single, conquering and domineering people on the great theatre of the world's history. The Hellenes were divided into different tribes, Ionians, Dorians, Æolians and Achæans, distinct and independent by their government and general character—although they were all of the same blood and parentage—and all hailed Deukalion and Hellen as their common patriarchs. The Greeks regarded themselves as one united race, with regard to the entire *extra* Hellenic world, which they disdainfully called *Barbarian*.

The highly civilized Egyptian, the wealthy Phœnician, the well disciplined and proud Roman, were all *barbarians* in the eyes of the Greek, and yet the four Hellenic nationalities remained in almost continual hostility against one another, and, what is particularly remarkable, *each* successively obtained the pre-eminence, the political and military sway in Greece.

First, Athens, who, as the representative of the Ionian tribe, after her victories over the Persians, obtained the gener-

* George Finlay's Greece, under the Romans Edinburgh. 1844. Mediæval Greece and Trebizond, 1851. History of the Byzantine Empire. 1853–54. 2 vol.

† The only works on Mediæval Greece, published in America, are Prof. C. C. Fellon's continuation of W. Smith's History of Greece. Boston, 1855, and my description of Greece in the World of the Middle Ages, New York, 1854, and in some articles of the New York Quarterly Review.

al command, which she soon, with cruelty and arrogance, turned against her own confederates, whom she treated like subjects,—then, toward the close of the Peloponnesian war, did Sparta, at the head of the Dorian alliance, attain that supremacy both on the continent of Greece and in Asia Minor, which she lost at the battle of Leuktra, in 371 B. C., when the great Theban Epaminondas, during a short but brilliant period, raised the Æolian (Bœotian) league to the highest rank among the Grecian states. Though vanquished and subdued by the victorious arms of Macedon, a new alliance a second time maintained the liberty of western Hellas, while the still more celebrated confederacy of the Achæan republics in the Peloponnesus, boldly attempted the re-union and regeneration of all Greece. They appeared for a time to succeed, and great were the generous exertions and the enthusiasm of the Greeks during the later days of their independence. But soon the rising star of Rome prevailed, and the conflagration of Corinth told the world that free Greece was no more—in the third year of the 158th Olympiad, (B. C. 146.) Every one of the four leading tribes of Greece, the Ionians, Dorians, Æolians, and Achæans had thus their own period of victory and glory. Yet the principal interest of Grecian history, and the development of Grecian genius in the sciences and the arts of peace and war, rest with Athens and Sparta—that is, with the Ionians and Dorians. Wherein, then, consist the different systems, which we call Ionismus and Dorismus?

Athens was a democracy, with liberal laws, a powerful navy, extensive commerce, and wealthy colonies. Yet her small and rocky territory of Attica, as a peninsula, thrust forward between Asia and western Europe, was exposed to the invasions of the mighty despots of the Persian empire. All her energies, therefore, were directed to the commercial and colonial relations with the outward world,—nay, the very existence of her immense population at home depended for their support on the tributes of the confederate cities of Asia Minor, Thrace, and the islands. The whole political system of Athens was built upon artificial combinations, whose deceitful and easily shaken foundations rested on her naval vic-

tories, and the prestige of her glory, but soon gave way in the hour of disenchantment and defeat. Athens permitted a free development in the education of her youth, and in the private life of her citizens. She delighted in foreign customs and manners, and received numerous foreign residents within her walls. Science and art, music and poetry, philosophy and eloquence, soon attained their perfection in the city of Athens. The lively and excitable Athenian hurried from the market-place to the tribunal, from thence to the assembly, and, in the crowded theatre, he wept with Sophocles, and laughed with Aristophanes. He was quick and impetuous in war, restless and quarrelsome in peace, a mild and benevolent master to his inferiors, but full of envy, caprice, and intrigue toward his equals. In Athens, one constitution, one revolution, followed another; and after a wonderful vicissitude of victory and defeat, of glory and humiliation, Athens, in the short period of two centuries,—from Solon to Demosthenes,—had already performed her brilliant part, and retired from the stage of the world.

Not so Sparta. Her constitution was an austere aristocracy, founded on conquest. Only the victors—the Spartans—enjoyed all the privileges of the citizen, while the native Laconians either retained only their personal liberty, while they bore all the burdens of the state, or were condemned to everlasting servitude as miserable Helots.

Sparta herself, a large, open village, in a deep, fertile valley, protected by a bulwark of impervious mountains from all invasion of her less warlike enemies, had no commerce, no colonies, nor any intercourse with her neighbors, except by the sword.

The laws of Lycurgus regulated the education of the young people, and the domestic life of the Spartan citizen, with a severity that approached to cruelty. Ignorant and superstitious, the Spartan became a hardy warrior, who despised the arts of peace and the enjoyments of the mind. His music was the battle-song; his ornaments, his crested helmet, purple tunic, and glittering shield.

Woman in Sparta enjoyed that veneration and high moral

influence which made the Spartans distinguished among all other Hellenes for their purity of manners and their domestic virtues, that for ages remained the strongest bulwark of their Empire. The beauty, robust health, and mental fortitude of the Spartan women became proverbial. "*With it* or *on it*," —ταυ η επι ταυ,—said the Spartan mother, giving the large brazen shield to her departing son. The military discipline of Sparta was perfect; she was wary and slow, but her conquests were systematic, and the brave but unhappy Messenians were reduced to slavery. Sparta feared no foreign foe, but trembled at the desperate revolts of her own Helots. Twice they brought her to the brink of destruction. But her constitution was sound and congenial to the sombre character of her people; and thus this small band of 9,000 staunch aristocrats, hating every change, and despising the free commonwealths around them, withstood, for more than five centuries, all the temptations to which they were exposed by their victory over Athens, and their conquests in Asia Minor, the invasions of their own territory by Epaminondas, and the restoration of Messenia. Sparta resisted both Alexander the Great and Pyrrhus,—the warlike madman of Epirus,—and it was not until this wonderful city had completed her eighth century that the gradual relaxation of the Lycurgean discipline and the universal degeneracy of Hellas, brought on the last fatal defeat of Sellasia, the extinction of her Heraceidian dynasties, and, fifty years later, her final occupation by a Roman proconsular army.

Before we explain who the Dorians were, and by what extraordinary events they conquered the peninsula of Pelops, we shall, from actual observation, describe the scene of their exploits.

From the Acropolis of Athens, the traveler enjoys one of the most classical and picturesque views in the world. Beyond the blue expanse of the Saronic gulf, with its high rocky islands of Ægina and Salamis, he discovers the mighty mountain-ranges of northern Greece, the low isthmus, and south of it, the towering Acrocorinth; nay, the transparency of the Attic atmosphere is such, that even the walls and towers on

its summit can be distinctly seen at the distance of fifty miles.

The last spur of these mountains, the Geraneia (mount of cranes,) sinks steeply down upon the isthmus and the sea. It stood like a rocky isle between the mainland and the island of Pelops at the time of the Deucalian flood, according to the ancient traditions, until at last the receding waters laid bare the plains of Megara and the low back-bone of the isthmus. The soil of these coast lands is of a later formation, and consists mostly of a conglomerate of shell-fish and conchites. The isthmus has a breadth of four miles, or 18,800 feet, and rises to a height of 246 feet, extending in broad slopes, covered with brushwood and pine trees, without any soaring point from which the traveler might get a full view of both the seas. At the narrowest part, where, in antiquity, was the *diolkos*, or slide for dragging the vessels across, may still be seen the excavation made by the emperor Nero, while attempting in vain to cut a canal from the Corinthian gulf to the Saronic. Farther south appear the lines of fortifications in regular Hellenic masonry, flanked with square towers, by which the Corinthians sought to protect the isthmus against the enemy from without. A ride of one hour and a half carries us to Corinth, in a commanding and beautiful situation, at the foot of the precipitous rock of Acro-Corinth, rising to a height of 2,000 feet above the level of the gulf.

The rock of Cecrops was the Acropolis of Athens—but the fortress of Corinth was considered the Acropolis or bulwark of all Hellas. Demetrius of Pharos called it one of the terrible horns of the Laconian bull, while Mount Ithome, in Messenia, was the other. Here, then, from the fortifications of the Venetians, still in good preservation, we behold the whole range of the gigantic mountains of northern Greece, Parnasso, Helicon, and the Geraneia, sinking upon the Isthmus

> ——— with the double tide,
> That purpling rolls on either side,
> As if their waters chafed to meet,
> Yet pause—and crouch beneath her feet.

Our bird's-eye view south discloses the immense chains of rugged mountains, with several soaring peaks, the loftiest in

the Morea, which, extending from the east westward, form the narrow coast land of ancient Achaea—between Corinth and Patrae, and send off in different directions southward, three separate chains, which, in their course, form the boundary of the independent states of ancient Peloponnesus.

The most eastern of these ridges, is the high barren Arachnaeon, running along the Argolic coast, and terminating at the promontory Skylaion, opposite the celebrated island of Hydra. Immediately south of Corinth descends the peaked Apesas, farther on, called Artemision, from the temple and worship of Artemis or Diana. It forms the narrow pass—the *Derveni*—where Kolokotronis and Nikitas, the Turk-eater, (*Turkophagos*) defeated, in 1822, the Turkish army of Dram-Ali, and laid the foundation of Grecian liberty. This mighty ridge partly covered with pine-forests and copse-wood, encloses on the west the beautiful plain of Argos, and joining southward the Parnon, on the frontiers of Laconia, terminates in the steep promontory of Malea or Cape St. Angelo. It divides Argos from the high table-land or *plateau* of Arcadia, and it is an astonishing sight to the traveler, who, after having toiled during the entire day along the flanks of its parallel ridges, and at last, at sun-set reaches its summit—now beholds immediately before him the extensive plain of Tripolizza, at an elevation of more than 2,000 feet above the level of the Mediterranean.

The third, or western chain, is Mount Erymanthos (Lampe,) which forms the delightful highlands of Arcadia, the favorite retreat of the merry god of the shepherds, Pan and his trickish Satyrs. These woody hills are intersected by deep valleys and rich pastures. Some, such as the valley of Pheneos and Stymphalos, being enclosed by high mountains, form lakes, which by subterranean canals, called Katavothra, discharge themselves into more distant rivers or the sea. The numerous rills from the Arcadian hills descend westward, and join the Alpheus, which, flowing through the plain of Olympia, where the Greeks celebrated their Olympian festivals and games, discharges itself into the Ionian sea, opposite the island of Zante.

This woody region of Arcadia, by the ancients called Mount Maenalon, has the most striking resemblance to Switzerland. On the south-west it rises to the high, bold, and broad Mount Lykaeos, from the summit of which the greatest part of Morea is seen spread out like a map, bordered by the dark blue sea. It joins the Taygetos, or Mount of Five Fingers (Pentedaktylos,) from its culminating tops, forming the rough and stony peninsula of Mani, the abode of the free Laconians or Maniotes, formerly so much dreaded as robbers and pirates. Its termination is the precipitous Cape Taenaron or *Matapan* (front,) the southernmost point of Europe.

This long succession of picturesque mountains divides the western part of Morea, leaving Arcadia and Laconia on the east, and the undulating coast lands of Elis and rich plain of Messenia on the west.

Thus we find the entire peninsula of Pelops, by nature herself, divided into seven regions. On the north, Achaia and Corinthia—on the east, Argolis, on the south, Laconia and Messenia ; on the west, Elis—and in the centre, between the barriers of Mount Artemision, and on both slopes of the Maenalon, Arcadia, the primitive seat of the ancient Pelasgi.

The oldest traditions of the Peloponnesian Greeks are attached to Mount Lykaeos, the Arcadian Olympus. "Here," says Pausanias, "had the black soil produced the godlike Pelasgus, the ancestor of mankind ; here lay Lycosura, the first city which the sun beheld, and from it that laborious race learnt to build their towns." They extended throughout the mountains toward the coasts, in different tribes. On the east we know them as Cynurians; on the south-west of Arcadia, as Caucones ; and on the plains of Argos as Danaens. These primitive Pelasgian tribes cleared the forests, led off the stagnant waters, cultivated the fertile valleys, and though afterward subdued by the warlike Hellenic tribes from the north, they continued for centuries in their old homesteads, clad in skins and occupied with cattle breeding and agriculture, without adopting the higher civilization of the invaders. Among these, were the highly-gifted, active, and inventive Ionians, on the northern shores of the Peloponnesus, and the roving Lele-

ges in the south, on the islands of the Ægean, and the coast of Asia Minor. In the interior we find the noble tribe of the Achaians, originally from Thessaly, who, under the sway of the Phrygian settler or conquerer Pelops, and his descendants, were the builders of numerous cities and ruled the entire island of Pelops, by the kings of Argos and Lacedaimon, the great Pelopidæ—Agamemnon and Menelaos.

The poetry of Homer and the epic bards, of Æschylos and the tragedians, is beautiful and grand; but is it only the product of the lively fancy of the poets—is it nothing more—is it not history—not reality? When I was standing on the heights of Mount Euboia in Argolis, or those immense Pelasgian walls of ancient Mycenae, with the noble Lion-gate in front, and at a distance, beneath the ancient Acropolis of the Atridæ, beheld the wonderful vault of the treasury of Atreus and the sepulchre of Agamemnon, how was it possible that the thought, the intense conviction, should not start to my mind, that there was more than poetry and fiction in those venerable traditions, which antiquity itself, with awe and reverence, considered as history and reality. History in Greece is older than the British and German historians will allow. The more we study the traditions of the Mythic centuries, the more discoveries we make on the continent of Greece, the islands, and in Asia Minor, the clearer and more distinctly we discern through the dim visions of the earlier ages, long before the historical period of a Herodotus and a Thucydides, the civilization of a simple, but moral, religious, and highly gifted nation, which must have had a traditional *history* in the songs of its poets, centuries before it could embody its embellished tales in the more regular garb and temperate language of the historian. And then we have another curious fact. While on the one hand, modern historians, a Niebuhr, a Müller, a Grote, all erudite and profound savans of original investigations, attempt to pull down the whole structure of ancient traditions, and with one blow, as it were, to annihilate the legendary history of Italy and Greece, strewing ruins around them, without erecting a more solid structure of their own—the most extraordinary, the most astonishing discoveries are continually go-

ing on in Asia Minor, Egypt, Nubia, Abyssinia, Palestine, Assyria, on the banks of the Tigris, and in Persia, which all most distinctly prove that civilization and history can be carried back for thousands of years in Asia, Africa, on the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean. Is it then possible to suppose that while all was light, civilization and history in the East, all should have been darkness, barbarity and fable in Hellas, which is lying at so short a distance from those countries, and was in constant communication with Phœnicians and Egyptians by commerce, colonization and conquest? Nay, we possess numerous monuments from the remote heroic ages, all tending to prove the high state of civilization and progressing development in Greece, as far back as the sixteenth, and even eighteenth century before our era. Neither the Pelasgians, nor their still more active sons, the Hellenes, were ever barbarians or savages. All our studies lead us to the conclusion of the primitive cultivation of the Caucasian race, and suggest the high importance of an accurate interpretation of the legendary history of the Greco-Pelasgian tribes.

The immense Pelasgian fortresses at Tyrinthos, Argos, Mycenæ, and in many parts of Arcadia, Thessaly and Epirus, the ancient seats of that nation; the subterranean canals of the lake Kopais in Bœotia, and those of the lakes of Stymphalos and Pheneos in Arcadia, attributed to the supernatural powers of Heracles; the artificial tumuli of the Æakid Heroes, and the wonderfully terraced hills in the island of Ægina, the tumuli of Achilles, Potroclos and Hector on the Sigean promontory of the Hellespont, so well corresponding to the description of Homer in his Iliad; the mines and shafts of the ancient Phœnicians in the islands of Samothrace and Lemnos, considered as remarkable antiquities even in the days of Herodotus; the numerous Phœnician monuments and inscriptions from the Ægean, such as from Rhodes, Thera and Crete; the ancient Egyptian statues discovered at Naxos and Thera, and an immense marble colossus in the rigid Egyptian style, forty-five feet in length, cut out from a marble mountain on the eastern coast of Naxos, and still lying on the spot; Phœnician inscriptions of Cadmos in the Ismenian temple at Thebes, mentioned

as historical evidence of the early Phœnician colonies in Greece by Herodotus; the ruins on Mount Pylos, with the grotto of Nestor; the Menelaion monument, and the treasury at Therapne, near Sparta, the lately discovered temples and cities in Messenia; these and many other very ancient monuments all prove, that we find something more than poetry, fable and romance prior to the era of Solon and Peisistratos. We have the monuments, let them speak for themselves; and standing on the tumulus of Achilles, with the Scamander running at our feet, and the hill of Ilium and the distant Mount Ida before our enraptured eyes, we feel and say, that the lay of the blind old man from Chios' rocky isle is no romance, but history, though the father of the epos, Homer, like the father of history, Herodotus, by the power of his imagination, and the ardor of his feelings, may have magnified and embellished the historical incidents of a period full of enterprise and development, when Asia and Europe met in arms beneath the walls of Troy, and flourishing colonies and free republics rose rapidly and powerfully on the decline and downfall of the aristocratic sway of the heroic dynasties. It was this general democratic movement throughout the Grecian mother country, the great results of the Trojan expedition, from which at a later period those glorious constitutions and republics arose, which form so luminous a feature in the history of Greece, when compared with all the other nations of antiquity.

Thus, through the romantic traditions and poetical embellishments, we plainly distinguish the rapid development of the most warlike and most powerful, of all Grecian tribes, the followers of Dorus, son of Deucalion, the Dorians, in their early seats in Thessaly and the valleys at the base of Mount Parnassos—the ancient Doris.

In Peloponnesus, Pelops and his descendants, the Pelopidæ, had usurped the royal seat of Heracles, while his exiled and persecuted sons, after many vain attempts to recover their hereditary throne, at last found refuge among the Dorians, then earning a scanty and inglorious subsistence among the barren rocks and sombre forests of Mount Pindus, in the north.

The principal deity of the Athenians was Athene. The Dorians worshipped Appollo, in his ancient and highly-revered temple on Mount Olympus, in Thessaly. The Dorian god in obscure oracles gave promise of victory and conquest, and thus encouraged, the Heracleid heroes, at the head of the Dorian warriors, invaded the peninsula.

Yet their repeated attacks were repelled on the Corinthian Isthmus by the united forces of the Achaians—and it was not until eighty years after the Trojan war, that the descendants of Heracles, Aristodemos, Cresphontes and Temenos, succeeded in again uniting a mighty army of Dorians, and daring adventurers from Ætolia and Thessaly, with whom they crossed the Corinthian gulf on rafts and ferries, and ascending the mountains of Arcadia, defeated the natives and made a descent on Sparta.

From this central point they soon extended their conquests over the greater part of Peloponnesus. All Messenia, Laconia, Elis and Argolis, were occupied by the Dorians and their auxiliaries. The Achaians, vanquished everywhere, fell back upon the Ionians on the northern coast, dislodged them from their twelve cities, and forced them to retire to Attica, whence they afterwards emigrated to Asia Minor.

Thus then, with the exception of this coast-land, Achaia, and the strongholds of the Arcadian highlands, the Dorians now possessed the entire Peninsula, which was divided among the victors.

Aristodemos had perished ; his twin sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, were defrauded by their uncles Cresphontes and Temenos, who possessed themselves of the most valuable lands : the former of the rich plain of Messenia; the latter, of Argos, the eastern coast-lands down to Cape Malea, and the adjacent islands of Cythera and Ægina, so advantageously situated for commerce with the Cyclades, Egypt, and the Phœnician harbors on the Syrian coast.

The twin brothers, the sons of Aristodemos, on the contrary, received for their part only the earliest conquest, Sparta in the valley of Eurotas, which, by the nearly impervious ridge of Taygetos, is separated from Messenia. This unequal division

of the supposed Heraclean inheritance remained in after-times, during the slow but steady development of Sparta, the main cause of the continual feuds between the Spartans and their more favored neighbors, the Argeians and Messenians, which ultimately terminated with the defeat of the latter and their subjection to proud and victorious Sparta.

Such is the outline of the great Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus, the last migration of the Hellenic tribe in Greece Proper, which, although in its details, embellished by poets and orators, is yet considered as resting on a genuine historical foundation by the most skeptical of modern historians. It took place about the year 1104 before our era, and no doubt continued for many years. In Messenia, the conquest appears to have been more easy. The Dorian invaders met with no resistance on the open plain of Pamisos, and beneath the mild sway of Cresphontes and his successors, they soon melted down with the native population, who enjoyed equal rights and liberties with their Dorian conquerors.

Not so in Sparta. In the rugged mountains of Laconia the resistance was more desperate, and the conquest for a length of time circumscribed to the environs of the capital in the valley of the Eurotas. The Dorian Spartans, during the reign of a succession of kings, sword in hand, subdued the different townships of the pre-existing Achaian inhabitants, which they peopled with part of their own auxiliaries, and constituted as tributary subjects. They thus gradually advanced upon the sea-shore, where Helos and other maratime cities, assisted by the Argeians, made a protracted resistance, but at last were taken and destroyed by the Spartans, who made the inhabitants—the Helots—their serfs, depriving them of their personal liberty, and distributing them as *adscripti glebæ*, or slaves, bound to the soil, on their own estates and villages, all over the country. This is the historical origin of the miserable condition of the Helots, which afterwards extended to the Dorian Messenians, and formed so remarkable a feature in Spartan history. Thus, even in the remotest times, before Lycurgus, we recognize three important divisions in the population of Laconia: the Spartans, the reigning Dorian tribe, like

the Othomans of modern Turkey; secondly, the Laconian subjects, around the city of Sparta, called Perioikoi or Lakones, like the present Rayahs in Turkey; and thirdly, the Helots, or serfs, considered the property of the state, and divided as the unfree peasants in Russia, in villages on the estates of the Spartans.

The kings of Sparta, descending from the two twin brothers, Eurysthenes and Procles, formed two dynasties, (generally called Agidæ and Eurypontidæ,) who continued to govern the kingdom for nearly eight centuries, and became extinct almost at the same time—about 220 B. C. Sparta was thus the only state in Greece whose first magistrates were hereditary kings, though their power was very circumscribed. For two centuries they were occupied in border feuds and petty conquests; Sparta was yet unknown to the world, and even her existence threatened by intestine dissensions and revolts, when a great man arose, who, by one of the most extraordinary constitutions of the world, laid the solid foundation of her future power and glory.

This was Lycurgus, who flourished in the period between 880 and 850 B. C. About his own personal history, the accounts vary so much, that it is enveloped in darkness; but his laws and discipline, enlarged and strengthened in later times, have made his name immortal.

The leading principles of the lawgiver were: a united and strong government, a healthy and highly disciplined nation of free Spartans, who, while they enjoyed equal rights among themselves, were maintained and fed by the tributes of their Laconian subjects and the labor of their numerous Helots. Thus we may consider this tribe of the Dorian race—the Spartans of Sparta, both rich and poor, both great and small—as so many aristocrats, and every Spartan warrior, glittering in his bright armor and followed by his light-armed Helots, appears to us as a knight of the middle ages, attended by his feudal retainers and clansmen, fighting under his own banner.

Sparta, then, formed a close aristocracy, where only the favored tribe of the Dorians had political power, and all the burdens of the state fell to the lot of the native Peloponnesians.

What a contrast with the liberal democracy of Athens, where all were equals, and even foreign residents had their rights and honors!

Sparta was a military republic, in which the entire government was divided between the two kings, the senate of twenty-eight elders and the public assembly of the Spartan citizens. The kings *proposed*, the Senate *deliberated*, the Spartan Assembly *accepted* or *rejected*. The kings were hereditary generals, who commanded the army, presided in the senate and represented the state as the high-priests of Jupiter Lacedaemonius, offering monthly sacrifices to the gods. Their direct political powers were insignificant; yet they possessed royal domains in the valley of Eurotas, and one of their principal revenues was the *hide-money* (*δερματικον*), arising from the numerous victims offered at the public sacrifices.

It may be supposed that the co-existent and co-ordinate kings of Sparta would become rivals; that, full of jealousy, they would be continually thwarting and counteracting each other. Of this, we have numerous instances: but although these intrigues often had a baneful effect upon the course of public measures, yet they nevertheless gave the nation a security against successful violence, and the establishment of a despotism by some ambitious individual among the regal lines. Nay, in order to paralize the encroachment of the regal power, the Spartans afterwards, during the absence of the kings, employed in the Messenian wars, instituted a board of popular delegates, similar to the Roman tribunes, whom they placed in contra-position to the kings and the senate. Here we have the celebrated Spartan *Ephors*, who were annually chosen in the assembly; they soon profited by the great obedience shown them by the people and by the dissensions of the kings; they began to constitute themselves as an independent power, and boldly usurping the royal authority, they at last reduced the kings to a state of intolerable humiliation and impotence.

The Spartan being continually occupied with war or military exercises, cared little for the public assembly, where no open discussion was permitted, and he, therefore, found no opportunity to develop the talents of the Athenian in canvassing

the political affairs of the state. The great assembly became abandoned, and we soon find that only a small number of intriguing citizens were adjoined to the senate, who, together with the directory of the Ephors, now conducted the affairs of the aristocracy with that suspicious secrecy and cold-blooded cruelty, which remind us of the mysterious government of Venice in more modern times. It was wrapped in an impenetrable mystery, and the Ephors reigned as absolute despots over the will, the hands, tongues and lives of their Spartan subjects. Their tyranny became intolerable; conspiracies were planned, not only by the miserable Helots, but even by the citizens themselves, who wished to throw off the iron yoke; but they were quickly discovered by the suspicious Ephorate and cruelly punished; they maintained their omnipotent dominion for five centuries, and were only destroyed by Cleomenes III., the last king of the Heracleidan dynasties.

The ancient historians, Xenophon and Plutarch, have given us some interesting details of that severe discipline to which Lycurgus subjected the Spartans, from their earliest youth, through their whole life. Spartan diet became a proverb, and their proud, haughty bearing and superior skill in war, made them the most feared and hated people in Greece. Lycurgus wanted to make them an iron nation, bound in by iron mountains, where all was restraint, control, abstinence, self-denial; nay, his whole system was founded upon the simple principle of implicit, soldier-like obedience to the law, so beautifully expressed in the epitaph engraved on the tomb of the Spartan heroes at Thermopylæ:

"O stranger, go and tell Sparta, that we lie here in obedience to her laws!"

Not for personal glory fought and bled Leonidas; not for revenge against the Barbarian, but because Sparta ordered him to the battle-field!

Yet the real corner-stone of the consistent and admirable structure of the Lycurgean constitution, which united the warlike citizens of Sparta into a close military brotherhood, was the equal partition of lands into indivisible and inalienable lots among all the Spartan and Laconian families. The rich-

est and most fertile lands in the valley of Eurotas, around the city, were divided into 9000 lots and occupied by the Spartans, who, themselves not being husbandmen, like the Athenians and Romans, left the care of their cultivation to Helot families, settled in villages on the estates. The mountain regions of Taygetos and Thornax, and the coast lands, with a hundred towns and villages, and thirty thousand lots of arable lands, were appropriated to the Laconian out-dwellers (*περοικοι*), who enjoyed them as their property with the unrestricted liberty of commerce, trade, manufactural and mining interests, and in this respect, certainly, were far better off than their indolent masters, crowding the market-place and public eating-houses in Sparta. In their quiet and industrious activity, the Laconian agriculturist became wealthy, while the Spartan, pining for excitement and war, remained poor and inactive.

On the other hand, the Laconians were excluded from all participation in the direction of public afiairs ; they paid their annual tribute, and were summoned to join the Spartan army. Thus we find, some centuries after Lycurgus, the interesting fact of a Spartan army at the battle near Platæa, against the Persians, consisting of five thousand Spartans and ten thousand Laconians, all of them heavy-armed infantry, or *Hoplitæ*, accompanied by thirty-five thousand light armed Helots, of whom seven, like feudal vassals, followed each Spartan to the field.

We have dwelt for a moment on this important division of lands, so characteristic of the ancient Spartan commonwealth —because the skeptical historians of modern times, and last of all, the distinguished British historian, George Grote, have attacked it—and considered the whole a fiction, an illusion of Plutarch created by the old legends, without any historical evidence ; nay, some of the Germans, in their desire to turn classical history upside down, even deny the existence of Lycurgus altogether! They attempt to lay their axe at the root of Grecian history, as the great Niebuhr did at the Roman.

Grote himself finds the origin of all the supposed dreams, fictions and fancies of Plutarch in the much later attempt

of the last Heracleid kings of Sparta, Agis and Cleomenes, to reform and regenerate Sparta, during the last period of her decline, about 250 B. C.

But the ancients—from Herodotus to Plutarch—do not only consider the royal Lycurgus, as the founder of the Spartan constitution, but they portray with great perspicuity the leading character of the Spartan legislation during the different periods of its history, which is nearly the same in the different authors, and the ancients have no doubt known the land and the people of Sparta better than our modern skeptics.

The system of Lycurgus was not a fiction—it was an institution, based on the ideas, manners, and customs of those remote times. The repartitions of lands in equal lots, between rich and poor—the idea of equality and brotherhood among Spartans—which appears such an impossibility, and excites such a disbelief in a modern historian, was a continually recurring event, during times of conquest and colonization—and is the everlasting theme of law-givers and philosophers, in the primitive ages of Greece and Rome. Nor could the last kings of Sparta, Agis and Cleomenes, have taken up the idea of restoring the Lycurgean constitution by new partitions of landed property in their times—if such a constitution had not existed and the lands had never before been divided among the citizens.

These facts are clear, and speak in favor of the bold, but necessary institutions of Lycurgus.

The other objections of Grote, as to the impossibility of preserving the lots of lands by the families, without subdivisions among the younger sons, fall to the ground when we consider that it was exactly this institution of Sparta which excited the warlike spirit among her sons, and made them desire nothing more than with their swords to extend their sway, and thus carve out new partitions of more fertile lands for their children than those situated in the narrow valley of the Eurotas, and on the bleak and barren rocks of Mount Taygetos. This is the secret both of the rise and downfall of Sparta.

The first consequence of the introduction of this solid military system, about 850—25 B. C., was the rapid conquest of

all Laconia. The Arcadians were driven from the border, into the plain of Tegea. The Argeians fled from the eastern coast, and the Spartans even descended from the Parnon, the eastern frontier of Laconia, and occupied the beautiful valley of the Tanos, that fertile and celebrated Cynuria, which, to this day, is one of the best cultivated regions in Greece; where orange, lemon-groves, and olive-plantations, intermingled with vineyards and wheat-fields, on a dark-red luxuriant soil, protected by wood-clad mountains, but open to the gulf of Argos, charm the eye of the traveler, and make him conceive the obstinate wars of the Argeians and Spartans for such a prize.

Toward the first Olympiad, 776 B. C., all Laconia was reduced to obedience; additional lands were acquired, new Helots and Laconians brought under the Spartan dominion, yet these conquests had only excited the thirst for more, and thus began those unjust and desperate wars with the beautiful, brave, but unhappy Messenia—one of the most tragical and romantic events in history, which soon changed the face of the entire Peloponnesus, and brought Sparta, through blood and danger, to the height of her power. After a precarious struggle of more than two centuries, we find the Spartans, at the beginning of the great Persian war, in 500 B. C., possessed of two-fifths of Peloponnesus, and extending her influence over the whole. And which was now this Sparta—this open, unwalled village—this immense camp of an invading army, quartered in the midst of a hostile and half-subdued people of Laconians and Helots?

We shall attempt to describe the impression which the splendid scenery of this country, and the remaining relics of its monuments and its people, make upon the American traveler, who, for the first time, visits its secluded valleys.

The contrast between the dreary desert of Anti-Lebanon and the delightful plain of Damascus, the Paradise of the East, and favorite theme of every Oriental traveler, is not greater or more striking than the contrast between the barren and stony hills, skirting the high table-lands of Arcadia, and the exuberant richness of the shady and fragrant valleys of Sparta. We can enter Laconia by three different routes, which all

differ in their character, and in the romantic effect of their scenery.

The most fatiguing, but the nearest and most picturesque road, is the eastern mountain-path along the Argolic gulf: it can be accomplished by a hard ride of two days from Argos to Sparta. Leaving Argos in the morning before day-light, and coasting the large bay, we arrived at an early hour at Lerna, the well known swamp were Heracles vanquished the Hydra. Without stopping, we ascended Mount Zavitza, on the ancient bridle-road, the Anigraia, which, through forests of wild olive and oak, runs along the precipitous flank of the mountain, high above the sea, thus affording splendid views across the gulf to Nauplia and the islands of Hydra and Spetza, distinctly seen by the wonderful transparency of the Grecian atmosphere. Towards noon we descended into the fertile valley of Cynuria, which we have mentioned as the land of contention between Sparta and Argos. There on the banks of the Tanos were raised the tumuli, or mounds (polyandria), which Pausanias saw and describes as the sepulchres of those 300 Spartan and 300 Argeian warriors, who, by deadly combat, were to decide the dispute. So undaunted and so equal was the valor of those chosen youths, that the battle terminated by leaving only three of them alive. Two of these were Argeians, who hastened home to report their victory, while the third, the Spartan, Othryades, remained alone on the bloody field, and raised a trophy of the weapons of the fallen enemies. Thus the returning Argeians, next day, to their astonishment and dismay, found the battle-field occupied by the victorious Spartan. Both rival states now claimed the victory for their champions, and the dispute at last was decided by a general battle, in which the Spartans were the conquerors, and finally drove the Argeians out of that important military position, which to this day is one of the most productive and populous part of Morea.

We now ascend the rugged flank of Mount Parnon, called *Malevo*, by the modern Greeks; we pass through the large and wealthy town Agios Petros, and on the highest ridge discover three huge heaps of stones or tumuli, ancient border-marks of

Laconia, commemorating the victory of Heracles over Hippokoon and his sons. Even to this day these mounds are called *Place of the Killed* (τους φονευμενους) by the Spartans. Here the grand and magnificent panorama toward the distant valley of Laconia and the snow-covered Taygetos at once bursts upon our sight. In a deep dell, immediately beneath the highest peak of Mount Parnon, we visit the few ruins of the temple of Zeus Scotitas, and some miles farther down the slope toward Sparta the hill and ruins of Caryai, from which the Caryatids or maidens, represented as columns supporting the architrave of the Erechtheion at Athens, received their names. We continue to descend through the wildest wood-scenery to the banks of the river Oenus and there meet the second, more easy road from Tegea and the Arcadian table lands, at the ruinous khan of Krevata, on the very spot where the last king of Sparta Cleomenes III, lost his kingdom and Sparta her independence, in battle against Antigonos Doson of Macedonia, 221 B. C. From these heights—Olympos and Evan—crowned by the ruins of the fortified city of Sellasia, the Waterloo of the Spartans, Cleomenes witnessed the brilliant and victorious advance of his army, and the rout of the Macedonian king, when on all a sudden the rapid charge of the young Philopoemen, at the head of the Achaean horse, in the flank of the Spartans, like that of old Blücher, and the Prussians at Waterloo, quickly turned the fortune of the day. Here fell the flower of the last Spartan phalanx. Cleomenes, like Napoleon, fled to the coast, thence to Egypt, where he perished. Sparta surrendered to the Macedonians, like Paris to the Holy Alliance; but her destiny was fulfilled, she never rose again.

The interesting details of the battle of Sellasia, which we find in Polybius and Plutarch, enable us on the spot to follow every movement of the contending hosts on the undulating or steep hills and deep ravines overhanging the river, which is now called Celephina, and descends like a torrent from Mount Parnon, through a fertile valley covered with vineyards and fields of Indian corn, and discharges into the Eurotas, now called Iris. During winter it inundates its banks, and its fords

are so dangerous that the Spartans have at present a curious proverb,—"*Kelephina* is a murderer, and the *Iris* a smart dandy."—'*Η Κελεφινα φονισσα και 'ο Νερες 'ο λεβεντης.*

The old road followed the sinuosities of the river Oenus; but our mule-track at present ascends the pass of Mount Thornax, where, from the height of Vourla, we for the first time discover the Eurotas, and the broad valley of Laconia, bounded by the precipitous wall of Taygetos. Old Sparta herself is not seen; she is lying two miles south, and her ruins are hidden from our view by a projecting spur or bluff of Taygetos, stretching eastward to the Eurotas. But we plainly distinguish the high castle of Misthra, and straggling town above the mulberry groves, perched on a hill at the base of the deep chasms and overhanging precipices of Taygetos. The effect of this scenery is of surpassing grandeur. The descent from Vourla was rapid and very fatiguing for our weary horses. At length we crossed the river on a narrow Turkish bridge, consisting of one immense arch swinging high in the air, not very safe in appearance, but picturesque, and in harmony with the romantic scenery around. On the banks of the Eurotas we struck the third road leading down to Laconia from the western plain of Megalopolis through the narrow pass of Leondaria, all along the banks of the river, and touching the ruins of Pellana and Belmina.

These three roads from Argos, Tegea and Megalopolis consist of a succession of narrow defiles, where a few resolute men might safely repel the invasion of a numerous host. Sparta was proud of her natural barriers, and for centuries none of her many enemies dared to approach Laconia. Epaminondas, great both as a statesman and warrior, was the first to humiliate the Spartans in their own homes. The Theban proclaimed liberty to the Helots, restoration to Messenia, and he passed the defiles without striking a blow, being led on by thousands of serfs who had broken their chains, and now carried fire and destruction into the rich estates of their masters, with the spoils of whom they triumphantly reared the frowning walls of Messenia.

The Eurotas is by the moderns called Vasilopotamos, or

Royal River, at Sparta and below; but Iris at its source. Yet this proud name of *King of Rivers* it can hardly deserve even in Geeece, except on account of its *beauty!* It is broad and rapid only in spring, when the snows are melting on the high mountains around. During summer it is a scanty rivulet, which can be forded in many places without difficulty.

On the arrival of Queen Amalia, Her Majesty, to her astonishment, found all the Spartan women in their finest dresses, assembled on the banks of the Eurotas, singing their beautiful national song: "Sparta, Sparta, why in slumbers"—they respectfully approached their charming young Queen, and lifting her gracefully from her horse, carried her in their arms across the river, at once showing the simplicity of their manners and the affectionate feelings of their hearts. The head spring of the *Iris* bursts forth from a deep chasm on Mount Bomion, the high, woody ridge dividing the plateau of Arcadia from the deep valley of Laconia, thirty-five miles north of Sparta. The ancients, so fond of the poetical and supernatural, believed that the Eurotas mingled its waters with the Alpheus, and after flowing together in a common channel for twenty stadia, the two river-gods, disappearing in a subterranean chasm or Katavothron, emerged again, but in a separate bed—Eurotas hurrying southward to fertilize the orange groves of Laconia—Alpheus, the fond and faithful lover, turning northward to cross Arcadia and the Ionian Sea, in order to embrace his beloved Arethusa in the grotto at Syracuse in Sicily.

Much has been said and sung of the snow-white swans sailing on the Eurotas. We have crossed it several times at different places, but we were not so fortunate as the celebrated Frenchman, Chateaubriand, who pretends to have seen the bird of Apollo on its cherished stream. Huge plane-trees, poplars, arbutus and agnus-castus cqver its banks; the beautiful oleander, here acquiring a growth of forty or fifty feet, adorns its banks by the luxuriant wreath of its purple roses.

The sun had already set behind the Taygetos, and the shades of evening were closing around us; we felt excessively fatigued, having been in the saddle for twelve hours. Sparta was near,

but it was only a heap of ruins; New Sparta had not been built, and therefore despairing of finding quarters in the city of Lycurgus, we were obliged to spur on through the plain to the modern town of Misthras, lying four miles farther off, at the base of Taygetos. Turning, therefore, southwest, we soon lost ourselves among the spurs of that mountain, and got so entangled in the forests and wild shrubbery of the water courses, that we engaged a Laconian shepherd boy to lead us through the maze of the plantations to Misthras. The difficulties of this passage through the valley, north of Sparta, is an interesting fact, as it proves the impossibility of Sparta being turned or surrounded on the north by a hostile army. This is the reason why all invasions into Laconia took place from Sellasia and the Oenus, along the eastern bank of Eurotas, in front of the city, where she was strongly fortified by nature.

After groping about for several hours in the darkness of night, we cleared the woods and debouched upon the upper plain, a mile from our *konaki*, (night-quarters,) when a most extraordinary sight burst upon us. The town, with its scattered masses of white houses, intersected by lemon groves and cypresses, was seen brilliantly illuminated by piles of fires and thousands of lamps, blazing up from an encampment of tents, which extended throughout the plain in front of the town.

Songs and music re-echoed along the clefts of the mountain, and numerous groups of inhabitants, dancing and carousing, were indistinctly seen before the tents through the vapor and smoke of the blazing bonfires.

Altogether unprepared for this lively and beautiful spectacle in old Laconia, we questioned our attendants, and learned that it was the festival of 15th August, the Nativity of the Holy Virgin, when the rigid lent is at an end, and *all* Laconia unites to celebrate the great Panygeris or fair of the Panaghia. On this and the following days, men and women from the valleys and mountains, near Sparta, gather in the plain, where all the produce of their industry and natural productions are exhibited and sold at the much frequented market. A camp, forming lanes and streets of tents and huts covered with oleander

and laurel foliage, is erected along the skirts of the mulberry grove; while thousands of mules of an excellent breed, the principal produce of modern Laconia, are piquetted beneath the trees and sold at high prices, to be taken all over Greece, and even to Constantinople and Asia Minor.

In antiquity the Greek ladies were fond of the nurses and the slippers of Sparta. Alcibiades was proud of having had a Laconian nurse. At the present day leather work, morocco slippers, capotes of goat's hair, laid out with scarlet cloth and embroidery, dressing apparel, horse-trappings, saddles, iron-ware and weapons of all kinds are the articles most sought for at the fair. Large quantities of raw silk are sent to the port of Marathonisi, and from thence to Marseilles and Leghorn. We were surrounded by athletic, fine-looking natives, many of whom were armed with pistols and yatagans of slaughtered Turks. I mention this because *hoplophory*, or wearing of arms, is at present a privilege only belonging to officers in state service, whom the whole unarmed population look up to with jealousy and envy. The Palikars politely asked us to dismount and partake of their supper, an offer which they certainly did not need to repeat twice, as we were all half-starving. Fat lambs were roasting entire on the spit; the table-cloth was laid out on the grass near the fires, while the young Spartans were serving the strongly-resined wine in gourds to the warriors sitting round the supper. With the delicious roast lamb the Greeks generally serve olives, onions, boiled beans, sheep-cheese and a variety of fruits, among which the grapes and fresh figs bear away the highest prize. At table we met a Greek clergyman, Papa Oikonomides from Mistbras, who generally receives strangers, and thus accompanied by our host, we left our servants and gens d'arms to the enjoyment of the processions and religious ceremonies, which continue during all night till dawn of day. We expressed our astonishment to Papa Oikonomides at having met so few people in the mountains travelling to the fair, but he answered that the fair at Tripolis, in Arcadia, on the same day, was more frequented; the roads there being more open and secure; Sparta had but little communication with the rest of Morea, except by sea;

yet even the road through the valley of Eurotas was full of danger to the merchant. The Maniotes were still armed, and often levied black-mail on the plain. Even the day before our arrival a skirmish took place quite near Misthras, in which a party of merchants beat off an attack of the mountaineers with some loss on both sides. The house of the Papa was comfortable and pleasantly situated in the upper town among the gardens. Being welcomed by his wife and fine, ruddy children in his neatly furnished parlor, all speaking a correct and even elegant language, we could not but reflect on the extraordinary change which has taken place in Greece since the days of Chateaubriand, in 1806. He, the pilgrim to Jerusalem, describes the savage Turkish manners of the proud and cruel Osmanlies, at Misthras, then a large city, and like Tripolizza, mostly inhabited by Turks, who insulted, bastinadoed and impaled the poor Greeks with impunity. Yet fifteen years later the sword of retribution fell heavily on the infidels. They were burnt, together with their city—a new village of wooden houses and bazaars had hardly been raised, before an ordinance of King Otho, promising a high-road through the hills to the coasts and the interior, ordered the Spartans to remove to the banks of the Eurotas, near Old Sparta.

These circumstances increased the movement in town during our stay. Many inhabitants were removing to the river, where churches, schools, tribunals, government buildings, silk manufactories, bazaars, and many private dwelling-houses were building,—all giving evidence of the rapid progress of this interesting and beautiful, but hitherto neglected and distracted country.

We shall at present take leave of Misthras, and in our next number invite the attention of the reader to the old Dorian city on the Eurotas, to its history, its inhabitants and monuments, many of which have lately been discovered, and are not well known in our Western Hemisphere.

ART. III.—WHATELY'S FUTURE STATE.

A VIEW OF THE SCRIPTURE REVELATIONS CONCERNING A FUTURE STATE: By *Richard Whately, D. D.*, late Archbishop of Dublin. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blackiston. 1855. pp. 300.

THIS work will be found chiefly valuable, not as a contribution to scientific eschatology, but as an earnest effort to clear up the impressions prevailing among the masses in the Church, concerning death, the intermediate state, the resurrection, the judgment, and the final states of the righteous and the wicked, and to present ideas suggested by the Scriptures on these subjects in a plain way, for the edification of ordinary minds. As such, it is certainly a valuable production; and some portions of it, at least, could not be too highly commended. The name of the author is itself a warrant for a well-considered, honest, cautious, and suggestive treatise, adapted to its design. The great plainness, even homeliness, of the style, we are prepared for by the remark in the Preface, that the style, "which was adopted with a view to the instruction of a mixed congregation, consisting principally of the unlearned, . . has been retained, as appearing the best suited to meet the wants of various classes of readers, and the most in accordance with the character of a work designed to be, in its matter, plain and popular, without any abstruse metaphysical disquisitions."

The book consists of a series of lectures on the various topics included under the general subject of the Future State, delivered to the people of his parish by a faithful laborer in word and doctrine.

A glance at the history of Eschatology shows two things very plainly. First, that the Christian mind is farther from being settled on the subject of the Last Things, than on perhaps any other, so that this department of theology is likely

to be the last to attain scientific maturity; and, secondly, that the subject has a perpetual interest for the Christian mind, the greater, perhaps, because of the indefiniteness, in which the Scriptures have left it. There surely is some truth in the idea, which, in one form or another, has haunted at least some corner of the Church in all ages—the idea of an approaching new dispensation, which should be distinctively the dispensation of the Holy Ghost. Wherever an expectation of this sort has been avowed—as it was avowed with remarkable earnestness by the abbot Joachim towards the close of the Middle Age, and as it might be supposed to appear in the rise of such sects as the Swedenborgian and Irvingite—it has arisen from a sense of imperfection in the present spiritual intelligence of man. It is a faithful and reliable witness, that we do not yet know all, that may be known, respecting the spiritual kingdom, and that even our Christian conceptions are, in many instances at least, far from presenting us with the ultimate or absolute truth. As the law left the intelligent and earnest Jew anxiously feeling after something more satisfactory than the law, as a revelation of God; so the Christian dispensation thus far seems to leave the Christian mind in darkness or in uncertain twilight on many points, on which it longs for clear knowledge. Yet, in both cases, this very longing is an evidence of the relative perfection of the existing revelation; for the great object of all earthly revelation is to beget in men a hungering and thirsting after the higher and absolutely perfect knowledge to be attained in the heavenly state.

The work before us is an interesting testimony to the indefiniteness of even the Christian revelation on the subject of the future life; and it is fitted to produce on the mind of the reflecting reader a true and salutary impression of the narrow limits of our knowledge. We do wrong to depreciate in any degree the great advantage of the Christian dispensation over that of Moses; but we do equal wrong, to push our exaltation of the present to a fanatical extreme, at the expense of either the past or the future. To give the Gospel all the honor, which its staunchest friends can wish to claim for it, we need not regard it as opening everything to view, or settling defin-

ite conceptions for us on every point. Respecting the future state, our Lord and the apostles seem to give much information. The New Testament abounds with representations of the judgment, the endless rewards of the righteous, and the endless punishments of the wicked; as it does with prophetic descriptions of the second coming of Christ, and as the Old Testament did with pictures of Messianic times. We take these representations, which lie so plain on the surface, as it were, of divine revelation, and form from them views, which seem to go quite into detail, respecting the course of the soul after death. These we hold as the orthodox views, settled by the Bible. When thoughts are suggested, which seem to depart from them, or conflict with them, and leave the language of Scripture in some cases only symbolical, they strike us as opposed to the truth, and as going to undermine the doctrine of Scripture; and they find not entrance enough into our minds to be fairly revolved. The less a man reflects, the more he thinks he knows. Our author writes here like one, who weighs all his words. And he finds reason to speak on many points with less confidence, than many of his less thoughtful readers would do. The more a man reflects, the less he finds he knows, and the more cautious he becomes both in forming opinions and in expressing them; and we may add, with our eye on the pages in hand, the more suggestive and valuable his productions become. "Our Lord's account," says Dr. Whately, "(as well as that of his apostles,) of a future life, though most clear and positive as to the *fact*, is so scanty and imperfect as to the *circumstances*, that our curiosity is rather awakened than satisfied. We are told, indeed, as much as is sufficient for our practical use, when we have the certain assurance of future rewards and punishments, and the means set before us, by which immortal life may be secured; but we are not told by any means all, that we might naturally wish to know. Much is withheld from us, doubtless for good reasons; but for reasons, which we cannot always fully perceive, though we may sometimes in part guess at them." P. 45.

The absence of a positive expression of opinion on several points brought before us in this book, might bring upon the

author, from many readers, the reproach of being non-committal, and might excite suspicions of his orthodoxy on these points. But the honest inquirer after truth will fully agree with our author, when he forestalls such a judgment in the language immediately following the above: "For instance, we are not expressly told anywhere in Scripture, what becomes of a man immediately after death, during the interval between that and the final resurrection at the last day. There are some persons, indeed, who pronounce very confidently on this point; but without, I think, any sufficient grounds for that confidence. It is a more prudent, and humbler, and safer course, not to pretend to be wise above what is written, nor to know what our great Master has not thought fit to teach. To abstain from positive assertions, where there is no good ground for them, may be, to some of my readers, unsatisfactory; but surely doubt is better than error, or the chance of error; and acknowledged ignorance is wiser than groundless presumption. Conjectures, indeed, if cautiously and reverently framed, *may* be allowed, in a case where there is no certain knowledge; but I dare not speak *positively*, when the Scriptures do not." This is certainly a mental posture to be altogether approved, and one, which ought to prevail in all students of the mysteries of the spiritual kingdom. The principle thus stated by our author could not fail of good effect, if applied in the whole field of theological thought, to the unsparing mortification of all that narrowness of mind, which assumes, whether avowed or not, the infallibility of private opinion.

Connected with this inquiring reserve, which appears to characterize our work, is the absence of glowing, sensuous representations of scenes of the spiritual world; the restraint of that kind of fancy, which, with all its soaring, does not get above the material world, but is still entangled with the cumbrous notions of time and space. It is not uncommon to go quite into detail in descriptions of the resurrection, the general judgment, the enjoyments of heaven, and the torments of hell. Such descriptions may not be false, considered as symbols of spiritual facts otherwise incomprehensible to the finite mind; for the Scripture employs them to some extent;

but they may be easily indulged to the hindrance of a truly spiritual progress, and, if too much pressed, introduce perplexing questions without number, founded only in this sensuous fancy, and having really no place in a proper view of an eternal, spiritual state. So long as such representations are used only as aids to edifying meditation, they are safe and useful; but in the sphere of logic and dogmatics, they never fail to lead to inextricable confusion, which has the additional disadvantage of being altogether gratuitous. Our author does not indulge them much. He seems not, indeed, fully to reach the *principle*, on which they *should* be discarded; otherwise his whole discussion of the "intermediate state," would have taken a different turn; but he gets such glimpses of it occasionally, as make us wonder he does not admit it to wider influence over his thoughts. We mean the principle, that time and space are mere conditions of this earthly, phenomenal existence, and are not to be imposed upon the free life of the spiritual world. The spirit of the book, in this respect, is very justly expressed in the following paragraph: "On this state of happiness, and the society of those who shall partake of it, I propose to offer to you some remarks, in the succeeding Lectures; in which, as in those you have hitherto heard, you will meet with no such confident assertions as some are apt to throw out; nor be entertained with fanciful theories delivered as Scripture-truths; but you will meet with cautious endeavors to distinguish the certain from the doubtful: and where I cannot *extend* the boundaries of human knowledge, I will endeavor at least to point out where they lie. If I cannot give you such full and interesting accounts of divine mysteries as more daring inquirers pretend to do, I trust I can at least promise not to mislead you." P. 186 sq. The book may, therefore, seem meagre and dry to those, who consider discussions of the kind here referred to, necessary to a proper treatment of the subject, and whose interest in the prospect of the future life is more or less of that sentimental sort, which feeds on the mere husks and leaves of truth. For the same reason, however, its influence on the mind of the earnest Christian reader will be good. It will be found to leave some interesting questions, which many

think settled, entirely open; but this very fact will be a profitable suggestion; and what might thus seem to be a deficiency, a chasm, in the author's representation, will prove only a gateway, through which the pent-up thoughts may wander forth to exercise themselves in those wide fields of devout speculation, which God has after all left open for them.

We feel almost disposed to chide an author, so able no doubt to do it to edification, for not introducing us more freely, even in such a practical treatise as this is intended to be, to the ancient literature of the subject before him, and especially to some of those spiritual conceptions, which have possessed great minds in all ages, (though for obvious reasons they have never received symbolical expression in the Church,) respecting both the present and the future state of man; however "conjectural" or "unsound" he may regard them. We do not propose here to supply this defect, but only to point it out. The opinions of former gifted and pious students of the Scriptures have as rightful a place as our own interpretations (which must always be in a certain sense conjectural) in an effort to exhibit what the Scriptures teach. The real meaning of the phrase: "What the Scriptures teach," is neither more nor less than: What men have understood the Scriptures to teach. Exegesis can never be separated from the history of Christian opinion, without running dry; any more than the waters of the Jordan could be stopped and piled up at Jericho, without failing in the channel below. The true exegesis must be a growth from the general mind of the Church. The individual cannot expect to produce it from the seed in the one summer of a lifetime, as if from the hot-bed of his own fancy. He can only hope to contribute; and to do this to the best advantage, he must admit all the accessible impressions of others to a fair influence on his own. His own opinions should be the productions of a mental soil fertilized and impregnated by the rich growths of former ages well plowed in and decomposed. Perhaps Dr. Whately's are so here. But the principle, on which he proposes to exclude the speculations of others in a great degree, from his discussion, is false, and lies at the bottom of much of the theological contention and ecclesiastical division

of Christians; though the application of it in the particular case before us may not lessen the value of the work. "He has thought it best to abstain, for the most part, from all reference to these (various opinions of the fathers and of modern writers of high reputation), . . . chiefly because his design was to inquire exclusively what is to be learned from the records of *inspiration*, respecting a subject, on which uninspired men, he conceives, however learned and ingenious, can know no more than is revealed in Scripture, or may by short and simple arguments, be deduced from it." P. 8. But let this pass.

The author begins with a brief view of the question as to the revelation of the future state in the Old Testament. Though this is by no means the only interesting point, nor the most interesting and fruitful point, presented in the book, yet it is the point, which chiefly draws our attention to the work for the present.

The ordinary Christian reader hardly feels as if, in going back from the Epistles to the Psalms, or from the Gospels to the Books of Moses, he were passing from a region of spiritual light into one of comparative darkness. He sees as much true religion in David as in Paul. He finds the words of the one as edifying as those of the other, and as well framed to express the Christian piety of his own heart. In any comparative unfitness of the Old Testament to meet his own religious wants he finds no hint of a difference between it and the New, as to the conception of a future state. The two *seem* to presume equal knowledge both of its certainty and of its general character. And under the power of Christian prepossessions even some more reflecting minds think the presence of the Gospel idea of immortality among the acient people of God so plain as scarcely to call for formal proof; and when any proof is offered, the simple quotation of two or three sentences containing the word "heaven," or "glory," or "hell," is thought conclusive. So thoroughly are we possessed with the clear and certain knowledge of at least the fact of a life beyond the grave, that we cannot conceive of a man or a people being religious without some such knowledge. And we infer, that, as the an-

cient revelation was a true religious guide, it must have contained this doctrine. We read the Old Testament, not with the naked eye, but through the glass of the New. On this glass the doctrine of a future state is everywhere inscribed; and when we look at the Old Testament through it, we of course seem to see that inscription still on every page, though it is really not there at all.

On this point our author leaves us in no doubt as to his own opinion; and we think it true: "That neither Jew nor Gentile had, or could have, an assurance of a future state, but through the Gospel, is a truth so plainly taught in Scripture, and so fully confirmed by what we read in other books concerning the notions formerly entertained on the subject, that its having been doubted or denied by any Christian, is to me a matter of unfeigned wonder." P. 13. That the heathen could not reach the assurance of a future state without the Gospel, is not so likely to be denied; though the immortality of the soul is held by many to be one of the doctrines of so-called "natural" religion. And as, moreover, every argument, which may be urged against the revelation of a future life to the Hebrews, will hold still more as against the knowledge of a future life by the Gentiles, we shall not here stop to notice further this latter point. The question as between Hebrews and Christians is of considerable importance; and of a sort of importance, which makes the discussion and the proper answering of it a most suitable introduction to the other chapters of this book; not only on account of its general connection with the principal subject, but also by reason of its bearing on a just estimate of our present knowledge. We have already suggested the thought, that the Christian revelations respecting a future state are, after all, much less definite, than many think them to be, or presume them to be. A careful examination of the relation between the Old and New Testaments, and of the relation between separate parts of each, will open an interesting and useful view of the natural progress of divine revelation in the world. It will prevent our making relatively too little of the Christian dispensation, by an undiscriminating imposition of Christianity upon Judaism. It will prevent our

making relatively too much of our own present stage of religious advancement, at the expense of large and earnest views of present imperfection, and of a strong and intelligent and purifying hope for a further unfolding of Christianity even upon earth. When we come to search the Old Testament with a discriminating eye, if we find, that it really must have taught the ancient saints far less than we had supposed, and far less than we had presumed they certainly knew, we shall be prepared to form opinions more cautiously from what, on a superficial view, we might take for direct and positive revelations in the New Testament. A view of progress in the past will show us room for progress in the future. We shall think of the possibility, that the Christian of some distant coming age, standing to us as we now stand to the Hebrew Church, will look on many of our speculations and beliefs concerning an intermediate state, the scenery and occupations of heaven and hell, and on our many fleshly views of the resurrection, the judgment, and the rewards and punishments of the unseen world, with the same sort of interest, with which we now look back upon the ancient prevailing notions of Hades and Sheol. And this thought will greatly chasten our speculations and effectually check the inclination towards overweening dogmatism.

That the revelation of a future life was no part of the old economy, but is peculiar to the Gospel, seems quite clear from some such considerations as these:

In the first place, the undeniable presumption, that the divine discipline of mankind is progressive, and moves forward according to the laws of that nature, which God has given man. To say this, is only to give a reason for the continuance of our race and of the world by successive generations. It is to give the only satisfactory explanation of the present order of things. We cannot form any satisfactory theory of this ever changing state without regarding it as one great transition of the first or the old creation towards the new, of creation towards redemption. Everything visible betrays this character, in the perpetual process of birth, growth, and decay, going on in all departments of nature. But all is for man. And the history of mankind especially cannot be understood, except as a con-

stant improvement. God is not idly repeating the same work in endless cycles; else the idea of consummation were nothing, but that of a mere stopping, which might take place as well at one time as at another, as well now as any number of ages hence. He does not merely save some out of this generation, and then raise up another, to save more out of that. Each new generation begins, not where its parent began, but where its parent has stopped. God is gradually working in the whole race, to carry out a plan for the final redemption of mankind as a whole from ignorance, sin, and death.

We see the race, then, growing from spiritual infancy to manhood under the discipline of God, its heavenly Father. This idea of human progress involves the two ideas of a gradual increase in man's capacity for spiritual knowledge, and of a gradual communication of that knowledge from heaven according to this increase. So the wise parent or teacher watches the unfolding powers of the child, and adapts his instructions to them. Now the Advent of Christ was evidently a great era in the growth of man's spiritual faculties. It was the central era of the world's history—at least of all within the compass of our vision,—the point, where mankind seems to pass from nonage to majority, from the light-heartedness and waywardness of childhood to the sober self-control of the man, or at least to the sentimental freedom of the youth beginning to get some idea of what a man ought to be; from the dominion of impulse to the dominion of reason. There the race seems to reach years of discretion. It stops in its thoughtless, spontaneous wandering away from God, to smite penitently on its breast, and begin a return to its Father's house. Before that era those only obeyed, who saw the rod of divine authority above them, and they obeyed only as under the rod; since that period, all, who know, seem endeavoring to obey as for themselves. Now we might well presume, that this era would be marked by some important new communications from God, answering to this growth in man; some new revelation both of man's own life and destiny, and of the gracious plan and work of God. The great new revelation respecting God was Christ himself. This fact itself, as well as the evident difference just

mentioned between the Mosaic and the Christian periods of history, would seem to require, that the doctrine of a future or spiritual state should be at least *one* new revelation, if not *the* new revelation, for this era, respecting man. In the Church the former period was a dispensation of outward laws on the part of God, and a period of subjection to outward authority on the part of man. During this stage of its life mankind needed just this kind of discipline. And its receiving such treatment shows what its capacities for spiritual knowledge were. Men could not see below the surface of things. They were not prepared to comprehend the inward and spiritual, or to feel the force of considerations, whose direct bearing on their condition they could not see. Only think how carnal the mass of Christians still is even at this advanced and comparatively mature age of our race. When told that a certain course of conduct will ruin the soul forever, and even now impairs true happiness, we have to use effort to keep that in mind and perceive its force. But if we only see poverty, or disgrace, or death ahead, we quickly change the tack. From this actual state of things we may easily go back to one, in which men had no susceptibility at all to such spiritual considerations. And if we find so little of it in ourselves, a former age, to have had less, could hardly have had any. We speak of the mass of the people. The whole history of the Israelites, especially the earlier part of it, exhibits them as, in fact, "a dull, gross-minded, and unthinking people,"—as Dr. Whately says—"who appear to have been (like children) so wholly taken up with the objects present to their senses, that they could hardly be brought to think of anything beyond the morrow." P. 17. Any clear revelation of a future spiritual state would seem as incongruous with such an age of the world, as a metaphysical lecture with an infant school. If there be a progress in the divine discipline of mankind, this fact itself is strong presumptive evidence, that the revelation of a future state, as well as of all spiritual things, is peculiar to the Christian dispensation, the more advanced and mature age of the Church.

Accordingly—to pass to a proof, on which our author lays

special stress—we find in the apostle Paul the distinct, unequivocal declaration, that "our Saviour Jesus Christ hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel." (2 Tim. 1 : 10.) No material change can be made in the force of this passage by varying the interpretations of the expression: "brought to light." Take the phrase as we will, it points to a decided advance in the knowledge of men respecting "life and immortality," which were before involved in darkness. This latter expression is singular. It evidently means: "everlasting life," "life eternal." The word "immortality" would seem intended, not to add a new idea, but only to explain and define the "life." For the Apostle's use of the word "life" at all here, shows, that he uses it in its highest spiritual sense; as when the Saviour says: "I am the resurrection and the life." By "life" is here meant: that, which does not die; for the Apostle puts the word in antithesis with "death." Only death had been revealed before, through the law; and by this we may understand either that spiritual death intended by the Apostle, when he says he found the law, "which was ordained unto life, to be to death;" or, more probably, the outward and perishable, whose perpetual decay is but a type of this spiritual death. Before Christ, God gave men "the rudiments of this world." He left them, so far as direct revelation was concerned, without knowledge of that immortal, spiritual essence, which lies behind everything visible and forms the support even of its temporary, visible existence. Christ has brought to light not merely things seen and temporal, but things unseen and eternal; not merely outward, earthly things, which, in their incessant decay, are realy only one continuous revelation of death, but the inward life of things, that, which puts forth the transient appearance in successive generations, and abides after it is gone forever. This is the only true way to abolish death; to show, that it is not what it appears to be; that it does not really destroy man, though it destroys his visible body; to reveal an inward man, which is renewed day by day under the crumbling shell of the outward, and whose renewal is completed by the very stroke, which shivers the earthly house of clay.

But then we must consider also, that Christ himself, and he alone, *is* this life. He is "*the* life." Where he is not, there is no life. "By him all things consist." It is not the believer, who lives, but Christ, who lives in him. Hence any revelation of life eternal, or of a future state, must be a revelation of Christ himself. The words of St. Paul to Timothy have this deep meaning: That through the Gospel, life and immortality were brought to light by the Saviour in himself; life and immortality *came to light in Christ.* And when, from this point, we say, that, if God had intended to reveal a future state to his ancient people, he would have revealed Christ, the Mediator between the earthly and the heavenly, we say what would be found required by other Scriptural views of the same subject, which might be pursued. The future state was revealed in the Old Testament no farther, than Christ himself was made known as the life.

In entire agreement with this view are such facts as these:

1. The Books of Moses say nothing directly about future rewards and punishments, even in such passages as the twenty-eigth chapter of Deuteronomy, where the prophet would exhaust the whole known catalogue of blessings and of curses. If the future state, as known to Christians, had been known in the times of Moses, it were impossible to account for the absence of the slightest hint of it, where the Christian would surely make it most prominent. The Fifth Commandment breathes the spirit of the whole Mosaic law in this respect: "Honor thy father and thy mother; that thy days may be long upon the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee."

2. Eminent saints of the ancient Church, whose devotional writings have come down to us, often betray entire ignorance of a future life, and seem to take for granted, that man's whole life ends at the grave. It may be hard *for us* to conceive of a truly religious man, without the knowledge of immortality. But this cannot alter the fact before us. David was a truly pious man; yet he expresses himself in such words as those of Ps. 6: 4, 5. 30: 3, 9. 39: 13. 88: 10–12. "Wilt thou show wonders to the dead? Shall the dead arise and praise thee?" Job asks: "If a man die, shall he live again?" And in all

his affliction he seems to have had no comforting anticipations of a happy future out of this world. To some of these passages Dr. Whately directs our attention; and to Hezekiah's thanksgiving for recovery, Is. 38; 9 sqq: "The grave cannot praise thee, death cannot celebrate thee; they, that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth. The living, the living, he shall praise thee, as I do this day." Many such expressions are by some, we believe, regarded as implying only ignorance of the resurrection of the body. But this doctrine and that of the immortality of the soul go together. Or, were either revealed to the Hebrews, the former were certainly more congruous with such an outward, fleshly dispensation, and more fruitful of motives for so sensuous a people.

3. On the death of good men, even where some special notice is taken of their death, and in some cases pious lamentations are recorded,—at the deaths of the patriarchs, and of Moses, and Aaron, and David, even at the translations of Enoch and Elijah,—there appears no reference to their future life, such as the Christian involuntarily makes. So at the destruction of Korah and his company, and in David's lamentations over Saul, and Jonathan, and Absalom, there appears no hint of any definite, abiding impression in the minds of the survivors respecting a life beyond the grave. Indeed the peculiar formula of the Old Testament, for recording the death even of the best of men, is simply: "He died," or: "He was gathered to his fathers;" it never adds: "In the hope of a blessed immortality."

4. The Sadducees of the Christian era denied a future state, or at least a resurrection, and a spiritual world in general, as distinct from the natural and visible. They were the Jewish rationalists, it is true, or deists; yet they acknowledged in their way the mass of the Old Testament Scriptures, especially the law of Moses, and they were acknowledged as Jews by being placed or tolerated in office as Sanhedrists and high-priests; showing, that the writings of Moses were, by many in that day, not understood to contain any unequivocal assertion, at all events, of a future state.

5. Spinoza, the Jewish philosopher of the seventeenth cen-

tury, could not find the doctrine of immortality in the Old Testament; and a fact still more significant—Warburton made use of the silence of the Old Testament on this subject in his argument for the divine legation of Moses.

6. The general tone of the books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. The writings of Solomon contain the most profound thoughts of a mind distinguished in that whole dispensation for sagacity and depth. And they undoubtedly give a faithful picture of that dispensation as a revelation of spiritual things. But the book of Ecclesiastes could never have been written by one, who possessed the Christian revelation. It is plainly the product of a great mind feeling after the spiritual by the instinct of an immortal, spiritual nature, in an age of darkness respecting the spiritual destiny of man. Only some such view of its origin can account for its peculiar character. Considering the Preacher to be left in entire uncertainty respecting the future state of man, we can understand how he can exclaim, as he contemplates the vanity of sensible things: "What profit hath a man of all his labor, which he taketh under the sun? . . . That, which befalleth the sons of men, befalleth beasts; . . . as one dieth, so dieth the other; yea, they have all one breath. . . . I praised the dead, which are already dead, more than the living, which are yet alive. Yea, better is he, than both they, which hath not yet been." We are not surprised to find him, at some turns of his thought, almost abandoning all thought and all effort in despair. But when we consider how many suggestions of spiritual truth he must have found in the mysterious hieroglyphics of the material world and of history, we can also understand how, feeling after the immortal state, as the heathen sages felt after God, he can settle upon this as "the conclusion of the whole matter: Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole (duty of) man. For God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil."

These are some of the reasons, as they flow in upon the mind at the suggestion of Dr. Whately's pages, for believing his view of this subject to be the true one; though he by no

means exhausts the material for its defence. As *fontes solutionum*, might be further mentioned:

1. The well known Old Testament signification of the term "hell," and the whole Hebrew doctrine of Sheol, quite parallel with the heathen Greek conception of Hades. Nothing more conclusively proves, that the Jews were left to form their own ideas of the future state, than the ideas, which they actually formed, and especially the constant appearance of these conceptions in the sacred writers of the Old Testament. In fact the biblical Hebrew language has no word for the New Testament idea of "hell," as the place or state of eternal torment for the wicked. It is easy to imagine, how the soul's instinct of immortality, with so rude a people as the ancient Hebrews, might be so combined with the notion of the grave, in which the dead were laid, as to produce just the ancient idea of Sheol—a dark and silent subterraneous abode, in which the spirit, like the body in the grave, sinks into mysterious repose, a vast cavern in the bosom of the earth, untrodden by living man, unseen by any eye, opening its impregnable doors only to admit the new inhabitants of its dreariness, as they sank beneath the sunny surface of the land of the living. Into this immense mansion all the dead descended, each taking his separate place among the multitude. There they dwelt as ghosts ("weak"), spirit-forms, powerless, inactive, and even without thought or sensation. And this was conceived to be the final abode of all. Of any opening of its mighty gates to restore its spectral inmates to life and activity, whether of happiness or of misery, the Jews in general seem to have had no conjecture; the best of them evidently had no certain knowledge of such an issue.

2. Although the Old Testament contains scattered expressions, which indicate higher views of the future state—of which the passage, Ps. 16: 10sq.: "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell," &c., may be taken as the best representative,—yet such views, as they lay in the minds of the ancient saints themselves, were plainly as conjectural as that of Sheol. The notion of heaven, which prevailed in such minds as David and Solomon, and is ever before us in the Psalms, was simply that

of an invisible world, inhabited by the invisible God and his angels—whether regarded as differing from the visible world by distance of space or in mode of subsistence;—a world of life and power and enjoyment, as Sheol was the land of inactivity, weakness, and forgetfulness. This divine sphere, being above the earthly in kind or order of life, was naturally conceived to be above in space, as Sheol was placed below. From this higher region all the life, that was in the world proceeded. Thence God stooped to the creation. Thence he sent forth his angels on their embassies to men. Thence he thundered upon Sinai. Thence went forth the sword of his justice and vengeance against the wicked. Thence he sent down his Spirit into the prophets, and made all his inspired revelations in men. And thither were men's eyes and hands directed, when they would indicate the converse of their souls with God in prayer and praise and sacrifice. The invisible wind is the best earthly type of spirit; and the atmosphere, which is everywhere above the earth—the boundless ethereal region, into which man, with his foot on the grosser soil, raises his head—well symbolizes the relation of the divine order of life to the human. With this view of heaven Solomon prays: "Hear thou in heaven, thy dwelling-place;" and David exclaims: "Whom have I in heaven but thee?" It plainly does not coincide with the New Testament idea of heaven as the eternal abode of "the spirits of the just made perfect," beyond the grave. In fact, the sacred writer to the Hebrews, in the passage just alluded to, is at pains to persuade the Jewish Christians, that under the new dispensation they have come, as they had not under the old, "to the heavenly Jerusalem, to God the Judge of all," &c.

With this heavenly world the ancient saints, it is true, felt themselves connected, as really and as constantly as with the earthly; and there often drop, from David especially, expressions, which, molded by the Christian doctrine of the future state, would stand with Paul's earnest longings "to be absent from the body and present with the Lord." But one strong evidence of the absence of the New Testament idea of the future state from the old economy may be just the fact, that, among all David's expressions of desire for the presence of

God, there are none, which show, that he regarded death as the way to that presence. We have, therefore, to take that passage of the sixteenth Psalm, for example, as the words of conjecture, molded into the emphatic form of positive assertion by the vehemence of desire. They cannot otherwise be reconciled with the many passages, which betray the presumption, that the grave is the goal of life. St. Peter's declaration, that these words were spoken of the Messiah, by no means involves the supposition, that David understood them so, or that he intended to speak them of any other than himself. The indefinite impression of a spiritual, divine sphere of life and happiness, and of man's relation to it as an intelligent worshipper of God,—this impression, combined with the instinct of immortality, which reveals itself even in the gloomy notion of Sheol, may easily be supposed to have urged the more elevated minds of the ancient Church to such anticipations of the Christian idea of heaven as these words indicate. We can imagine the inspired Psalmist, as he revolves the precious promise of the Messiah to deliver his people out of all trouble, tracing the conquering path of the Redeemer into that future, to which his own nature pointed, and opening even the terrible gates of Hades for the deliverance of his people. Or, considering the Psalmist entirely unconscious of the reference of his words and spirit to the Messiah, we can think of him as meditating, perhaps in unusual mental elevation, on the present and the promised goodness of God to him; and, as if he could not bear the dismal thought of all this goodness ending at the grave without accomplishing any lasting object, he ventures to add the supplicatory profession of confidence: "Thou *wilt not* leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine holy one—thy pious worshipper and beloved child—to see corruption. Thou *wilt* show me the path of life; in thy presence is fulness of joy; at thy right hand there are pleasures forevermore."

8. The Psalmist's numerous imprecations on the wicked—the enemies of Zion or of himself—so far from showing a knowledge of future rewards and punishments, as the language might sometimes be supposed to do, seem rather to indicate

entire absence of the Christian idea of eternal punishment from the mind of the writer. These imprecations sound to our ears, inconsistent with the devout spirit otherwise pervading the book of Psalms, and have called forth various efforts to explain them. But the inconsistency is at least greatly diminished, if we suppose the writer to have regarded the death of the wicked as simply finishing them, and putting them out of the way; cutting them off, indeed, from their present enjoyments (and for this, it is not foreign to the Christian spirit to pray), but not involving any further suffering beyond the grave, nor depriving them of opportunities, which they would otherwise have, to secure eternal blessedness in a life to come; therefore not as a matter of such awful moment as death is to us. As the Psalmist did not consider death the gate to a future blessedness for himself, so he did not think of it as bringing with it a future misery to his enemies. This thought alone, it is true, does not entirely remove the difficulty; but it enables us more easily to admit the idea of the Psalmist's unduly yielding occasionally to the excitement of anger, as he did on one memorable occasion to the power of lust, and as even St. Paul seems to have done before the high-priest Ananias. (Acts 23: 3.) This idea it would seem absolutely necessary to admit, to some extent, even though all the passages concerned were translated and translateable in the indicative instead of the optative form, as some interpreters propose.

4. This view of the Old Testament revelation does not at all depreciate the faith of the ancient saints, so as to leave it short of saving faith. Only we must here, as everywhere, duly discriminate between faith and knowledge, or between the principle of faith and the exercise or phenomenon of faith. The principle is always the same; the phenomenon takes various forms according to circumstances. True, saving faith may exist in the soul without any knowledge at all; the principle of faith—the union of the soul to Christ—may be present in a person, without exhibiting any phenomena in thought and feeling; though this can occur only where the physical or temporal conditions of the individual naturally forbid intelli-

gent mental exercises, as in infants and insane persons. The infant, which dies in infancy and is saved, has faith, as truly as the most intelligent adults; for "without faith it is impossible to please" God. It has true saving faith in Christ; but it has no knowledge of Christ. And where the conditions of the earthly life admit and favor the development of faith in exercises of thought and feeling, those exercises will of course shape themselves according to the matter and extent of the person's knowledge; in other words, according to the character of the divine revelations to him; while, under every form it may thus take, the faith will have the same saving virtue. There is, accordingly, no necessity to suppose, nor reason to require, in the ancient saints a knowledge of the future state, in order to see in them that faith, which eternally saves; any more than to require or suppose in them a knowledge of Christ. Indeed it is interesting, and very instructive, to notice, that in that list of examples of faith in the eleventh chapter of Hebrews, all the acts, which the writer cites as the outworkings of faith, had respect only to earthly salvation. They in no case indicate any intelligent regard to good beyond this world. And we may remark by the way, that if these ancient worthies had known of a future state, they would have at least betrayed a conscious reference to it in some of their actions; and in this case, such phenomena of faith would be of the sort, before all others, to be presented here. Noah builds his ark, to provide against the flood. Abraham sets out for the land of Canaan, to inherit it. Joseph gives commandment concerning his bones, with his eye on the promised deliverance of his brethren. Moses forsakes Pharaoh's household, to escape the royal vengeance. Rahab harbors the spies, to save herself and her kindred. Yet the faith, which appeared in these earthly forms, could be truly represented by the inspired writer as really, though unconsciously to the subjects of it, reaching forward to an eternal reward.

5. The failure to find the clear knowledge of the future state in the Old Testament, need not, and should not, diminish the practical value of that part of the Bible for us. It should rather, in some respects, increase it. It cannot affect the pro-

priety of our putting as spiritual a construction as we would otherwise do, on, for example, the devotional and many of the prophetic parts; and that, too, without the cumbrous hypothesis of a double sense. The twenty-third Psalm is of no less value as a legitimate text for the most spiritual meditations of the Christian mind, when we regard the poet as referring in every verse to earthly blessings and dangers, than if we should think him to have spiritual favors all along in his eye. The *spirit* of the production is the same, which *we* should cultivate with respect to both this life and the life to come; though it *there* necessarily had reference to this world, and its *expressions* moved entirely in the sphere of earthly life. How often, in fact, are our own warmest, most spiritual Christian exercises of piety destitute of all conscious reference to the future state. It is altogether gratuitous to suppose, that knowledge of the future state is essential to the maintenance of a truly religious spirit. 'Rather might it testify to the genuineness of our religion, that we regard God for his own sake, not with a view to future reward; as those ancient saints, with no revelation or intelligible promise of good beyond this world, with only this life, in which to expect the favor of God, still implicitly followed the divine direction in a childlike faith, which made them indeed strangers and pilgrims on the earth. More truly still, the regard for God and the regard to the future reward are, in every pious mind, identical; for the future reward is God himself.

And here is a suitable place to introduce some remarks, which have a more evident and important connection with other parts of Dr. Whately's work, which we have thus far left unnoticed, and which we must now leave without such discussion as they demand.

The phrase, "future state," or "life to come," ought to be used with discrimination, at least when any important issue depends on an accurate use of the terms. There is ample room for the question, whether, in every truly religious act, in which the knowledge of what we call the future state, plays no part, there be not, after all, just as real a reference to that state, as there is in our thought of it as a future state; wheth-

er the thought of a future state be not one among many other forms of religious mental exercise, not involving any more real and definite reference to that state itself, than any of the other forms;—whether, in fact, the idea of futurity be an essential element of the idea of immortality, or only a condition of the existence of this idea in our finite minds; whether the future life is to be regarded as beginning only when what we call the present life ends; whether the terms "present" and "future" in this case, denote *time* at all, and not rather *state;* whether, at any rate, their application be not limited to this temporal state, so that the term "future," as applied to the eternal state, has meaning only by a sort of negative, reflex reference to the temporal, and not by virtue of any property or condition of the eternal itself, to which it might apply. It is not a mere theory peculiar to this or that school of philosophy, that time and space are nothing but conditions of this phenomenal earthly life; any more than it is matter of pure speculation, that this earthly life is only phenomenal, the apparent, transient, unsubstantial form of eternal, spiritual, invisible substance. Both are Scriptural ideas, as truly as the idea of immortality. The latter we find plainly implied in that passage of Hebrews: "Things, which are seen, were not made of things which do appear (literally, of phenomena);" i. e. "were made strictly, became, or grew, of things, which do not appear (literally, of that, which is not phenomenal, of an invisible substance);" and in that of 2nd Corinthians: "The things, which are seen, are temporal; but the things, which are not seen, are eternal;" and mysteriously pictured in the translations of Enoch and Elijah, the Old Testament angelophanies, the transfiguration of Christ, and the course of his resurrection-body till the ascension. There is even more truth than poetry in those words of James: "What is your life? It is even a vapor, that *appeareth* for a little time and then *vanisheth away.*" The former is almost in so many words asserted in the solemn declaration of the angel in John's vision, that "there shall be time no longer," (Rev. 10: 6;) in the words of Moses: "A thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday, when it is past, and as a watch in the night," (Ps. 90: 4;) and in those

of Peter: "One day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." (2 Peter 3: 8.) These expressions are not intended simply to say, that time passes more quickly with the Lord, than with man; as it seems to pass more rapidly with us in some circumstances, than in others; nor that God can do as much in one day as in a thousand years, the consideration of time being nothing with him. Both these ideas are included, indeed, in the true one; but the fundamental thought is, that time is a mere appearance, as is suggested when one dreams over a life-time in what is to another but an instant. The doctrine is most strikingly implied in the Saviour's words, which seem purposely constructed to hint his entire freedom from and mastery over the human limitations of time, in his higher nature: "Before Abraham was, I am." So with the idea of space. It must disappear, the moment we pass the bounds of this mortal state; the moment the earthly phenomena cease, and the earthly life goes out, as the floating cloud upon the sunny sky. Death is not a change of place with man, but a change of state or mode of existence. The above mentioned hints of the Scriptures indicate not only the freedom of *God* from the conditions of space and time, but the entire absence of those conditions from the *spiritual world;* so that, when *man* leaves this earthly stage, he enters a state, in which, to him, time and space are no longer. We cannot even say—as we believe Swedenborgians do, for example, who profess to be so spiritual in their views,—that, though time no longer really exists to him, yet the *appearance* of time cleaves to him, from force of habit, perhaps, as in a dream. For time is, in any case, only an appearance; and all that binds man to it, even in sleep, is his actual connection still with the phenomenal world through the body; and this connection is at death supposed to be entirely dissolved. The common effort, therefore, to comprehend or to illustrate eternity by joining vast periods of time, is an effort in a false direction, and hence never leads to any satisfactory results; never finds us nearer the idea, at the end of our effort, than we were at the beginning. For Eternity is the negation of Time. So with infinity, or immensity, at least in the theological sense. It is not to

be conceived by piling one vast region of space upon another. It is the negation of space, as the term itself means. Infinite, boundless, immeasurable space, (if the words are intended to be used with philosophical accuracy,) is a contradiction in terms; and so is eternal time. Every conception of space *must* include the idea of the *possibility* of measurement; the term, "immense," can be applied to space only in a relative sense. Absolute impossibility of measurement or calculation, absolute infinity, can be predicated only of that, which is not subject at all to the conditions of space and time, and to which our words of time and place—our now, and then, and here, and there—cannot apply, except in a purely symbolical way. It is in this view, that we have suggested, that the word "future," as applied to the spiritual world, is not to be taken in a temporal sense, and does not describe any characteristic of the spiritual state with philosophical precision, but is only a symbolical designation of that state as different from the existing temporal state, not as future *in* time, but as future *without* time, and that the idea of futurity is not an element of the true idea of immortality.

Now this thought, if it be true (and it is surely *Scriptural*, even in Dr. Whately's sense of that term,) ought to be carried into all speculations on the future state. This is by no means saying, that the terms in question are in such sense false, as to be useless for purposes of ordinary edifying meditation and discourse. We would, by no means propose the discarding of physical terms in all our reflections on spiritual things. Pious thought, with the mass of Christians at least, *must* move in the sphere of these temporal conditions, until some new religious era raise the Church to a far higher power of spiritual vision, than she now has. But to build *theories* of the spiritual state upon these physical notions; to lay down a certain order of events in the history of the departed spirit, not merely as a confessedly symbolical representation, but as the actual reality itself, so that we have questions of time and space to solve in a scientific way respecting them;—to do this, is simply absurd. It involves a philosophical solecism throughout. We might as reasonably institute an anatomical and

optical inquiry into the organization of the "four beasts round about the throne, full of eyes before and behind." The Scriptures, indeed, everywhere use such terms; but only for practical purposes; they never theorize respecting the spiritual state; they only suggest thoughts of it in such a way as to bear most effectually on the present conduct and religious experience of men. No body thinks of constructing an astronomical system from such passages as Joshua's command to the sun to stand still, or any of the common forms of expression respecting astronomical motions; though these, too, abound in the Scriptures, to the entire exclusion of the present scientific ideas; yet not even would Newton himself dream of discarding this mode of speech for the common purposes of life. When we do undertake so unreasonable a task, in the matter of the future state, no wonder we find ourselves beset at once with perplexing and absolutely insolvable (because illegitimate) questions about the intermediate state, the resurrection, the judgment, &c.; and no wonder we find the Scriptures obscure, and even apparently uncertain and self contradictory, on such questions as we thus raise.

What we call the future, immortal life, therefore, is not a life, which *begins* only when this mortal life ends. "He that believeth on the Son, *hath* everlasting life." Life eternal is not an endless prolongation of life temporal; but it is to know God and Jesus Christ. Hence the mental exercises of the ancient saints towards God may have been just as spiritual, without the knowledge of the future state, as they could have been, or as our religious exercises generally are, with it. If Abraham and David knew and loved God, and obeyed him in faith, they had knowledge of what is really the future state, that is, the eternal state of happiness, as truly as we have; only they had it not under the form of something temporally future, to be fully revealed only by the abolition of time and the separation of the individual from this earthly order of things. In this way the foregoing remarks, which may have seemed a digression, apply to the point, from which we passed to them.

We can now only briefly suggest the application of the prin-

ciple thus stated to several other points in Dr. Whately's book, where it would at least change the character of our difficulties, and make them such as we can better bear, though it can by no means clear up the mystery. Our author strikingly and truly alludes to the spirit, in which the Scriptures uniformly treat the subject of the future state: "The whole passage (2 Peter 3,) is one, which illustrates very strongly an observation which I have made more than once (in the course of our present inquiry) respecting the brief, dry, unpretending, uncircumstantial manner, in which a future state is everywhere spoken of by the sacred writers. 'The day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night; in which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall be dissolved with fervent heat; the earth also, and the works that are therein, shall be burned up.' Here we might have looked, if anywhere, for a detailed description of the several circumstances attending this great catastrophe,—for impassioned exclamations concerning it, and magnificent pictures of the scenes that will occur. No such thing: the Apostle immediately proceeds to a practical application of the knowledge he has imparted, to the lives of his hearers." p. 190 sq. And in another place he gives as one of the reasons for the silence of the Scriptures on many points of supposed interest, "that most likely there are many things connected with (the subject) which we could not possibly comprehend, with our present faculties, any more than a man born blind can understand the nature of colors; so that unless our powers of understanding were enlarged beyond what is fitting for our present state of existence, any attempt to explain to us such mysteries would be likely to mislead or bewilder us." p. 162. This is a consideration altogether just. But the true ground of it is the principle, that the spiritual world admits not the conditions of space and time. And as our author has not this principle in mind as the foundation of his remark here we are not surprised to find him, in the same way, though not to the same extent, as many others, disregarding the very lesson of reserve thus read from the Scriptures, and endeavoring to conceive the spiritual life in a way not warranted by the representations and hints of the Scriptures as a whole, and not at all called for by any practical need.

In the view above presented, the question of an intermediate state falls out of the sphere of scientific discussion; just as the question, on what the earth rests, ceased to be a proper question, so soon as the earth was found to be a globe in perpetual motion. The proper problem for science here is, to apprehend clearly that state of things, or those principles, by which this question of an intermediate state is thus excluded. "Intermediate," "between," are words of space and time; and where there is no space nor time, these terms can have no philosophical application. Our author comes, in fact, to a certain exclusion of this question, but only by the aid of physical notions; and his view really rests on such notions, instead of beginning and ending independently of them. In Lecture IV, he discusses the arguments for an intermediate state of sleep. He evidently inclines to rest in that doctrine himself, and finds less difficulty with it, than with any other view of the intermediate state; and with good reason, viz: because he thus comes as near throwing out the question entirely, as he could come, while he retained the notion. One of his chief arguments in favor of this view, is in the form of an answer to the objection, that the idea of passing into a state of unconsciousness, perhaps for ages, is too dreary and painful to be admitted into the Christian's prospect. His answer is: The objection proceeds from the imagination only, not from the understanding. "When we view things by the light of the understanding, they present a very different aspect. Reason tells us (the moment we consider the subject,) that a long and a short space of time are exactly the same to a person, who is insensible. All our notion of time is drawn from the different impressions on our minds succeeding one another; so that when any one loses his consciousness (as in the case of a fainting fit, or of those recovered from drowning, suffocation, or the like,) he not only does not perceive the length of the interval between the loss of his consciousness and the return of it, but there is (*to him*) *no* such interval; the moment, at which he totally lost his sensibility, seems (and *is* to *him*,) immediately succeeded by the moment in which he regains it. In the case of ordinary sleep . . . it will often happen, when

any one sleeps very soundly, that the moment of his waking shall appear to him immediately to succeed that of falling asleep; although the interval may have been many hours. . . The long and dreary interval, then, between death and the day of judgment (supposing the intermediate state to be a profound sleep,) does not exist at all, except in the imagination. To the party concerned, there is *no* interval whatever; but to each person (according to this supposition) the moment of his closing his eyes in death, will be instantly succeeded by the sound of the last trumpet, which shall summon the dead; even though ages shall have intervened." pp. 81–84. The fault we find with this representation is, not that it does not sufficiently exclude the consideration of time from the spiritual world, but that it assumes unconsciousness in order to this exclusion, and thus after all, secretly lets temporal conditions fully into the conception of eternity.

Dr. Whately very justly refers to the sensuousness of the prevailing conceptions of spirit in this way: "It is remarkable, that a great part of mankind, and those not least, who profess to hold, not only the distinct nature of the soul from any material substance, but even its power of continuing active and conscious when disunited from matter, are nevertheless altogether *materialists*, and mean by a *spirit*, only some thin and delicate kind of matter, like a cloud or a ray of light, &c., which is an object of the senses, but not of *all* the senses. This is plainly the case, not only with those, who believe in the common stories of ghosts (that is, spirits) *appearing* and speaking; but also with those who, though they disbelieve these accounts, yet perceive nothing *contradictory* and inconceivable in the idea of the *appearing of the spirit;* which of course would appear to them mere words without meaning, if they understood by "spirit," something which does not consist of matter, and consequently cannot have (as a visible object must) shape, height, color, &c." p. 59, note. This bears well towards the proper liberation of the conception of the future state from the condition of space. Accordingly, in the chapter on the "condition of the Blest and their Abode in Heaven," the author says: "Indeed, we have no reason to suppose that that

great Spirit, whom we call God, and whom we suppose not to partake at all of the nature of any material substance, has any relation to *place* at all, or can be properly said to be *in* any place. Strictly speaking, it is not that God is everywhere *present*, but rather, that all things are *present to Him;* as falling under his perfect knowledge and complete control. When, therefore, we speak of the blest as being admitted into the *presence* of God, we must remember, that this has not necessarily anything to do with change of *place*, but implies rather a change in their *condition*." p. 194 sq. But he seems still encumbered with the same sensuousness, he has disapprovingly remarked in others. He evidently has not the apostle Paul's idea of a *spiritual* body. The apostle takes pains to present this idea in distinct opposition to that of the natural body; and his conception is strikingly exemplified in the resurrection-body of Christ, which evidently was not, as to its proper essence, visible, nor limited to space (only its occasional miraculous *appearances* were,) and which would seem to have put forth such phenomena as it did through forty days, ending with the ascension, on purpose to suggest to the disciples its invisible spiritual nature. This nature was such, that in the very act of exhibiting that miraculous phenomenon of ascension and departure, the Lord could say, without any qualification restricting his language to his Spirit merely, or his higher nature, and evidently intending it to apply to his whole person: "Lo, *I* am with you alway, even to the end of the world." Quite inconsistently with this Scriptural view, and even with his own language, as quoted above, Dr. W. says: "The eternal habitation of the blest is described by the apostle as "new heavens and a new earth:" meaning by "heavens," the air we breathe and sky over our heads, as he means by "earth," the place on which we dwell. And this description must be understood, in a great degree, at least, literally; since the blest in the next world, having real material bodies as now, though different from their present bodies, must inhabit some *place*, fitted for the reception of such bodies." p. 192. "Although, however, the All-present Spirit, which we call God, has no relation to place, nor can be said to be in one part of

the universe more than in another; it must be otherwise with the bodily person of the Lord Jesus, with whom the Divine Spirit was mysteriously united. A *body* must be in some *place*, and cannot be in more than one at once." p. 196 sq. Here are several fallacies crowded together. One is, that God is represented—contrary to the author's own words on p. 194—as *in* the universe. Rather is the universe in God. Another is, that a *body* must be *material*, and hence that the blest in the next world, to have real bodies, must have material bodies, and so a place for those bodies. Paul specially distinguishes the bodies of the blest as *spiritual* bodies. A third fallacy, or at least a gratuitous assumption, is, that the person of Christ is divisible, so that his "bodily person" must be in some one *place*, while the Divine Spirit, mysteriously united with him, may be in all places, or has no relation to place. Of this the Lord himself gives no hint; but rather hints and takes for granted the contrary in all the expressions of his self-consciousness, especially in his parting words to his disciples. Thus the vain question of the place of heaven must arise. "Whether the *place* of the habitation of the blest will be this present earth, renewed and restored to such a condition as that in which it is supposed to have been created, when the first man was placed in Paradise, or altered in some other way; or whether they will be fixed in some other part of the universe, we have no means of ascertaining, nor is it of any consequence that we should know." p. 192 sq. This question, like that of the intermediate state, would never be encountered, were the principle now before us properly applied. A *spiritual* body must be one, which is not merely refined matter, but is of the nature of spirit as distinct from matter. Body or substance is not the antithesis of spirit; else Paul's expression were a contradiction in terms, as "spiritual matter," or "material spirit" would be. *Matter* is the antithesis of spirit, as Dr. Whately himself, in one place, puts it. And if in the above passage, where he speaks of the blest as "having real material bodies," we insert the Apostle's description of the bodies of the blest, the absurdity of the sentence, and the author's self-contradiction too, will appear: "The blest in the

next world, having real material spiritual bodies," &c. According to the note quoted above against the prevailing sensuous notions of spirit, ought not Dr. W. to make a remark respecting the glorified saints, like the one he makes respecting God,—that they have no relation to *place* at all, and cannot properly be said to be *in* any place? Then we should conceive of heaven, not as a place, but as a state or condition, viz: the condition of being present with God, of which Dr. W. himself speaks in language already quoted. And any one, who carefully weighs some of Paul's most profound and philosophical and least figurative expressions,—such as 2 Cor. 5: 1, 6, 8. Eph. 1: 3; 2: 6—will be persuaded that his prevailing idea of heaven does not include the notion of place at all.

It may be said—and said with truth,—that such thoughts do not solve the difficulties in the way of a clear apprehension of that future state, which even to this day lies in the mind of the Church, as pretty much an undeveloped matter of faith. It is as hard to comprehend a timeless and spaceless state of being, as to comprehend measureless space and time. Thus we seem only to substitute new difficulties for the old. But surely this may be something worth doing. It is an advance, in every scientific research, to find out that we are on a wrong track, and to leave it for one, which seems nearer right, though it should seem no easier. The difficulties thus introduced are worthy objects for philosophy to grapple with, or to stop at. The others were not. These are mysteries; the others were absurdities. The history of eschatology—of the Church's looking for the Second Coming of Christ—betrays a general tendency to carnal views, like the history of the Jewish expectations of the first Advent. We should be well aware of this, and endeavor to guard against it.

We do not leave this subject without a more earnest longing, than we had when we entered upon it, for deliverance from the necessity of conceiving spiritual things only by natural analogies, and of dealing in a discursive, logical way with what really belongs only to the sphere of intuition;—which is not only like looking through a glass, but rather like seeing with the ear or hearing with the hand. And we feel, that this

very effect of such thoughts, as we have now suggested, is a most useful one, and proves, that much as they may seem like mere negation, they tend towards earnest practical piety, at least as much as views like those of the book we now close. They help the cultivation of those powers of spiritual vision and of communion with God in love even here on earth, which will at last mold us entirely, when we shall put off this tabernacle, to that perfect state, in which we shall see face to face, and know even as we are known.

S. N. A.

Art. IV.—LITURGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

PRAYERS FOR THE FESTIVAL SEASONS.

[The festival prayers take the place of the General Petition preceding the Sermon in the regular service of the Lord's day.]

I. ADVENT.

(CANTICLE.)

Sing unto the Lord a new song; and his praise from the end of the earth, ye that go down to the sea, and all that is therein. Let the wilderness and the cities thereof lift up their voice; let the inhabitants of the rock sing, let them shout from the tops of the mountains. Let them give glory unto the Lord, and declare His praise among the heathen.

The Lord hath comforted His people; He hath made bare His holy arm in the eyes of all nations: and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God.

Say to the daughter of Zion, behold, thy salvation cometh; behold his reward is with him, and his work before him. Fear thou not; for I am with thee: be not dismayed; for I am thy

God: I will strengthen thee; yea, I will help thee. Unto you, that fear my name, shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings!

The glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it. Death shall be swallowed up in victory, and God will wipe away all tears from our eyes. And it shall be said in that day, Lo, this is our God; we have waited for Him, and he will save us: this is the Lord; we have waited for Him, we will be glad and rejoice in his salvation.

Sanctify and prepare yourselves to look upon the glory of our God; for the Lord cometh. Prepare ye the way of the Lord and make his paths straight; let us serve Him with gladness and come before his presence with singing! Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord!

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end! Amen.

II. CHRISTMAS.

1.

(CANTICLE.)

Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy; for unto you is born this day, a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord!

Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will toward men! Unto us a Child is born; unto us a Son is given, and the government is upon his shoulder. And his name is, Wonderful Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace.

God hath remembered his covenant and sent salvation to his people. When the fullness of time had come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons. Israel is saved by the Lord with an everlasting salvation.

This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. This is the day the Lord hath made; we will rejoice and be glad in it. Behold, now is the accepted time! Behold, now is the day of salvation!

Say among the heathen, that the Lord reigneth. Let the

heavens rejoice and let the earth be glad; for He shall judge the world with righteousness and the people with his truth. Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord! Blessed be the kingdom of our father David! Hosanna in the highest!

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end! Amen.

2.

Almighty God, Father of all mercies, through whose grace we are permitted once more to celebrate the birth of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, we approach into thy presence at this time with holy joy, to praise and magnify thy great name for the unspeakable gift of thy Son, who hath brought life and immortality to light. Thou hast visited and redeemed thy people and raised up an horn of salvation for us in the house of thy servant David, that we, being delivered out of the hand of our enemies, might serve thee without fear, in holiness and righteousness, all the days of our life. Thou hast gloriously fulfilled thy promises, given to our first parents after the fall, to the patriarchs, to Moses and the prophets, and to all thine ancient people who waited in hope for the salvation of Israel. When the fullness of the time was come, thou didst send forth thy Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons and the inheritance of everlasting life.

Truly great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory.

Bestow upon us, O God, a simple, child-like faith, that with the shepherds and the wise men of the East, we may visit the manger of Bethlehem, there to adore the new born King of Israel and offer unto him the tribute of our hearts. Give us grace to behold the glory shining through the veil of his humanity, the glory of the Only Begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth. May Christ indeed be born in us by the power of the Holy Ghost. And as he, in infinite love to us

poor sinners, descended from heaven to earth, and assumed our nature, and became flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone, so may we have power to ascend from earth to heaven and to be partakers of his divine nature, to the glory of thy great and adorable name.

Finally, we beseech thee to extend, through thy ministering servants, the good tidings of great joy, which we hear this day and which are for all people, to the uttermost parts of the earth. Let the day spring from on high visit every nation, to give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, and to guide their feet into the way of peace. Hasten the time, when the angel's anthem shall resound over all lands: Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

3.

O thou God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, at this holy season, when thy believing people in all parts of the world are met to celebrate the memory of the Saviour's birth, we too lift up our hearts to thee, and bring thee our humble tribute of praise and thanksgiving.

Thou didst so love the world as to send thine only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him might not perish, but have everlasting life. Thou didst suffer him to be born of the blessed Virgin, to assume our nature, to take upon him our infirmities and bear our sicknesses, to die the cursed death of the cross, that we might live.

O Lord, we joyfully acknowledge and thank thee, that by this birth and this death we attain unto everlasting life and become heirs of thy kingdom. We adore thy name. We praise thy mercy. All the angelic hosts admire thy glorious grace; and, as long as men shall dwell upon the earth, thy praise shall resound, and every tongue shall sing: Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, and good-will toward men!

Jesus, thou Son of God, we bless thee for becoming flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone, and beseech thee, that we may be made partakers of the fruits of thy redemption. Thou, who art the Son of God, the joy and glory of the human race, the

Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world, have mercy upon us! Thou, who didst descend to earth, and become like one of us in all things, sin only excepted; who didst die and rise again and return to the bosom of the Father, there to prepare mansions of rest for thy people, hear our prayer, and let our songs of praise come up acceptably before thee.

Thou, who didst come to destroy the works of the Devil, deliver us from all our sins and make us able to renounce them. As thou wert born in a manger, and didst lead a life of poverty and sorrow, and humble thyself unto death, even the death of the cross, so may we also have power to despise the vain pomps of this world and strive only after the heavenly glory and eternal felicity, which thou hast purchased for us with thy blood. As thou hast loved us, so also may we love thee, and let nothing separate us from thy love.

O God, because we believe thy dear Son was born to raise us to eternal life, teach us rightly to perceive that by this faith and this hope we are bound to purify ourselves even as he is pure, so that we may worthily celebrate thy praise and enjoy the glory, which is yet to be revealed in us; and when our great Redeemer shall come again, a second time, in the clouds of heaven, with all his holy angels, may we become like him, in the kingdom of his glory, where he lives and reigns, God over all, blessed forever! Amen.

III. NEW YEAR.

1.

(CANTICLE.)

Lord, thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations. Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting, thou art God.

Thou in the beginning didst create the heaven and the earth, when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy. Thou didst say, Let there be light in the firmament; and didst call forth sun, moon, and stars, that they might be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and for years.

Lord what is man, that thou takest knowledge of him! Or the son of man, that thou makest account of him. Behold thou hast made our days as an handbreadth: and our age is as nothing before thee. Verily every man at his best estate is altogether vanity.

Lord, make us to know our end, and the measure of our days, what it is, that we may know how frail we are, and walk in wisdom, redeeming the time, because the days are evil.

We are strangers with thee and sojourners, as all our fathers were; let thy statutes be our song in the house of our pilgrimage. O comfort us all the days of this vain life, which we spend as a shadow, until our change come.

We give glory unto the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending. We fall at the feet of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who lays his right hand upon us, and says: Fear not; I am the first and the last: I am he that liveth, and was dead; and behold, I am alive forevermore, Amen; and have the keys of hell and of death.

We shall live because thou livest, Jesus Christ the same yesterday, and to-day, and forever. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

2.

Almighty God, we adore thee as the eternal and unchangeable Jehovah, with whom one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. Of old hast thou laid the foundation of the earth; and the heavens are the work of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure; yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment; as a vesture thou shalt change them, and they shall be changed. But thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end. Unchangeable art thou also in thy promises and gracious dealings with the children of men. Though the mountains shall depart and the hills be removed, thy kindness shall not depart from thy people, neither shall the covenant of thy peace be removed. The mercy of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting upon them that fear him and his righteousness unto children's chil-

dren; to such as keep his covenant and to those that remember his commandments to do them.

What thanks shall we render unto thee our Maker, Preserver, and most bountiful Benefactor, for the innumerable blessings with which thou hast crowned our lives during the past year. With Jacob of old, we must confess: We are not worthy of the least of all the mercies and the truth which thou hast shewed unto thy servants. We have broken thy laws and commandments; we have grieved thy Holy Spirit; we have wasted many days, and weeks, and years in the service of the world; and if thou shouldst now enter into judgment with us, we could not stand. But thou, O Lord God, art merciful and gracious, long suffering and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin. We take refuge in the merits of thy Son Jesus Christ, in whom thou hast declared thyself well pleased. Lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us, and restore unto us the joy of thy salvation.

And as thou, in thine infinite goodness, hast brought us safely to the beginning of another year, we humbly beseech thee to deliver us not only from the guilt of sin, but also from its power and dominion. Create in us a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within us. Enable us to put off the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts, and to be renewed in the spirit of our mind, and to put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness. Inspire us with a living sense of the rapid flight of time, the certainty of death and the judgment to come. So teach us to number our days that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom. Help us to bear in mind that we are strangers and pilgrims on the earth, and direct our desires to the city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God. May we seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and lay up for ourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal. And as we know neither the day nor the hour wherein the Son of Man cometh, give us grace to watch and pray, and to be always ready, having our loins girded and our lights burning, like unto men that wait for their Lord.

Now, heavenly Father, take us, and the whole human family under the wings of thy gracious protection for this new year of our earthly pilgrimage. Prepare us for all its duties, trials and afflictions, that in all these things we may be more than conquerors through Him that loved us. And should this year be our last, grant that we may depart hence with triumphant faith and enter into the mansions of eternal rest and peace, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who is the same yesterday, today and forever. Amen.

3.

O Lord, of old hast thou laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure; yea all of them shall wax old like a garment; as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed; but thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end. We bring thee blessing, and worship, and praise, on this the first morning of a new year. Thou that art unchangeable, thou that art from everlasting to everlasting, and with whom a thousand years are as one day, to thee be honor and thanksgiving; thine is the strength, the power and the might; thou hast made heaven and earth; thou didst call time, and it began; thou didst establish the foundations of the earth; the day is thine, the night also is thine: thou hast prepared the light and the sun.

Lord, the everlasting and almighty God, before whose majesty and holiness, we poor sinners fear and tremble, thou art also the eternal fountain of mercy, thou art our refuge forever. Thou hast regarded our misery, and caused a new year of grace to dawn upon us, in Jesus Christ, thy Son. Unto thee, the eternal source of all grace, we this day lift up our hearts and our hands, and beseech thee, that thou wouldst cause this new earthly year also to be to us a year of salvation.

We bring ourselves as an offering unto thee this day! Sanctify us by thy Spirit, and let the power of thy grace reign in and over us. In the name of Jesus we begin this year. In him look thou in pity upon us, Father of mercies, and bless and keep us, and guide our feet in the way of peace! May we

to-day, and at all times, understand thy word and lay it to heart; that, when thou shalt call us from this world to thyself, we may close our mortal life in peace, and begin the great new year of Eternity with joy, and come into thy blissful presence; where we shall unite from everlasting to everlasting with angels and saints, in ascribing blessing, and honor, and glory, and power, unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, forever and ever. Amen.

IV. GOOD FRIDAY.

1.

(CANTICLE.)

Christ our passover was offered for us on this day. He was delivered for our offences; He bore our sins in his own body on the tree, and the Lord laid on him the iniquity of us all. His soul was sorrowful, even unto death; He was brought as a lamb to the slaughter; He humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. He was taken from prison and from judgment; He was cut off out of the land of the living.

Sing praises unto our God and the Lamb, and say: Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us out of every kindred, and tongue, and people and nation; thou hast made us unto our God kings and priests. Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor and glory, forever and ever. All creatures which are in heaven, and on the earth, ascribe blessing and honor unto Him that sitteth upon the throne and unto the Lamb! Now is come salvation and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ. If God be for us, who can be against us. He spared not his only begotten Son, but delivered him up for us all; how shall he not with him also freely give us all things.

Unto Him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in His own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father, to him be glory and dominion forever and ever.

Glory be to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost,

which is, and which was, and which is to come, God over all blessed forever more. Amen.

2.

O Lord Jesus Christ, eternal Son of God, our blessed Redeemer, give us grace, we beseech thee, worthily to celebrate on this day thine unfathomable love to a sinful and guilty world. Thou wast pleased to descend from the throne of thy heavenly glory, to assume our human nature, to be persecuted, denied, betrayed, condemned, and nailed to the cross, that we miserable sinners might be delivered from the curse of the law and escape the just sentence of everlasting damnation. Thou wast wounded for our transgressions and bruised for our iniquities. The chastisement of our peace was upon thee; and with thy stripes we are healed. All we, like sheep, have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way, and the Lord hath laid on thee the iniquity of us all. Thou, who knew no sin, has been made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in thee. Thou wast slain and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every kindred and tongue and people and nation, and by one offering hast perfected forever them that are sanctified.

Therefore, with the ten thousand times ten thousand and all the heavenly host of the redeemed, we would unite in saying: Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing. We bless thee for all the burdens thou hast borne, for all the tears thou hast wept, for all the pains thou hast suffered, for every drop of blood thou hast shed, for every word of comfort thou hast spoken on the cross, for every conflict with the powers of darkness, and for thine eternal victory over the terrors of death and the pains of hell.

Impress upon us this day, O Lord, a lively sense of the terrible nature of our sin and guilt, which called for so costly a sacrifice, and of the unutterable love of God, who spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all. May we hate and abhor sin more than ever, and live hereafter not unto ourselves, but unto him who died for us and rose again. May we

always remember that we are not our own, but bought with a price, and bound to glorify God in our body and in our spirit, which are thine. Give us grace to cleave to thy cross in prosperity and adversity, in the trials and temptations of life, in the agonies of death and in the day of judgment. Make us willing and ready to suffer and to die for thee, who didst die for us, that being partakers of thy sufferings, we may become partakers also of thy glorious resurrection and ascension.

And now unto Jesus Christ, who is the faithful witness and the First-begotten of the dead, and the Prince of the kings of the earth, unto Him that loved us and washed us from our sins in His own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and His Father; to Him be glory and dominion forever and ever. Amen.

3.

AN ACT OF HUMILIATION AND PRAISE FOR THE DEATH OF CHRIST.

The Lamb, that was slain, is worthy to receive might, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and praise, and blessing.

[*Congregation:* Amen.]

Cast yourselves down, and bend your hearts before the Lord that hath redeemed us! Unto the Lamb that was slain, give glory! Let us give thanks unto our Lord and Saviour, and say:

Lord Jesus Christ! Thou holy and spotless Son of God, that takest away the sin of the world, we heartily thank thee for thy holy passion, and thy death, for thy sorrow and anguish of heart, for thy pains and wounds, for all that thou didst endure in body and soul. Thou didst come into the world to save sinners; the light shone into darkness, but the darkness comprehended it not. Thy people Israel, the seed of Abraham, rejected thee; the Scribes and Pharisees blasphemed thee: the Sadducees mocked thee; the High-priest and the Council unjustly condemned thee, the Son of God; the people that yesterday cried unto thee, *Hosannah*, to day cried out, Crucify Him! The heathen Governor declared thine innocence, and

yet delivered thee over into the hands of the unrighteous; thou wast dragged from judgment seat to judgment seat, scourged and beaten, a derision of the people. Thy disciples forsook thee; Judas betrayed thee; thy Peter denied thee. Lo, the sins of the whole world conspired and rose up against thee, and thou didst bear them.

[*Congregation:* For this we thank thee, Lord Jesus.]

Lord, Lord, merciful Saviour and Son of Man, thou didst reward hatred with love, cruelty with compassion. Neither malice nor blindness, neither craft nor weakness could make thee swerve from fulfilling the purpose of thy grace. Thou didst willingly deliver up thyself to scorn and reproach; and as a lamb led to the slaughter is dumb, so thou openedest not thy mouth. Upon the disciple that denied thee, thou didst cast a look of sorrowful love; in the very moment, when the multitude demanded thy crucifixion, thou wast resolved to pour out thy blood for their redemption; and even on the cross, thou didst open the gates of Paradise to the malefactor, and pray for thy murderers!

[*Congregation:* For this we thank thee, Lord Jesus.]

Lord, Lord, eternal only begotten Son of God! Thou didst not look upon the sin of the world like one of us; thou hadst no pleasure in our wickedness. Thou, Eternal Son of the Father, didst not overlook or excuse the rebellion of our race against the Father, and against thee, his anointed, but didst concur in the counsel of eternal justice, that upon sin the wrath and curse of God must rest! But, O Lord, in thee with eternal and inexorable justice hath also appeared everlasting, unfathomable love. Thou didst take the curse of sin, which was due to us, upon thyself. Thou didst endure the agony of soul, which we should have endured. Thou didst tremble in Gethsemane before the strict justice of God, where we should have trembled! Surely thou didst bear our griefs and carry our sorrows!

[*Congregation:* For this we thank thee, Lord Jesus.]

Lord Jesus Christ, thou hast manifested all the might and eternal energy of Love, and illustrated the glory of thy Father upon the earth, when thou didst, as our surety, give thyself to

the cross, and didst bear the sins of all mankind, in our stead!

We thank thee that thou didst suffer thyself to be bound, that we might be made free; accused, that we might be made righteous; reviled, that we might come to honor. We thank thee, that thou didst wear the crown of thorns, that we might receive the crown of righteousness. Thou didst suffer thyself to be clothed with purple, that we might be arrayed in the white robe of salvation. Thou, the Prince of Life, didst bow thy head in death, that we, the bond-servants of death, might be raised to life in thee. The penalty was laid on thee, that we might have peace, and through thy wounds we are healed!

[*Congregation:* For this we thank thee, Lord Jesus.]

Lord, our Saviour and Redeemer! The sins of the world, that brought thee to the cross, also dwelleth in us. Behold, we acknowledge our unrighteousness, and do not cloak our sin before thee. Of the flesh we have inherited corruption; death has passed upon us, because we all have sinned. The folly of the Jewish people, who esteemed not their salvation, dwelleth also in us; we too, by nature, seek not the things which are above, but those things which are upon the earth. The hatred of the high priests and scribes dwelleth also in us; we too hate, by nature, him who speaketh to us the truth. The unbelief of the Sadducees dwelleth also in us; we too, by nature, cling to the things we can see and handle, and despise the invisible truth. The unrighteousness of the heathen governor dwelleth also in us; we too, inquire more after our pleasure and ease, than after the will of thy Father. The covetousness, which led the betrayer to his crime, has its root also in our hearts. The weakness of Peter is our weakness; Lord, how often have we denied thee! O Lord, we confess with deep shame: In all our sins, we have sinned against thee! Ours, even ours is the sin which thou didst bear. Even our sins brought thee to the cross!

[*Congregation:* Have mercy upon us, Lord Jesus.]

Eternal, compassionate High Priest, have mercy upon us! Forgive us our sins for the sake of thy death! Wash us thoroughly from all our uncleanness; let the remembrance of

thy bitter sufferings be ever present to our souls, and let us never forget, how much it cost thee to redeem us. Let a glance at thy cross make us tremble at every sin! Let the blessed assurance, that, through thee our sins are forgiven, kindle in our hearts the flame of love and thankfulness.

O Lord, yet once more, we lift our hands to thee and bless thee, Lord Jesus, for thy death. Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing. Everlasting adoration and praise be unto thee. Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit, in unity of essence, livest and reignest true God forevermore.

[*Congregation:* Amen.]

V. EASTER-DAY.

1.

(CANTICLE.)

Christ our Passover has risen. He was dead, and behold he is alive for evermore, and hath the keys of hell and death.

Christ our Passover was dead, a sacrifice for our sins. Therefore we keep the feast no more with the leaven of malice and wickedness; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.

Christ is risen from the dead, and henceforth dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over him. He died unto sin once, but now he liveth unto God; the Prince of Life could not be holden of death.

God did not leave his soul in the grave, nor suffer his Holy One to see corruption. He was dead, and behold he is alive again, and hath the keys of hell and of death.

Christ is risen, the first fruits of them that slept. Since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead; and as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive, at his coming.

Death is swallowed up for ever! O Death, where is thy sting? O Grave where is thy victory? Thanks be unto God, which giveth us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

Glory be to God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in the Church that is in Christ, for ever and ever! Amen.

2.

Blessed be God, who, by his mighty power, wrought in Christ, and raised him from the dead!

Thou didst not, O gracious Father! suffer thine Holy One to see corruption; thou didst show him the path of life; thou didst raise up thy Son Jesus; thou didst make him both Lord and Christ; and thou wilt also raise us up from the death of sin, together with him, and make us sit with him in heavenly places.

Blessing and honor, be likewise unto thee, thou Prince of Life, thou that sayest unto us: "I was dead, and behold, I am alive again for evermore, and hold the keys of hell and of death!" Thou art risen, and our faith is not vain; we are no more in our sins, and those who have fallen asleep in thee are not lost; thou art risen from the dead and become the first fruits of them that sleep. Death is swallowed up in victory. O Death, where is thy sting? O Grave, where is thy victory?

Speak, O risen Lord, by thy Spirit, words of eternal life to our souls, and call unto them: Because I live, ye shall live also, that henceforth, we may not live unto ourselves, but unto thee who didst die and rise again for us. Yea, let the hearts of all that to this hour are sunk in the death of sin, be penetrated by the voice of thine Almighty power, the voice that cries: Awake, thou that sleepest, arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light, so that they may now leave their dark grave and as children of light, walk henceforth in newness of life.

O Thou, who art the Resurrection and the Life, make the Holy Supper also of which we shall this day partake, a source of blessing to them who are strong in faith, and to them who are weak, that by means of this spiritual repast all may be stirred up to a daily growth in the divine life.

Endue all that are in authority with wisdom and the fear of thy holy name, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty.

Give to the churches, which thou hast purchased with thine own blood, shepherds who shall take heed unto themselves, and to the whole flock, and let all teachers hold fast the form of sound words of faith and love which are in Christ Jesus.

Grant unto all parents grace, that they may bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and incline all children to honor their parents, that it may be well with them.

Refresh with thy peace, O Prince of Life, all who are in distress and temptation; have compassion upon all who are wrestling with disease and death; make them living witnesses to the power of thy resurrection, that each may be enabled to say from blessed experience: I know that my Redeemer liveth.

O Lord, our Saviour! when we pass through the valley of the shadow of death, may thy resurrection be to our faith a sure pledge of participation in the unfading inheritance of that eternal life which thou hast prepared for all them that love thy appearing.

O thou God of peace, who hast brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ, that great shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make us perfect in every good work, to do thy will, working in us that which is well pleasing in thy sight, through Jesus Christ thy beloved Son our Lord; in whose name we say:

Our Father, &c.

VI. ASCENSION DAY.

1

(CANTICLE.)

The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou at my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool. The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength out of Zion, and say: Rule thou in the midst of thine enemies! The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent: Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchisedec.

O clap your hands, all ye people. Shout unto God with the voice of triumph! God is gone up with a shout, the Lord with

the sound of a trumpet; Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in! Who is this King of glory? The Lord, strong and mighty; he is the King of glory.

Sing praises to God, and unto our King! Sing praises! For he is the King of all the earth; God reigneth over the heathen; he sitteth upon the throne of his holiness. Let all the world bow down before him, and all the angels of God worship him!

Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever; the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre. Thou lovest righteousness and hatest wickedness; therefore, God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows. Thou hast ascended on high; thou hast led captivity captive; thou hast received gifts for men. Thou hast entered into thy Father's house, to prepare a mansion for us.

Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth. Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died; yea, rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us!

Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost through Jesus Christ our Lord. His is the kingdom and the power and the glory! Amen.

2.

Lift up your hearts unto the heavens, where our Saviour is, and devoutly say:

O Lord, Almighty Father, we call to remembrance this day, that the Lord Jesus, thine only begotten, eternal Son, was taken up in his holy humanity from this world into heaven.

Thou hast exalted him; thou hast given him a name which is above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, and every tongue confess, that he is Lord, O heavenly Father, to thy glory.

Lord Jesus Christ, thou Son of the Father, thou alone sittest at the right hand of the Father. To the elect angels the Father hath indeed given very great and special honor. Thousands of thousands serve Him, and tens of thousands stand

before Him. But to no angel hath God at any time said: Sit thou at my right hand.

Lord Jesus, thou Prince of peace, for thee alone, the everlasting doors have been lifted up. Thy kingdom alone is an everlasting kingdom. Thou alone art the true king of glory. And since thou hast ascended to thy God and to our God, to thy Father and to our Father, and now diest no more, but livest eternally to make intercession for us, surely thou art able to save to the uttermost all who come unto God by thee. Yea more: it is thy will, that where thou art, in due time, we may be also; that as we have borne the image of the earthly Adam, we may then also bear the image of the heavenly.

Meanwhile, O Lord, comfort thy sorrowing people here below, and grant that in all our tribulation we may continually ascend to thee, in acts of pious and holy devotion. And as thou hast opened heaven to us by thy bitter passion and death, so keep us, that we may not close this same heaven again, by an impenitent and unthankful life.

Grant Lord, that at thy most certain and glorious second coming at the last day, we may hear the trumpet of thy holy archangel, and have our part in the resurrection of the just. And that we may then be caught up to meet thee, and enter into the heavenly land, and come to Mount Zion, to the city of the living God, to the heavenly Jerusalem, to the Church of the first born, to the spirits of the just made perfect, to thee, the only Mediator of the new covenant, and to God, thy Father and our Father.

Unto thee, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, be thanksgiving, blessing, praise, and honor, now and forevermore. Amen.

3.

Lord Jesus Christ, almighty king of glory, who, by thy triumphant ascension into heaven, hast placed thyself at the right hand of the majesty and power of God, and hast made all thine enemies, sin, death, the devil, hell and the world, thy footstool, how shall we suitably and sufficiently praise and magnify thy great name for this conquest, this victory, this glory?

As a strong God, thou didst go up with a shout, and as the Lord with the sound of a trumpet. Sing praises to God, sing praises; sing praises to our King, sing praises. Thou hast ascended up on high, and didst lead captivity captive. Thou hast received gifts for men. Thou art exalted above all angels and principalities, and above all power and might, and above every thing that is named in this world and that which is to come. God has made thee to be the head over thy Church, which is thy body, the fulness of Him, which filleth all in all. Thou art our everlasting, only head, who impartest to all the members of thy body, life and light, comfort, strength, power, victory, peace and joy. Thou art our eternal King, who anointest us with thy Holy Spirit, and hast given to us apostles and prophets and evangelists, pastors and teachers, that thy spiritual body may be built up. Thou hast an everlasting priesthood, and canst save to the uttermost, and wilt hear the prayers of all who come to thee, calling upon thy name. By thy glorious ascension into heaven thou hast pointed to us the way, opened again the gates of paradise, and prepared for us mansions of glory; and as thou our head art now, so are we assured that thou wilt bring us thy members thither also. Thou wilt receive us to thyself, that where thou art, there we may be, and behold thy glory. In the assurance that we shall be with thee, is our saving hope established. To this end thou appearest also as our advocate in the presence of thy heavenly Father, and dost testify that with thine own blood thou hast entered into the holiest, and hast purchased for us eternal redemption and hast brought in an everlasting righteousness.

Draw us to thee, we beseech thee, that we may have our conversation in heaven, in all holy dispositions and desires; and that where our treasure is, there our hearts may be also. Thus may we ever seek the things which are above; not the things which are below; forgetting the things which are behind and reaching to the things which are before, and ever pressing toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. Draw us and we will run after thee. Give us the wings of the morning and fill our hearts with heavenly desires that we may fly up to thee. Grant that we may contin-

ually enjoy thy presence, according to thy promise, and finally ascend to thy Father and to our Father, to thy God and to our God, to whom with thee, and the Holy Ghost be glory forever. Amen.

VII. WHITSUNDAY.

1.

(CANTICLE.)

Let us praise the Lord, and exalt his goodness. Let us come before him with songs of praise, and hymns of thanksgiving! God hath raised up his holy child Jesus, who being by his right hand exalted, shed forth the promise of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles, so that they spake with new tongues, and wrought signs and wonders in his name.

He gave power to the testimony of his servants. The kingdoms of the earth, the people and nations, have heard his voice, and have rendered obedience unto our Lord and to his Christ.

We render thanks unto thee, O Lord, who art the Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, that thou hast revealed thy power, and entered upon thy kingdom.

We praise thee, that, according to thy promise, thou hast sent unto us the Comforter, even the Spirit of truth, that he may abide with us forever. Because we are thy children, thou hast sent the Spirit of thy Son into our hearts, whereby we cry: Abba Father. It is the Spirit, which witnesseth with our spirits, that we are the children of God.

The Spirit also helpeth our infirmities, and with groanings which cannot be uttered, maketh intercession for us, who wait for the redemption of our body, and for the manifestation of the glorious liberty of the sons of God.

The Spirit is the earnest and pledge of our inheritance; whereby also we are sealed unto the day of redemption. O Lord, we praise thee, and render thee thanks, that thou hast given us the Spirit.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

2.

O thou Author of peace and Lover of concord, in knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life; and whose service is perfect freedom; cleanse the thoughts of our hearts, by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit; and give us grace, whereby we may serve thee acceptably, with reverence and with godly fear.

We thank thee for all that thy beloved Son Jesus did, and taught, and suffered. We especially bless thee, at this time, for those gracious words of comfort which he spake in the immediate prospect of the hour and power of darkness. Do thou work in our souls a principle of living faith in Him, that amidst all the sorrows of this mortal life, we may be enabled to place our confidence in thee, and elevate our thoughts and affections to those many mansions in his Father's house, which our exalted Saviour has gone to prepare for his believing people.

O ascended Lord and Saviour Jesus! we thank thee, that having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, thou didst so wonderfully, as on this day, fill thy disciples with the blessed gift, baptizing them with the Holy Ghost and enabling them to go forth, as thy ambassadors to all nations, speaking with new tongues, and proclaiming far and wide, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself.

O Holy Spirit! Thou who art true and eternal God, with the Father and the Son; who art also given to us, to make us, by a true faith, partakers of Christ and all his benefits; fulfil in us, we beseech thee, the mission of love, and abide with us forever.

Spirit of light and truth, lead us into all truth, enlighten our minds and expel from them all darkness. Spirit of prayer and supplication, teach us to pray aright, and thou thyself make intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered. Spirit of power, assist us by thy might, be with us in our temptations, confirm us continually by thy grace, and evermore draw us towards that which is good.

Spirit of holiness, sanctify our understanding and our heart, purify our affections and enable us to be faithful each one in his calling. Spirit of comfort, our Comforter, abide with us forever; comfort us in all our tribulation, and fill us at all times

with joy unspeakable and full of glory. Spirit of peace, infuse into us the temper of peace, meekness and mutual love.

O Holy Spirit! thou Spirit of God, who didst descend upon the Apostles in cloven tongues like as of fire, and bestow upon them power to proclaim the wonderful works of God; kindle in our hearts the celestial fire of holy thoughts, and fervent prayers; fill us with true zeal to glorify thee and edify our neighbor, by words and deeds which are well pleasing in thy sight!

O God, cast us not away from thy presence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from us! Suffer us not to quench, grieve or resist Him. Rather may he dwell in us, as his temple; may he be our guide through this mortal life; so that we may rejoice always in his heavenly consolations, and having finished our course may attain at last to the resurrection of the body, by the Spirit of Christ which dwelleth in us, and be found worthy to enter into thy glory; there to praise Thee, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, throughout all ages, world without end. Amen.

Art. V.—DEDICATION OF FRANKLIN AND MARSHALL COLLEGE.

INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE BY THE REV. H. V. GERHART, PRESIDENT.

The consolidation of Franklin College and Marshall College constitutes a new era in the history of these two Institutions. No other event occurring since they were established, is equally deserving of such distinction; for it introduced a new order of things, giving a new phase and new power to all their educational operations. It was the point of confluence for two homogeneous streams, at which they begin to mingle their waters and pour them down through the valley of time in one deeper, broader, more majestic channel.

Nearly three years have now elapsed since the formal opening of the Institution at Lancaster, was publicly celebrated. During this period its course has been steadily progressive. Unpropitious circumstances, indeed, have not been wanting. The removal of Marshall College, and its union with Franklin College, may be aptly compared to the transplanting of a young tree. It is put into a new soil. It occupies a new position. Some of the roots have been bruised and broken. The nutritive earth has not settled nicely around all the fibres. The north-west wind seems to blow upon it from a different point of the compass. Some of the destructive insects that buzz around it, or fasten on its leaves, or sting its trunk, may be of larger size or infuse a more poisonous venom. A little time is necessary, therefore, to recover from the first effects of a sudden transition, and appropriate, by a vigorous process of assimilation, the superior elements of life from the new, rich soil in which it stands.

Like this has been the experience of the new Institution. The old home was given up; the new home was indeed the ancient abode of education, but still new to her. Old currents of influence and support, were interrupted; new and stronger ones had to be started. Old ties were broken, and the charm of old associations had vanished; new ties were therefore to be formed, and she had to wait on old Time to wave his wand and throw the charm of other associations around her new halls and new grounds. There were warm friends, indeed, in her adopted home, but they were such rather from principle and resolution: she had to be seen, and heard, and handled, that their hearts might become warmer still from affection and interest. Confidence, affection and earnest zeal for her progress on the part of her new guardians, friends and patrons, could not spring up at will or in a moment. Nothing was more natural, therefore, than that the Institution should feel sensibly the effects of the great change. Yet the tree grew. Some of the limbs may have appeared less thrifty, and some of the leaves may have gotten yellow; but it did not die; it lived on—it budded, blossomed and bore fruit in its season, and though the crop may not have been as large as on some

former years, still the fruit was ripe and good. Long may the tree stand and thrive, spreading its branches wider, lifting its top higher, and with each returning summer enriching the State and the land with a golden harvest. May coming generations sit in its shadow and rejoice in its strength; and may the nations of the earth rise up and call it blessed.

To-day we have assembled to inaugurate the first epoch in the history of Franklin and Marshall College. The liberal contributions of Lancaster city and county have purchased these broad, beautiful acres that spread at our feet on either side, and erected this chaste and substantial structure to serve the wants of the Institution. It is becoming to distinguish the day with appropriate ceremonies—to suspend the daily routine of study, recitation and lecture—to turn aside from the ordinary affairs of business—to come together within these walls, to invoke the benediction of the triune God, to reflect seriously upon the great interests of Literature and Science, and to contemplate the intimate relation of Education to the weal or wo of society. It is becoming to set this new edifice apart, solemnly and formally, to the glorious and sacred cause for which it has been erected. For the work to which it is devoted forms the bone and sinew of the State, and gives color to the life-blood of the Church.

Here scores and hundreds of youth will congregate from year to year. They will come from the north and the south, from the east and the west, from the city and the country, from the valleys and the mountains, each one with habits and opinions of his own, modified by the place of his birth and the character of his early companions. They will come from the families of the intelligent and ignorant, of the rich and the poor; some from the proud and ambitious, others from the modest and humble, each one with plans and views of life varying with the atmosphere of the parental fireside. They will come, some with strong and others with feeble minds, some with industrious, simple and moral habits, others with indolent, luxurious and immoral habits; some with noble hearts, calm, bright hopes and a firm will, and others there may be who will lack all the better and purer susceptibilities of our nature. To this spot

they will come as to a common centre, acting and reacting on each other, mind striking against mind, will winning or resisting will, and heart repelling or attracting heart, each one giving an impulse to, and exerting some peculiar influences upon, the life of the community. Some old habits will be laid aside, some old friendships dissolved, some old ties broken; here new habits will be contracted, here new, warm and lasting friendships will spring up, here soul will be bound to soul by ties that neither age nor death can break.

Above, before and in this apparent confusion of moral forces, must be the internal vivifying spirit and the all-embracing atmosphere of the College itself—a strong, general spirit that, working gently, silently, but potently, assimilates to its own nature the various minds and repugnant tendencies that are here brought into contact—a spirit that gives due harmonious direction to the collection of contradictory aspirations and aimless pursuits, and breathes unity and order into the numerous conflicting capacities, faculties and talents of the whole mass of mind—an atmosphere that each student inhales, imparting the life-sustaining oxygen to the blood flowing through the arteries of his immaterial being—an atmosphere that refracts equally all the rays of intellectual light that emanate from the innumerable stars and moons and suns shining upon us, whether dimly or brilliantly, in the sublime, resplendent firmament of Literature and Science. The spirit and atmosphere of the Institution will mould every susceptible mind into some degree of likeness to itself. Each mind will receive a mark, if ardent and impressible, a broad mark, which no friction from the action of will, nor the wear and tear of ruthless time, can ever utterly efface or destroy. From year to year, young men will go forth from these halls, with habits of thought and feeling, with principles of action, whose influence will be traceable through the whole course of their future life, whether they move the plane, or follow the plough, or minister at the bedside, or plead at the bar, or officiate at the altar.

With what intense interest will not, therefore, every reflecting, conscientious father, and every tender, affectionate mother, turn their eyes to this spot, and follow in imagination the

daily movements and progress of a beloved son. The chords struck here do not only resound in our ears, but they extend their vibrations even to thousands of warm responsive hearts scattered over our land. The name, and honor, and joy of the distant family, is wrapped up with the work of the College—with the influences concentrated in this edifice. Every family is directly affected by the intellectual process going forward here. Nor is it unknown nor unfelt. Hither many anxious thoughts wander, in the morning as soon as the eye opens upon the light of day, or at evening, when a book, a vacant chair, or a daguerreotype, reminds the fond parental heart of an absent son, or during the quiet solemn hours of midnight when a painful dream has driven sleep far, far away. O how many earnest prayers mingled with tears, go up, and will go up, to the Throne of God, for special protection, guidance and blessing, in behalf of those who shall be collected in this building.

With what deep concern should not also the community in general, look upon this centre of moral influences. Men will go forth from these classic shades to enter and labor in all the vocations of life. The State will recceive some of her Legislators, Judges and various other office-holders from these halls. Public sentiment, than which no human agency is more powerful in its bearing upon the welfare of society, will be measurably determined by the nature and spirit of the instructions imparted in this College. The Church, too, will be vitally affected. Many of her Ministers, office-bearers and laymen, are to be trained here. She will feel the power of her literary institutions in the general spirit pervading her ministry, in the exposition of the sacred Scriptures, in the tone of thought and feeling regulating the action of the various members of her mystical body. Neither Church nor State can be indifferent to the kind of power put forth by such an Institution—can be indifferent to the use to which this costly structure shall be devoted for years and scores of years to come.

How many vital interests cluster around this new edifice! How solemn the work to be performed here from one decade of years to another! How far-reaching and inflexible its influence!

In the name of the Board of Trustees and the Faculty, in the name of every family whose happiness is linked with the transactions of to-day, in the name of the community and the State, and in the name of the Church of Jesus Christ, we do therefore dedicate this building, solemnly and forever, to sound Learning, to profound, liberal, comprehensive and true Science, to the spirit of refinement and of general social culture, to the fair genius of private, and public virtue, to the sacred cause of honor, truth and religion, and to the highest interests of the community and the State, the nation, the Church and the world. Let it stand, the object of sincere affection and unchangeable regard, to elevate, dignify and purify man in all the relations of life, and bring glory to God, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, throughout countless generations yet unborn.

ADDRESS OF EMLEN FRANKLIN, ESQ.

The condition of the general intelligence around us has so obvious and powerful an effect upon our own individual comfort and happiness, that any great movement in its behalf produces in us a spontaneous interest and regard. We all feel, that if every man and every woman in the community could be induced to seize, with an abiding zeal, upon all the means of knowledge within their reach, if they would diligently appropriate all the materials for mental improvement which surrounding circumstances have placed in their daily pathway, the pleasure of social intercourse would be vastly enhanced, many unfortunate distinctions would be obliterated, and the general aspect of society would be greatly improved. If, in addition to this, each individual would, with honest heart and pure intentions, conscientiously endeavor to make such mental acquisitions conducive to the welfare of his friends, his family, and his race, according to the measure of his abilities and the influence of his position, how many miseries would be abolished, how much the area of general happiness would be enlarged, and the dignity of existence exalted!

Many a philanthropic heart has throbbed with the desire—many a fond schemer has labored with the hope of assisting in

the accomplishment of such a result. But the attainment of a state of universal mental and moral excellence, realizing this ideal standard, is practically impossible. We are glad to believe that the *wish to know* is innate to every mind. But the desire of eminent mental culture is not *generally* so strong a feeling of our nature as to successfully resist and overcome the force of adverse circumstances. It lives a spark in every human breast, which constant food and care will cherish to a bright and steady flame, but whose frail existence is endangered by the presence of many enemies, banded together for its destruction. Indolence chills it with its cold and noisome breath; unpropitious fate smothers it beneath a weight of cares; and despair finally extinguishes the sacred fire. The difficulties in the way of the attainment of knowledge are obvious, palpable; while its rewards are slow, distant and indistinct; consequently, the lower men are in the scale of intelligence, the less is the value they assign to it; and it is precisely those to whom it is the greatest need, whom it is most difficult to convince of their necessitous condition. Thus a great portion of mankind remain careless, or become desponding; and are content to bury their *one* talent in the earth, because it is but one, instead of being stimulated by the smallness of their possession to that exertion which is necessary to increase their store.

Moreover, moral improvement does not *always* keep pace with the development of mind, nor is the possession of eminent mental attainments, *always* accompanied by the determination to dedicate them to the welfare and benefit of mankind. Each one of us, within the limits of his own observation, may recall instances in which he has seen noble talents and acquirements prostituted to the basest and most ignoble ends, and beyond and above our own limited experiences, history has recorded many melancholy lessons to the same effect. It is an unnecessary, as it would be an unpleasant task, to linger long over examples of historical characters, blessed with every attribute of genius and learning, who not only refused to employ their splendid faculties for the advancement of the general welfare, but who seemed actuated by an insane desire to de-

tract from the happiness and deepen the degradation of human nature. Yet, perhaps, it is fit to pause for a moment over the character of one, whose existence discloses to our view, a more vivid picture of mental excellence, combined with moral depravity, than the imagination could have conceived. To know that men have lived, who, from evil passions, culpable ambition, or other unworthy motives, have carried fire and sword, misery and desolation, over smiling countries and happy nations, is melancholy indeed. But the heart trembles with a deeper and more instinctive horror, in approaching one, who, in the calm retirement of a private station, amid the placid influences of a literary life, could meditate an attack on public virtue and happiness, plan a vast conspiracy against the well being of mankind, and devote the energies of a long life, and a Herculean mind, to the monstrous enterprise. Yet such was Voltaire. Endowed with the most consummate natural abilities, with remarkable powers of wit and sarcasm, and with these natural advantages adorned by an assiduous mental culture, and extensive stores of learning, Voltaire was fitted to exert a vast and durable influence over the minds of men. He *might* have secured a proud position in the temple of fame. He *might* have won a name illustrious as the benefactor of his race. But instead of a *blessing* he preferred to be a *curse*. Evil seemed to be his good, and good his evil. He scorned and despised human nature; he hated his fellow men with a malignant hatred; and the sole purpose of his life appeared to be, to wage an unceasing war against the best interests of mankind. He labored to prove that private or public virtue had no existence. He undertook to destroy Christianity; and he endeavored to root out from the regard and respect of mankind all that is endearing and lovely in human nature, everything that could make life desirable, or the thought of death endurable. Himself the fittest exemplar of the doctrines he inculcated, he struggled to pull down the world to the level of his own depravity, and he wielded his powers with such terrible energy as to partially produce that effect. To him, and the band of conspirators of which he was the creator and acknowledged chief, are in a great measure to be attributed

the iniquities which preceded, and the crimes and miseries which attended the progress of the French Revolution; and the seeds of evil then sown broadcast over the world, will, perhaps, continue to germinate and fructify for ages yet to come. With unflagging zeal Voltaire continued to prosecute his fell purpose during a career of more than ordinary duration, to its final close. But in the dread hour of his own dissolution, that distorted reason which was his boast and pride, deserted him in the crisis of his need, flying before the stronger powers of an outraged conscience; and the story of the terrors of that bed of death, long concealed and suppressed, but at length given to the world, furnishes the most complete and eloquent vindication of the eternal truths which he vainly labored to destroy.

In addition to other individual examples of similar character, history furnishes us a singular instance of a *system* of mental culture, whose effects upon human happiness were, if not unfavorable, at least positively barren. I refer to what is popularly known as the scholastic philosophy of the middle ages. It would be going entirely beyond the limits of the present occasion to enter upon an examination of the fundamental principles of this system, and an exposure of its radical defects. Its results to the cause of true wisdom, its influence upon civilization and general progress, are the only objects which demand our present attention. For many centuries it held undisputed sway over the literary world, and was the single channel through which flowed the genius, wit, and learning of the age. It was an era characterized by great mental activity, and illustrated by some eminent names in the records of literature. But such were the baneful and confining influences of the system, that, in all that long period, hardly one valuable truth, scarcely one permanent law of animate or inanimate nature, owed its discovery and application to the purposes of mankind, to the founders or the followers of this scholastic philosophy. It was a tree prodigal of foliage, but barren of fruit. Immured within the secluded walls of the cloister, its disciples there enjoyed a monopoly of the knowledge then possessed by the world, and long successfully endeavored to

prevent its rays from spreading beyond the same narrow limits. And being thus separated in a measure from communion with their fellow creatures, they felt no sympathy with their wants and necessities, and esteemed it beneath the dignity of learning to cause it to minister to the physical or political good of man. Busied from first to last, with subjects which had not the remotest connection with the discovery of useful truth, or the advancement of the general welfare, they exhausted great erudition and the most admirable dialectical skill in their investigations, and have left, as the monument of their labors, a vast pile of discussion and angry controversy, which has subserved no other useful purpose, but to exhibit at the same time, the greatness and the littleness of the human intellect. If, instead of spending lives of toil, and filling ponderous tomes with disquisitions on topics without substance or profit, these representatives of the learning of the age, had given but a portion of that labor to the investigation of the social and political evils which then oppressed the nations, and the extension of the dominion of man over the forces of nature, the greatest reproach that has ever fallen upon the cause of learning would have been avoided, and the world would have been much further advanced in its onward march of civilization and happiness.

In their hands knowledge appeared as a beauteous princess, suffering under the spell of a cruel necromancy. Snatched away from the enjoyment of the homage and devotion of her loyal subjects, and locked in an enchanted castle, whose gates, barred by a magic charm, remained impassible to human steps, and only opened at the waiving of the magician's wand; with her fair form changed to some monstrous shape, and her very nature altered by the power of the charm, helpless and powerless, her only resource was to bewail her captivity, and pray for the coming of the gallant knight whose prowess was fated to deliver her from her hated thrall. Long and dreary were the years of her oppression. But at length the destined champion appeared, armed with a more potent spell. With a blast of his charmed trumpet he summoned the oppressor to the combat, and at the sound the castle tottered to its founda-

tions, and the spell bound gates flew open. With sword and battle axe he felled the dread magician to the earth, and led forth the ransomed captive, amid the acclamations of her joyous people, and arrayed in all her pristine loveliness, to her proper throne.

To Francis Bacon, more than any other name, is the world indebted for its complete escape from the trammels of this dreary philosophy. His genius first detected and demonstrated its utter worthlessness for the discovery of new truth. He showed it to be merely a repository of old knowledge, not a nursery of new; and he condemned it as turning to a stagnant water, what should always remain a living spring. He proclaimed that the only test of the purity of the motive for acquiring knowledge, and of the value of knowledge when acquired, was the production of works for the benefit and use of man; and that as the old philosophy had proved itself inapplicable to such purposes, it was necessary to build up a new system of knowledge, laid on other foundations and raised with different materials. In our day it requires no argument to enforce such plain principles. The mere statement of the proposition carries conviction with it. But in that era of comparative darkness and prejudice, it required a long and arduous struggle with its adherents, to accomplish the destruction of the old fabric, and the institution of a new philosophy, adapted to inquiries into the hidden truths and universal laws of nature. But Bacon's final victory was complete; and under the stimulus of his doctrines and new methods of investigation, human inquiry was at length directed into an entirely new channel. Old subjects of dispute and discussion were dropped as unworthy of attention; and "with a strong persuasion that the whole world was full of secrets, of high moment to the happiness of man," the disciples of the new philosophy applied themselves zealously to the task of their discovery. From that moment only can science be said to have had a true existence; and the long array of blessings which has followed in her train, is the legitimate result of the revolution in philosophy accomplished by Lord Bacon. Others who preceded him may have assisted in the good work by crippling its de-

fences and weakening its foundations ; but to him we owe the complete demolition of the edifice, where knowledge drooped, a pining captive in a gloomy prison, and the construction of a new and majestic temple, where she now sits, a crowned queen upon a glorious throne.

The contemplation of this beneficial revolution in the history of learning, naturally inclines us to hasten to the brighter aspects of the picture, upon whose darker colors we have thus bestowed a glance. These require no close examination for their detection, no studied explanation for their appreciation. The beauties of the scene lie patent to the eye, and steal spontaneously to the heart of the most careless observer. In truth we have been but watching the shadows, which ever and anon, flit across the surface of the landscape, while beneath our eyes extends a succession of gorgeous woodlands, flowing streams and waving fields of grain, clad in all the splendors of a fertile beauty, and smiling in the radiance of a summer sun.

No man at this day ventures to discourage efforts for the wider diffusion of the higher branches of knowledge, because universal education is impracticable. All human attempts and aspirations are mere approximations to ideal standards of excellence. In no department of exertion is absolute perfection attainable. In every direction, man is constantly approaching but never reaches the perfect standard; but to cease all efforts thereto, for this reason, would be to put a stop to human progress in every quarter. It is our destiny to struggle upward, upward, on an endless and limitless ascent, but from the high places of the mountains, as well as in the lowly valleys at their base, resounds the same incessant cry, which is the natural utterance of aspiring humanity—"Excelsior."

To the pioneers and early advocates of the cause of general education, the prospect might well appear discouraging, and the difficulties insuperable. Even partial success must have appeared chimerical to all but the most enthusiastic minds. But to us who witness what has already been effected, who have seen the giant strides which society has made in this respect since the first faint impulses were communicated, no project seems too extensive or visionary for accomplishment, no

limits too distant or comprehensive to be reached. Every year adds to the number of the means and instruments for the more general development of mind. Every succeeding generation increases the proportion of those, for whom fortune and favorable circumstances have placed those means within easy reach; and each generation multiplies the number of those resolute souls, whose fortitude no difficulties can conquer, whose ardor no despondency can abate, but who successfully struggle upward against the pressure of an untoward fate, to the highest eminences of the realm of mind; not only realizing their own highest aspirations, but illuminating by the brightness of their example, the darkened footsteps of others following in the same paths. From the operation of these happy influences, and their tripple reaction upon each other, the obstacles in the way of the acquirement of knowledge have been rendered so much less formidable, and the determination to overcome them so much more prevalent, that the ranks of intelligent and educated men now embrace a very large proportion of the members of every civilized community. When we reflect that but two centuries ago, the masses of mankind were shut out from even the first rudiments of knowledge, and when we consider that now, in our own favored land at least, a fair degree of education and intelligence is the general rule, and entire ignorance the rare exception, what golden visions may we not indulge in for the immediate future; how can we resist or refuse an interest in that spirit of progress, which, pressing forward far beyond these limits, now directs its efforts to the establishment of institutions, which will convey opportunities for the highest mental culture within the reach of all. In no field of philanthropic enterprise, does labor offer so rich or so certain prospects of reward as in this. In many of the forms in which the progressive spirit of the present age manifests itself, the pleasure of the work is alloyed by the uncertainty of success or the ambiguity of its results, whether for good or evil. But in cherishing *this* interest; in fostering and encouraging progress in *this* direction, we may enjoy the assurance, which is a source of the highest gratification to a benevolent mind, that any measure of influence exerted or labor

expended in this behalf, however small or great, will inevitably yield a proportionate return of benefits and advantages to humanity.

That the interests of learning are identical with the best interests of mankind, is no longer a subject of dispute. We cannot look around us in our daily walk—we cannot open the records of time, without being impressed with the evidence of these truths; that "the world is a vast theatre constituted for exertion; in which enjoyment is the natural consequence of industry, morality and intelligence; and suffering, that of ignorance and sloth;" and that in its history the gradual enlargement and *diffusion* of the mass of knowledge, has been steadily followed by an increase and expansion of human happiness. The ages of general ignorance have been the ages of general depravity, misery and oppression; while the age of general intelligence and education is also the age of public virtue, security and felicity. Indeed, until within a comparatively recent period, the history of modern nations presents us nothing but a dismal picture of human folly, wretchedness and crime; an almost unbroken record of war, rapine, disorder and desolation, from the contemplation of which we turn with a disgust hardly mitigated by the splendid careers of the heroes, statesmen and patriots, with which its pages are emblazoned. But the era of the revival of learning was like the dawning of a new day upon the world. The dark cloud which overhung the whole aspect of human affairs, fled before the brightness of that morning sun. With every ray that pierced the misty veil, some common evil was dissipated, some common blessing was unfolded; and from the time that, mounting towards the zenith, the full splendor of its beams shone forth, history becomes the chronicle of a different order of events. Inspired with new emotions of pleasure and delight, we trace upon its glowing pages the development of the idea of the common brotherhood of humanity, and a consequent perception of the blessings of peace and commercial intercourse; the birth and growth of liberty; the first emergence, the struggles and the establishment of the doctrine of natural rights; and the subjection of the laws of matter to the dominion and control of

man ; yoking them one by one to his triumphal car, as the servants of his pleasure and the ministers to his prosperity ; until he finally appears as a new being, clothed with higher attributes of power, and increased capacities for happiness.

All the sons of men within the limits of the civilized world are, in some measure, participants in these beneficent results. And this universality of the blessing is attributable, in a great degree, to the two-fold influence which mental culture exerts upon individual character. It not only adds a charm to the existence of its recipient, by enlarging his command over physical comforts, and opening new sources of enjoyment in intellectual pleasures; but it reflects these advantages upon the world at large, by impressing him with the *will*, as well as the power, to advance the welfare of his fellow-men. Mental excellence is generally illustrated and ennobled by a philanthropic spirit. That spirit stimulates the labors of the votary of science in his laboratory, the artist in his studio, the man of letters in his closet. And although the annals of learning supply us with many instances to the contrary, some of which have engaged our momentary attention ; yet on the other hand, the long and brilliant array of names, illustrious in all the departments of science, art and literature, who have sought the highest reward of a life of benevolent labor, in the legacy of benefits which they have bequeathed to posterity, evinces the almost universal application of the principle, that benevolence and the desire of an honorable fame are the natural consequences of the development of mind. In the great and perpetual conflict between good and evil, of which the world is the battle ground, the forces of knowledge are irrevocably enlisted in behalf of the general welfare. Some of her disciples have viewed the contest with indifference; others have deserted the good cause and endeavored to betray it into the hands of its enemies ; but the great body of her followers compose a vast army, which has constantly borne forward its standard, and marched from victory to victory over the enemies of the rights, the liberties and the happiness of mankind.

I have thus endeavored to represent the *popularization*, if I may so term it, of intelligence, as the great lever of material

progress and social improvement. To give prominence to the idea that it is not the mere possession of a greater amount of scientific truth, but it is the application of that truth to practical purposes and the number of minds to which it has penetrated; it is, in fine, the dissolution of the old exclusive priesthood of learning, and the diffusion of its essence through the whole current of common life and every day affairs, which marks the superiority of the present age, and gives life in the nineteenth century a dignity and glory which it never before attained. It is not the simple passage of the Nile across the plains of Egypt, as it carries its turbid stream along its proper channel to the unfathomable sea, which constitutes it the praise and blessing of the land. But, when swollen with its annual flood, it rolls along its vast volume of waters, laden with the seeds of life and sources of fertility, and bursting from its narrow banks, pours its rich tide over the parched and burning soil; then it is that its genial influences are manifested in the conversion of those desert sands into a glad succession of smiling meadows and cultivated fields. So the flood of knowledge, breaking forth from its ancient channel, and spreading over the whole surface of the mental world, has changed the blank desert of human existence into a fair garden, blooming in its beauty and plentiful in its fruitfulness.

I am confident that this attempt, however humble and imperfect in its character, will not be deemed inappropriate to the present occasion, upon which we have assembled to celebrate the final installation in our midst of a new institution of learning. My theme points, with unerring certainty, to an increase of the opportunities of *thorough* collegiate instruction, as the end to which a truly philanthropic spirit of progress should direct its efforts. As an instrument, therefore, which promises to exert a powerful influence for the further diffusion of intelligence through the mind of the rising generation, and for the transmission of its blessings with increased lustre to posterity, I congratulate the community on the final establishment of Franklin and Marshall College. It is not as an addition of one more to the numerous colleges of the State that the opening of these spacious halls deserves our countenance

and regard. The multiplication of colleges is a very different thing from that increase of the opportunities of thorough collegiate instruction which the wants and requirements of the times demand. The building up of so many petty colleges throughout the limits of Pennsylvania has been a positive drawback to the development of its intellectual resources in their highest character. Without adequate means for the employment of a competent body of accomplished teachers, or for the acquisition of the apparatus necessary for a thorough instruction, they drag out at best a languishing existence, filling rather, under the dignified name of colleges, the office of academies, for the tuition of the youth of the immediate communities in which they are located. By their very number they have prevented any one of them from acquiring that wide spread respect and confidence which are essential to the support of a great institution of learning, thus dissipating resources, which, if concentrated, would have sufficed for the permanent establishment of one institution, which could make a decided impression upon the age, and give a distinctive character to the mental cultre of Pennsylvania. It is because Franklin and Marshall College affords a fair prospect of accomplishing this centralization, of concentrating in some degree upon itself these resources, now scattered, and isolated, and of attracting the support and affection of the great body of the citizens of the Commonwealth, that this occasion claims our special interest and favor. Apart from the present energetic and efficient administration of its affairs, the fundamental idea upon which the whole structure rests united with the advantages of its location, give promise of the realization of this high destiny. If ever the generic mind of Pennsylvania, is to acquire a healthy, vigorous and complete development, *it must be* by a mode of culture peculiar to itself, and corresponding with the origin and special characteristics of our population. In the colleges of New England, we see an order of education which harmonizes with, and reflects in every respect, the origin, the habits of thought, and the constitutional characteristics of the people of New England. And for this reason they have gained a support, and consequent

influence and celebrity, superior to any others in this country. But, though the effects of their order of education upon the general intelligence of those states, is such as upon comparison with ourselves, to call a blush upon the cheek of a Pennsylvanian; yet it is not by a slavish imitation of their methods that our marked inferiority can be overcome. That mode of culture, exactly followed here, as it has generally been, will never succeed in developing to their highest point the intellectual resources of Pennsylvania. Any institution which aspires to the high place of being the leader and exponent of that development, must exhibit in its own organization, the constitutional differences which distinguish our population from that of other States of the Union. Our Commonwealth, is pre-eminently a German State. It is stamped in every part with the impress of the German character of its people. So great a proportion of its citizens is of German descent, so large a part of its fertile territory and personal wealth is in German hands, that their national characteristics and habits of thought have exercised a preponderating influence on its public and social character and conduct. Any order of education, therefore, which takes no account of this peculiarity in our condition, which ignores the existence of this element, is not the proper order for Pennsylvania. The stubborn prejudices of our German citizens against the cause of education, have been notorious, and the fact that to their mental lethargy has been justly attributed the failure of Pennsylvania to keep up with her sister States in the race of intelligence, not only exhibits the extent of their influence upon her position and character, but proves the necessity of appealing to their peculiar interests and affections, in order to achieve eminent success in any movement in the cause of mental culture which is intended to effect the whole State. It is well ascertained that those prejudices are fast disappearing, and that the German mind in our midst is becoming every day more and more awakened to the necessity and advantages of Knowledge; and the great desideratum now is, the establishment of some noble institution of learning, in whose halls that element may feel perfectly at home; which, acknowledging a congenial sympathy, and har-

monizing its mode of culture, with their characteristics and habits of thought, may atttract their general confidence and affection, and which, at the same time, by the munificence of its endowment, and the greatness of its capacity for instruction, will be equal to the duty of dispensing the highest mental culture to the numbers, which that general regard and confidence will gather to its bosom. It requires nothing but the proper tribute from the overflowing wealth of Lancaster City and County, nothing but the exercise of an encouraging liberality on the part of our citizens, to enable Franklin and Marshall College to reach this high position, and fulfil this noble duty. It is formed by the union of two corporations, which have always maintained an intimate connection and relation with this German element. By the terms of the charter of Franklin College, its funds were expressly devoted to serving the cause of learning among the German part of our population. Marshall College, in the twenty years of its existence, had already gained a strong foothold in their affections and confidence; by adapting its instruction to their peculiar genius, and faithfully devoting its energies to the awakening of their slumbering mental power. Ushered into existence, therefore, with such antecedents, the new College appeals to the same element for support, and stands pledged to pursue the same ends and devote its energies to the same purposes. By the constitution and complexion of its faculty, by its public promise "to maintain a lively communication with the literature and science, the philosophy and religion of Germany," and by the reigning spirit of its culture, it redeems those pledges, and now presents itself to the State as the representative and exponent of an order of education which is the only one calculated to develop its capabilities in their best form. The local advantages of its situation are also eminent. Easy of access from all quarters by great high-ways of travel, healthy in its climate, with all the conveniences of life largely and cheaply supplied, and possessing a rare combination of the benefits of city life with the delights of rural scenery in its most beautiful and fertile forms, the mere geographical position of the College is superior to that of any other in the State. But it is with

reference to the peculiar character of the Institution that those advantages are most conspicuous. Situated in the heart of a pre-eminently German county, the industry and enterprise of whose population, their stern integrity of life and homely virtues, combined with their prosperity and abundant wealth, have made it the chief seat and centre of the German influence of the State, the College is thus placed on an eminence which cannot fail to attract the gaze and fasten the attention of the whole German population of America.

These are some of the elements of success which make the dedication of these Halls, in which Franklin and Marshall College will henceforth pursue the purposes of its mission, an occasion *full* of high hope and promise. A distinguished friend of and laborer in the cause of education, Bishop Potter, has expressed the opinion, that if we could blend the deep and comprehensive thought, the speculative research and liberal enthusiasm of Germany, with the active practical energy and the indomitable enterprise of the American character, we might inaugurate a form of culture nobler and more beneficent than the world has yet seen. This is the special object and purpose of the new College, and this peculiarity of its mission, therefore, far from impairing its general usefulness, only ennobles the form of culture which it is prepared to confer upon all classes of our fellow citizens. And if it achieves complete success in this high mission, we may expect to witness such effects upon both individual and State character, as will draw to it the eyes of the whole nation, and render it one of the greatest and most influential institutions in the land.

With such magnificent results within the boundaries of our vision, every feeling of philanthropy, every impulse of State and County pride forbid us to permit the experiment to languish or fail for want of material encouragement and support. Its success will redound largely to the honor and credit of our City and County, to the diffusion of a taste for learning in our midst, to the exaltation of the tone of our society, and the advancement of its material prosperity. To what benevolent object, then, can the superabundance of its wealth be applied, which, in the pleasing perception of its beneficial operation, will

render a larger or more gratifying return? What nobler or more enduring fame can any one desire, than that of being a chief instrument in the accomplishment of such a destiny as is here promised? No one can hope to enshrine his name in a more splendid monument, than this living one, which, by continuing to confer blessings upon humanity, will perpetuate the memory of its builders, in the grateful recollections of coming generations. Private endowments and bequests to colleges are said to be things unknown in our State. But may we not with justice suppose, that this is owing to the fact that we have had no institution which from its wide sphere of influence and prospects of extended usefulness, seemed to be a worthy recipient of an enlarged and liberal bounty? And may we not expect that now, when a fitting opportunity presents itself, our wealthy citizens will come to the assistance of a college, which, with such efficient aid, cannot fail to become one of the leading institutions of the country! With the earnest hope that such just expectations may be realized, and with these visions of future grandeur floating around us, and consecrating this occasion, I again congratulate the community on their new possession, and recommend it to the ardent support and good will of every one before me, who cherishes in his bosom one spark of patriotic State or County pride.

VI.—THE CHURCH YEAR.

THE idea of a sacred or ecclesiastical year is not something peculiar to any particular people or time. It grows forth naturally from the religious constitution of man, and reveals itself spontaneously in his religious history, among all nations and through all ages. Paganism, Judaism, Christianity, show themselves here of one mind and feeling. All alike seek to

link themselves in this way with the course of nature, by bringing it into standing connection with the high sphere of religion under their own several forms. The only difference is in the order and quality of the spiritual conceptions, with which they are severally occupied and employed. These, as they may be of a higher or lower grade, condition necessarily the way, in which the idea in question may be reduced to practice. But the idea itself is of universal authority and force; and if, in any case, it be hindered from coming into view, it must always be with some measure of violent restraint put upon the religious life of the communities in which such exception may prevail. The unnatural and artificial here have place, not in seeking to join the solemnities of religion in this way with the circling course of the year, but in affecting rather to dispense with all such conjunction as something superfluous and vain.

The general ground of this is easily explained. It lies in the close necessary connection, which holds universally between the spiritual life of man and the constitution of nature. Two worlds, two different orders or spheres of existence, are joined together in man's person. He is composed of body and spirit. In virtue of his spirit, he is above the whole system of mere nature, and beyond it, possesses in himself a life which is no product or continuation simply of its powers, but the result of a new and higher principle; and looks to his ultimate destination in an order of things, to which plainly it is intended to minister only as a scheme of transient preliminary preparation. On the other hand, however, he is just as truly and really, for the present, comprehended by means of his body in this same system of nature, as the very home of his being. Its entire organization comes to its last sense, completes itself in his person. The material creation culminates in man, as the point towards which all its powers struggle from the beginning, and whose presence alone serves finally to impress upon its manifold parts the unity, roundness, and symmetry of a common whole. He is thus the highest and most perfect birth of nature, the full efflorescence of its inmost life. Its powers reach him, and affect him, on every side. In this way his whole existence, spiritual as well as physical, is rooted in the natural

world around him, and conditioned by it continually, from the cradle to the grave. For the two parts of his being, spirit and matter, mind and body, are not united in a merely outward and mechanical way. They flow together in the constitution of a single life. Hence the material organization underlies the spiritual throughout, supports it, enters into it, determines more or less its entire form and complexion. Mind, in the case of man, is never a power wholly abstract and free from matter; it is always, in a most important sense, derived from and dependent upon the body. The true relation between the two, requires, indeed, that this last should be ruled by the first, as the higher power; that the material organization should be in the end so taken up by the spiritual, as to pass, in some sense, over to this out of its own sphere; that the body should be glorified into full harmony with the superior nature of the soul. But still, with all this, the soul can never free itself absolutely from the power of the body. Such is the law of humanity. However it may be with other intelligences, *man* is made up of both matter and spirit. His whole being is conditioned by the natural basis, in which it starts, and from which it continues ever afterwards to grow; just as the plant which blooms towards heaven, draws the quality of its leaves and flowers at the same time from the soil that secretly gives nourishment to its roots. Primarily and immediately, this natural basis, for every man, is his own body. But as we have just seen, the human body is no separate and isolated existence in the world of nature. The world of nature is a system, a single grand whole, bound together in all its parts, and looking from all sides towards a common centre; and this centre is precisely man himself, in his material organization. To be dependent on the body then, is to be dependent also through this on the general system or constitution in which it is thus centrally comprehended. Mind modified and conditioned by its union with the body, is in fact necessarily also mind modified and conditioned, in its universal existence, by the whole world of nature to which the body belongs. Man stands in sympathy and correspondence with the material universe on all sides. It acts upon him continually through

all his senses. It gives form to his affections and color to his thoughts. In his highest flights of intelligence, he owns still its authority and presence. It surrounds and pervades his spirit at every point, and forms the very element in which he lives, moves, and has his being.

Such is the general law of correspondence between the inward and outward sides of our existence in the present world, between the higher life of the soul in man and his lower life in the body. We feel the force of it every hour, in the influence which is exercised over us by the forms of nature as they surround us in space. Skies, mountains, seas, plains, forests, rivers, enter into us, and become part of our spiritual being. All natural scenery, in one word, is educational. Our interior life is conditioned by it in every stage of its development. Our thinking and feeling, from first to last, owe to it a large part of their peculiar character and form. And what is thus true of nature as a system existing in space, is no less true of nature as a system existing in the continual flow of time. The changes, movements, revolutions, and periods, through which the world is continually passing, connect themselves with the economy of our inward being, no less really than the material objects which are perpetually subject to their law. Days, months, years, and cycles of years, carry with them a plastic educational force for the human spirit, full as profound and far reaching, to say the least, as any that is exercised over it by seas, plains, mountains, and skies. Indeed of these two forms of nature, existence in space and existence in time, it would seem that the last here must be allowed even to surpass the first in power. It lies nearer to the soul, and holds more direct affinity with its spiritual constitution. It is by the sense of movement in the way of time especially, that the more outward sense of matter in space is etherialized and made to enter into the service of intelligence and mind.

Our whole existence, spiritual as well as physical, is continually influenced in the most powerful manner by the course of nature, as thus measured by periods and seasons. We feel it in the succession of day and night. This is for us no merely outward index of time. It marks a law of regular revolution

in our life, which corresponds in full with what goes forward in the world around us. The force of this law shows itself in our souls as well as in our bodies, in the activities of our mind no less than in the pulsations of our heart. Day is the time for action, night for sleep. There are strong sympathies in us also with particular hours. We make inwardly the circuit of morning, noon, and evening. Midnight constitutes a crisis for our universal being. Diseases come and go, have their remissions and intermissions, at certain points of the orbit. Good health and sound understanding alike depend on proper conformity with the order, which God has been pleased thus to establish for us in the general constitution of the natural world. So too the revolutions of the moon have their effect upon our life, as well as upon the growth of plants or the ebb and flow of tides. And still more the grand period which is accomplished by the revolution of the earth round the sun. The year, with its four seasons, makes its full circle continually in man himself, as really as in the world around him. Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter, repeat themselves perpetually in the onward movement of his existence. Clouds and sunshine, all atmospherical changes, all the varying phases of nature, are mirrored in his consciousness and responded to by his inmost sensibilities, in the order of the rolling months. His existence is not just a continuous line in one and the same direction. It proceeds by cycles that are always returning upon themselves. It is made up of years, which repeat themselves with perpetual recurrence in the progress of his experience, ever the same and yet ever new, from infancy to youth, from youth to manhood, and from manhood to old age. The Year, it has been well remarked, is the most perfect and complete measure of time belonging to the earth. It is not merely a full revolution for itself in which the end comes back to the beginning, but it forms also a distinct whole in the organic process of all terrestrial life. In many cases this begins and ends with the annual circle; and where that is not the case, the circle marks at least a full round period in the process, which may very fairly be taken as an apt representation and image of the whole. Each single year forms for every

man a significant epitome, first of the several ages of his life, and then of his life itself in full. Nothing is more natural, as nothing is more common, than the sense of this analogy. And thus it is, that all the world over men are led to look upon the year as the type and symbol of their universal existence upon the earth, and under such view seek to make it the vehicle and bearer of what is most inward and spiritual for their experience, as well as of that which is merely outward and physical.

Here then we reach the proper conception of the religious or sacred year. Two ideas are brought together in it, which are materially different and yet closely related, religion and nature. Starting in nature, the life of man is required to complete itself in religion, as an order of existence above nature, and involving relations which go altogether beyond the present world. In the religious year, all this is expressed by an easy and natural symbolism. The higher sphere is made to link itself with the lower, in such a way as to show at once, both the necessary connection of the two, and the proper subordination of the last to the purposes and ends of the first. Religion lets itself down, as it were, into the sphere of nature, in order to raise this into its own sphere.

The lower constitution in this case is made to carry in itself the sense of the higher, in the way of figure or type. Nature passes into an allegory of religion. We should err greatly, however, if we should imagine that there was nothing more here than a mere outward resemblance, arbitrarily established by the wit and fancy of man. We have already seen, that there is an inward, real correspondence between the spiritual and physical sides of man's being; and that this last is organically comprehended, by means of his body, in the constitution of nature as a whole. From this it follows as a necessary consequence, that the entire physical order of the world must look towards the spiritual in all its parts, and find there always its last, most true and perfect sense. Could we understand in full the economy of creation, we should see the first of these spheres to be in its very nature a perpetual parable of the second. So it was evidently to the mind of Christ; and

so we too feel it to be, when listening to its most simple and yet most profound lessons, as interpreted under this view from his lips. It is by no mere figure of speech, no simply rhetorical metaphor or comparison, that the forms of nature in space, or its powers in time, are taken to be significant of facts and truths in the higher world of the spirit. There may be much of mere fancy and conceit, much ignorance and blindness, in particular attempts to make out and express the full force of the correspondence at different points. But the correspondence itself is for all this none the less certain and real. The natural carries in itself an affinity with the spiritual; tends towards it as its own proper complement and end; forms every where an adumbration of its invisible presence and power. So in the case before us, where the year is made to assume a sacred or religious form, by having the ideas or facts of religion lodged in its natural revolution, we are not to conceive of the relation as being simply outward and artificial; but are bound to see in it rather a real inward connection between the things which are thus brought together. In no other way can we do full justice to the subject, or be able to understand and explain the position it occupies in the actual history of the world.

The existence of such inward necessary cause or reason, in the case, is at once established by the fact, already mentioned, that the notion of a sacred year is found to prevail among all people and through all times. It enters spontaneously, as it would seem, into the thoughts of men, and can be repressed and set aside only by a certain violence inflicted upon the spirit of religion itself. What is thus natural and universal can never be accidental merely or arbitrary. It must have its ground always in the real nature of things. A sentiment or practice in which all forms of religion come together with common agreement, cannot be absolutely false or without meaning. It cannot be an empty prejudice merely, or a hurtful superstition. Error and falsehood, perversion and extravagance, may correct themselves with its use. But no such corruption can turn the principle itself, which may be thus wronged and abused into a wholesale lie. They form rather part of the evidence, which goes to establish its truth. Back

of all such wrongs and abuses, this still stands firm and secure, as being by the universal consent of mankind something grounded in the religious constitution of the world itself, and so beyond all rational contradiction or doubt.

The force of this in reference to the religious year becomes more striking, when it is considered that the universal consent in question reaches far beyond the mere general notion of making the year in this way a religious remembrancer, the bearer of religious thoughts and ideas. Were this all, we should find unbounded freedom in the manner of carrying out the conception. There would be no fixed order or rule in the location of particulars, in the determination of details. All would be at the mercy of fancy or caprice. Such, however, is not the way, in which we find this universal conception carried out in the actual practice of the world. The conception determines also, to a very material extent, the order and mode of its own reduction to use. It is not satisfied with having the year hung around with religious garlands and festoons, the ornamental imagery of a higher life, in a merely loose and external manner. It involves always the supposition of some necessary order and method, growing out of the correspondence of the natural and spiritual worlds themselves, according to which only the arrangement can be rightly carried into effect. It is assumed throughout, that the course of the year in time, with its revolving material changes, serves to shadow forth in a real way the idea of a higher spiritual orbit, through which man is to be regarded as moving towards his proper destination in another world. Time is made to be the mirror thus of eternity. The visible is held to reflect the invisible. The lower sphere is felt to include in itself parabolically the sense of the higher. The natural, accordingly, is not taken to represent the spiritual at random, in any and every way, but only according to a law fixed in its own constitution. This we see exemplified in the actual judgment and practice of the world. The natural year, all the world over, is made to underlie the religious or sacred year, and to lead the way in determining its order and form. The relation between them is such, that the first refers as it were of its own accord to the second, and

offers itself throughout as its proper utterance and expression. The ideas of the religious year are apprehended as having an actual representation in the facts of the natural year, as meeting in them their own picture or echo. Hence we have, in the midst of all that may seem to be confused and fantastic in the filling up of different forms of this spiritualized year, a certain uniformity of scheme at the same time that serves to impress on the whole a common character. The more closely the matter is examined, the more clear it seems to become that these various forms are themselves in some way inwardly related; the only difference being that some are far more perfect than others, in the measure of their approximation to the truth, which all in their way propose to reach and express. This fact, still more than the mere universal notion itself of a sacred year, goes conclusively to show how truly and really the whole conception is grounded in the natural constitution of the world.

Religion in the case of man, however, requires more than the simple development of his own spiritual faculties and powers in what may be denominated the order of nature. It supposes, as necessary to its own completion, an order also of grace, a supernatural revelation descending into the bosom of the world in the form of actual history and fact. The absolute fulness of this revelation is reached at last in Christ, "in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." In the form of promise, prophecy and type, it runs away back to the beginning of the world, preparing the way through the whole period of the Old Testament for his glorious advent. Necessarily this system of grace, under such historical view, must be vastly more for the religious life of man, than the system of nature; and it might seem, in one view, that the idea of religion thus based on what is above nature, and virtually opposing it as a power antagonistic to faith, would require no such union with it, and no such help from it, as is implied in the conception of a sacred or ecclesiastical year; that its true interests rather would be much better consulted in every way, by separating it wholly from all such connection with the merely natural order of time, and joining it in

thought and association only with the supernatural facts which are presented to us in the Bible, in their own higher order and form. But here three thoughts offer themselves to our view.

First, these supernatural facts are themselves historical; and having thus entered into the sphere of nature and time, they need to be held in permanent connection with this for our thinking, in order that they may be apprehended as facts, and not as notions merely or imaginations. Like all other historical events, they must have for us a local habitation in our sense of chronology, to be realities at all for our belief. This of itself at once leads to the conception of anniversaries, monumental solemnities, seasons of commemoration; to the conception, in one word, of an ecclesiastical or sacred year. It is in this way great national facts perpetuate their force in the mind of a nation. Other forms of tradition, oral or written, are not enough for the purpose. They must be lodged monumentally in the ever recurring circuit of the year, that grand image of all time, that proper epitome of man's life, both individual and universal; so as to be in this way reproduced and called up anew in the national consciousness, age after age. This gives us the idea of a political year; which is constituted, not just by a system of anniversary observances in memory of all separate events possessing national historical interest, but rather by singling out such events as are felt to be of cardinal and fundamental account in the history, and making them to represent the whole. Without some arrangement of this sort, serving to keep alive the memory of the past in the consciousness of the present, no true national spirit can be long maintained. But now the very same law which requires the great facts of political history to be kept thus alive, for the purposes of patriotism, requires just as much the great facts of sacred history to be kept alive in the same manner, for the purposes of religion; and so we are brought here again to the idea of an ecclesiastical year, precisely as in the other case we come to the idea of a political year. As historical events, the facts of revelation need to be domiciliated for our minds, in this way, in our natural sense of time. Without this, they must ever be in danger of becoming for us mere shadows and abstractions.

Secondly, whilst it is true that the order of grace, resting on revelation, is something far above the order of nature, resting upon the constitution of the present world, and that this last, regarded as a separate system, involves a certain opposition to the first; it does not follow from this, by any means, that the two systems are in absolute contradiction to one another, and capable of no agreement whatever. On the contrary, it is certain, from the very nature of the case, that as different parts of the same creation they must be inwardly related, and closely bound together, in the harmony of a common divine purpose and plan. The case demands not the destruction or exclusion of nature, not a Manichean fanatical hostility to its presence in any and every form; but its proper subordination merely to the authority of grace, as the sphere in which it is formed to find properly its own true significance and end. In such right order, nature appears no longer as the foe, but only as the handmaid of grace, and this relation too is found to be in no sense compulsory, but most perfectly free. The lower sphere shows itself to have been in truth created and formed for the higher. Nature becomes the prophecy of grace, its universal type and symbol. The two systems flow thus easily and of their own accord together. There is no reason, therefore, why the facts of revelation, regarded as the ground of religion, should be taken to exclude or thrust out of sight the facts of nature in the same view.

In the third place, the more we look into the subject the more we shall see that these two classes of facts do in very deed, as it were, run parallel the one with the other, so as most readily to admit the harmony of which we have just spoken. So much might be presumed, as an *a priori* anticipation, on the supposition that both systems proceed from God. There is no room properly for the thought of such correspondence, in the case of any simply national or political year. Who would dream, for example, of setting the Birth Day of Washington, or the Declaration of American Independence, in any sort of connection with the astronomical character of their anniversary seasons, unless it were in the way only of acknowledged fancy or conceit? Ordinary national history is too narrow

and partial an interest to be separately symbolized, in such fashion, by the constitution of nature. It can be so symbolized at best, only as it is comprehended in the general movement which represents the history of the world as a whole. The political year, accordingly, is not expected to fall in with the full constitution of the natural year; it is enough, if it be brought simply to rest upon this as an outward and artificial arrangement. But with the religious year the case is altogether different. This has to do with the most universal of all human interests. Religion is for no nation as such, but for the whole world. The facts which underlie it historically in the form of revelation, are necessarily of the same universal and abiding force; and we have a right to expect, accordingly, that the constitution of nature, related as it must be to the destiny of man under the like broad view, should be found to include a certain inward correspondence with the order and course of these supernatural facts, as well as with the spiritual economy itself which they underlie. And what might thus be anticipated, we find to be in truth strikingly verified in the actual relations of the two systems. The main historical facts here have been so ordered, in the wise providence of Him who rules all things for his own glory, as to fall in chronologically with the very facts in nature which properly symbolize their sense and power; thus rendering it perfectly easy to bring both systems into the construction of one and the same Church year. It is easy to see how this goes, on the one hand to attest the truth of revelation, by showing its correspondence with the typology of nature; while it serves, at the same time, no less clearly, to interpret and corroborate on the other hand the true sense of this lower sphere, as being throughout, the terrestial parable of spiritual and heavenly things.

The sum and organic comprehension of the entire symbolism of nature comes to view in the *Year*, as being the completion of a full circle in the process of all earthly life. By being taken up into the sphere of grace, not only is the year itself glorified, but along with it at the same time, the whole constitution and course of nature may be said to be glorified also, and sublimated into a new and higher sense. For the higher

sphere, on the other hand, the relation involves the idea of a real victory or conquest, enlarging its rightful power. The sense of this expresses itself in the ordinary conception of *festival* days. They carry with them the feeling of joyful solemnity, elevation above the common level of our earthly life, rest from the hard work-day character of our natural worldly existence in the bosom of a higher order of being, which is made to descend upon us by the power of religion. The ecclesiastical year becomes thus a system of symbolical festivals; in which is celebrated continually the true and proper relationship of the two economies of nature and grace.

Such is the conception of the religious year in its perfect form. As such, it must be of course, at the same time, the Christian year. But it does not necessarily appear at once in this completeness. Rather it has a history, a genesis, through which it reveals itself under various forms, rising from what may be considered its rude beginnings only to that which constitutes at last its absolute consummation. Wide differences characterize these forms; but through all such differences, they are still found to represent and express fundamentally the same idea of law. So much indeed is implied by the supposition of any real history in the case. The idea of a religious year, as we have before seen, is universal, a fact seated in the religious constitution of the world. Under all manifestations, accordingly, it is the same force always working in the same direction. Its different forms are but so many different stages, in the progress of which, it is carried forward to its true ideal perfection.

Regarded in this light, the sacred year falls, for our observation, into three grand historical types—PAGAN, JEWISH, CHRISTIAN. To these the subject requires us now to turn our attention.

In the *Pagan* religious year, we have the symbolical apprehension of nature in its most elementary and rude form. The visible material creation is felt to carry in itself the traces of its divine origin, and becomes to the consciousness in this way the sign and type of powers existing mysteriously behind itself, on which it is always dependent and whose presence it

serves to reveal. But there is still no clearness in the perception; and so no power of steady discrimination between the sign and the thing signified. Hence the two are made to flow together, at the expense of the higher thought. Nature is confounded with the divine powers it represents, and superstitiously invested with their proper dignity and right. The divine, in this view, becomes earthly, as the earthly also is taken to be divine.

It fares with the religious nature of man here, as in all other cases where it labors to fulfil its constitutional destiny, without the help of an objective revelation. The effort to do so proves an abortive nisus merely in the right direction, which terminates at last in an empty shadow, throwing the spirit helplessly back upon the sphere of nature which it had thus vainly struggled to surmount. In all such cases, however, the abortion is not without its meaning. It shows what the religious constitution of man universally needs and seeks; and becomes in this way a testimony and argument for the truth, which it has no power to reach; just as the blind force which turns and leads the roots of a plant towards the water, or its upward growth towards the light, shows its necessary relation to these elements, even before this may be established in fact. Such unsuccessful endeavors on the part of the religious spirit, in the sphere of Paganism, can never be more of course than sad caricatures of the truth itself, as brought into full view by the glorious light of Christianity. But caricatures are still in their way correspondences; and the old Greek Fathers, therefore, were perfectly right, in looking upon Paganism itself as a real preparation in such view for the Gospel. We need not be disturbed at all, then, by any parallelisms it may seem to offer with Christianity. We need not shrink from owning them in their utmost force. We should be glad rather to meet them, wherever they may come in our way. They are just what we are bound to expect if Christianity be indeed the absolute truth of religion, that in which all its partial and defective manifestations come to their final end. What comparative anatomy and physiology are to the structure of the human body, or comparative psychology to the true idea of the human

soul, that precisely comparative religion, as we may call it, or the scheme of religious systems in general, is to Christianity. If this stood in no agreement or correspondence with religion in other forms, we might well question its pretensions. They show themselves unquestionable, just because analogies of this sort do press upon it from every side, and find in it the universal and harmonious fulfilment of their own sense.

The Pagan sacred year, through all its variations among different nations, proceeds always on the theory of a merely natural or physical religion. The relation of the sun to the earth is felt darkly to signify, and then in some way to actually involve the higher spiritual destinies of the world, as well as its simply outward changes. The active and passive forces of nature, represented in this relation, are confounded with the notion of divine powers. All becomes mythology, a play of the religious fancy, constructed on the basis of purely physical facts and changes. This may be clearly seen especially in the Roman Heathenism, which is to be regarded as the last result only or falling together of all older Pagan religions. It is throughout pure naturalism, based upon the movements of the astronomical or solar year. Its twelve superior deities personify the system of the twelve months, the course of the year through the signs of the zodiac, the great leading changes wrought by the sun, during this period, in the life of the earth. We have no room here to follow out the correspondence in its details; nor is it necessary. It is enough for our purpose to state the general fact.

The equinoxes and solstices form the four cardinal points of the process, and rule throughout the order of its symbolism. The oldest Pagan years were made to commence in the Fall, equinoctially. The later Roman year, on the other hand, was solstitial, opening in the Winter. In both cases, however, the order and sense of the symbolism is substantially the same. It starts with the time, in which the powers of nature are shut up, as it were, in its interior economy; the life of the earth in a state of deep slumber; the strength of the sun in a great measure unfelt. Through the winter months, we have a struggle between the forces of darkness and light, resulting contin-

ually more and more in the triumph of the last. The heavens gain power. With the progress of Spring, this power descends into the air and earth, causing the whole sphere to wake into new life. In Summer the victory becomes complete. The sun culminates in the June solstice, and exercises universal dominion in the form both of light and heat. He shines as Mercury; burns and thunders as Jupiter. The earth is made to teem with living spirit. Afterwards the heavens seem to bury themselves in its bosom. All becomes fruit, harvest vintage. Then follows a new equilibrium, and sort of second Spring, more spiritual than the first, in the grave form of Autumn. The process completes itself as the full maturity of terrestial life; which thus returns back again from its outward action into its own original stillness, (the gloomy reign of Proserpine,) only to make room for a new circuit afterwards under the same form.

In all this, there was for the Pagan mind a reference to the general conception of religion; that is, to the idea of *redemption*, as a process of deliverance from the powers of darkness and evil, which are felt universally to press upon the life of man in this world. To be real, this process must begin in the soul, must be spiritual. For the natural religious consciousness, however, it has its mirror in the life of nature as set forth by the process of the solar year. This, unfortunately, has no power to bring into view the positive supernatural realities, through whose power alone it is possible for the symbolized idea to become fact. That requires the historical intervention of a higher life, in the form of revelation. Having no such help, Paganism could never make its escape, as we have seen, from the sphere of nature. Matter and spirit fell confusedly together. All ended in a purely physical mythology, of the most fantastic and barren kind.

But shall we say, for this reason, that there is no connection really between the course of nature and the process of redemption in its true and proper form? By no means. The Pagan feeling on this subject was right, although dark and confused. The enigma did not lose its sense, nor cease to be a real prophetical burden for the human soul, merely because it came to

no true interpretation. There exists, we have good reason to believe, a real analogy or parallelism, between the natural year and the system of redemption, in virtue of which, the last is typified by the first throughout, in a way far beyond all simply fanciful conceit. This can be fully apprehended, of course, only where the system of redemption itself comes fully into view; that is to say, only in the full light of Christianity, the end and completion of religion in every other view.

The *Jewish* religious year was of a vastly higher order than the Pagan. It was established by divine law, and rested immediately on historical facts, miracles of grace actually wrought in the world, and serving to reveal in the bosom of nature the intervention of a supernatural life. What nature struggled in vain to reach and express without revelation, was here to a certain extent supplied by its presence. With such higher character, Judaism necessarily stood opposed, at the same time, to the way in which the religion of nature was carried out by Paganism, involving, as this did, an apostacy which changed the truth of God into a lie, and drew after it all the abominations of idolatry. Its mission was, to prepare the way, on the one hand, for the coming of Christ, and on the other, to turn the human mind away from nature, that it might be fixed upon itself and made to know its own need of redemption. Both these purposes called for laws and positive institutions. Nature was not to be set aside; it was still, with all its yearly changes, a manifestation of divine powers; but it must not be confounded with the notion of these powers themselves. The symbol must pass into a better sense, by being made an allegory of history, an image in the world of sense representing God's actual dealings of grace with men.

The peculiarity of the Jewish year is, that it has not only yearly but *weekly* sacred days. It starts from the *Sabbath*, as the centre which rules and conditions its whole construction. It has yearly festivals also; but they are made to hinge on the weekly institution, as the primary power. This of itself had a tendency to break the force of the simply physical year, as it ruled the religious thinking of the Pagan world; and contributed very materially, beyond all question, to raise the idea

of worship out of the element of nature into a different and far higher region, that of history, God's supernatural conduct and providence employed for the redemption and salvation of his chosen people.

But with all this care taken to guard against perversion and abuse, regard was still had to the natural year, as being of itself in true harmony and correspondence with the life of religion in man. This appears at once from the fact, that the great annual festivals were made to fall in with those parts of the year precisely, which corresponded parabolically with their proper signification and sense. They were not founded directly on these; all of them rested on grand historical facts, which they served to commemorate from age to age; but these facts themselves had been so ordered, as to concur with the times in question. The epochs of history fell in wonderfully with the epochs of nature. The Passover, commemorating the deliverance of Israel from the bondage of Egypt, answered in this way to the time when the whole Pagan world celebrated the renewal of nature through the return of spring. So in like manner, Pentecost and the Feast of Tabernacles, resting on the memory of other dispensations of God's favor towards the same people, had their significant analogies also in the positions assigned to them in the natural year, which it is by no means difficult to discover and understand. Have we any right to look upon this as a merely accidental, and therefore unmeaning concurrence? We think it must be plain to all, that we have not. It must be viewed as belonging to the plan of the world; and goes to confirm what we have already said, that according to this plan a real original and necessary parallelism holds between the two systems of nature and grace, in virtue of which the first is to be regarded as everywhere adumbrating the sense of the second.

True, the sacred year of the Jews was made to commence in the Spring; differing in this respect from that of Paganism, which dated from Autumn or the first part of Winter. But then the system took no account comparatively of the period between Autumn and Spring. This suited the character of the Old Testament dispensation, under which the process of grace preparatory to redemption lay, back of the fact itself, in

a sort of hidden mystery, like the powers of nature during the reign of Winter. With the coming of Christ, this mystery clears into magnificent light. The process of redemption is found moving its course, first in his person, in order that it may break forth in the full victory of Easter as a fact accomplished for the world at large. Here the mystery of Winter finds at last its proper spiritual meaning. The year of religion falls back again in its order, and is brought thus once more to commence where the year of nature also of right begins. Only the correspondence is now such as to light up the movement with celestial splendor from beginning to end. Nature appears transfused throughout with spirit and life. Grace reigns triumphant over all the months and seasons.

This is the *Christian Year.* The universal character of Christianity, as compared both with Judaism and Paganism, is fulfilment or completion. Judaism stood far above all simply natural religion. It was a system of revelation. It rested on supernatural history. Still it was only a relative and partial exhibition of the truth in such form, the shadow of blessings to come. For this reason, it could never do full justice to Paganism. It was the direct, broad contradiction of the wholesale lie into which this had fallen, by substituting mere nature for the proper idea of God; but such contradiction had no power of itself to harmonize with their true end the principles and tendencies, out of whose corruption the falsehood sprang. There was, accordingly, an antagonism here, that called for reconciliation in a still deeper and more comprehensive sphere of life. In the fulness of time this appeared in Christ, the Word made Flesh. "He is our Peace," says the Apostle, the end of all previous discords; the last full sense of man's relations to himself, the world and God. In Him, Judaism was fulfilled and Paganism explained. Christianity is the absolute truth, in which both the types of the one and the dark endeavors of the other, are satisfied and brought to rest. This general character appears in its universal constitution; and so among other things embraces also the structure of its sacred year. Religion in the form of nature, and religion in the form of history, come here to a perfect understanding and agree-

ment. The constitution of the world is sanctified, by being taken up into the constitution of grace. The year of religion is now truly and properly a *Church Year.*

If the correspondence between the historical facts of Judaism and the course of nature be striking, as we have just seen, the correspondence between the great facts of Christianity and the same course of nature is more wonderful and instructive still; showing most manifestly the presence of a common thought in both, by which the one is to be considered a true type and figure of the other. Who in his senses can imagine, that no such significance attaches to the time of our Saviour's death and resurrection; or that the Festival of Easter has been determined thus, by a fortuitous correspondence only, to the period of the vernal equinox? Who that thinks can fail to see in the Festivals of Ascension and Pentecost, a similar relation to the triumphant progress of the sun towards the summer solstice, and the changes which are brought to pass by it on the earth? And so much being allowed, who can have a right to consider it an empty play of fancy only, when the months going before Easter, from the beginning of Winter, are taken to symbolize the process of redemption, as carried forward previously to that point in the mystery of Christ's own person; or when the months following Pentecost, on to the close of Autumn, are made to symbolize in like manner the progress of the same work, as carried forward subsequently in the life of the Church? In both cases, what a field for pious contemplation! Analogies, of the most interesting sort, thicken upon our view, just in proportion as we give the subject our earnest attention.

Our limits will not allow us to enter here, into any more particular consideration of the organism or structure of the Christian Year. The object of this article has been merely to bring into view the general nature of the conception, and the grounds on which it properly challenges our religious respect.

Those who fancy, that the use of any such scheme of worship is without reason or meaning, or who, it may be, permit themselves even to stigmatize it as an unprofitable and hurtful superstition, betray at once their own want both of earnest-

ness and knowledge. There is in truth a deep foundation for it in the constitution of nature, and it falls in with the universal spirit of religion. Christianity differs from other religions here, only by passing beyond them in the fulness and perfection of its image. The feeling which justifies and prompts the conception of a religious year, found nothing to counteract it in the coming of Christ, but much to favor it, much to assist and carried it forward in the right direction. The great facts of Christianity served powerfully of themselves to call it into exercise. The lively apprehension of them which prevailed in the mind of the early Church, made it impossible to avoid so natural an observance. The Christian year, accordingly, is as old as the Christian Church itself. What an amount of interest do we not find clustering around the solemnity of Easter, from the earliest times! The idea of such a year, and its general outline, leaving room of course for much filling up afterwards in its details, entered into the universal thinking of the Church, and conditioned the entire system of its worship, from the beginning. It did so, moreover, spontaneously, and by the necessity, as it were, of an inward law. It came not primarily by art and reflection, but grew forth rather as a natural product from the Christian consciousness itself. And so, we may add, its true sense and force can never be fully measured by any merely logical standard. It speaks, not just to the understanding of man, but far more to his feeling and heart. Its voice is for the deep places of the soul, where life reigns as a full power back of all partial forms of expression. Hence the authority it has carried with it for the Christian world, through all ages. Only since the Reformation, has the attempt been made, not by Protestantism in general, but by a fragmentary section of Protestantism, to set aside the whole conception and practice as a "relic of superstition," serving to encumber more than to assist the proper spirituality of Christian worship. But of what force can any such isolated judgment be, over against the united mind of the Church in all past centuries, backed as this is, at the same time, by the religious constitution of the world, and by its religious history also, in the most universal view? The exception is too violent, too monstrous, we may say, to stand.

Any attempt to set aside the proper Church Year, involves necessarily an attempt also to substitute for it some other scheme of religious solemnities contrived to serve the same end; for there is a natural instinct or impulse here, which will not allow itself to be long absolutely disregarded. But no such scheme can ever carry with it anything like the same worth for the ends of religion. Every other scheme must be in comparison mechanical merely and superficial. All experience goes to show, that no system of Christian instruction, no method of Christian worship, can ever be so effective for Church purposes, as that which is based on the proper use of the ecclesiastical year. As it is always an unnatural, so it is always a poor and hurtful exchange, where this is given up in favor of any other arrangement; and it is certain that no such new arrangement can be able to compete successfully, in the long run, with the infinitely more respectable authority of the older system.

The principle of the Church Year is of vastly more consequence than is commonly imagined. It goes deep into the very heart of Christianity. So it must do, necessarily, if we have now taken any right view at all of its nature. There is a most intimate connection between the use of such a scheme of worship and the practical apprehension of the great facts of Christianity in their own proper form. Puritanism, in this case, pretends to be more spiritual than the old Church faith, as it does also in so many other cases, by setting its worship above all outward forms and conditions. But such spiritualism is something very different from real spirituality. It is only in keeping with the general character of the Puritanic heresy—the heresy which disowns the Apostles' Creed, and turns the idea of the Church, as there taught, into an obsolete "figment." The difficulty with this whole habit of mind, is its want of power to receive and hold the historical truths of the Gospel, not as ideas, merely, but as realities and facts. It is sadly infected throughout with the old leaven of Gnosticism, which is ever in disguise again nothing else but the secret virus of Rationalism. It is but the natural result of such character, that it should be unfriendly to the Church festivals,

and to the whole idea of the Church Year; and so, on the other hand, it may be assumed, that this ancient system cannot anywhere go into general disuse or neglect, without serious loss to the true interests of religion just in the direction of such Gnostic or Rationalistic thinking. The system forms a necessary part of the churchly scheme of Christianity. Where it has fallen to the ground, there can be no right sense of the Church, no proper faith in the holy sacraments, no sound liturgical feeling, no active sympathy with the grand facts which are set forth in the Creed, no firm hold on the abiding power of these facts, as an order of grace moving onward in sublime correspondence with the order of nature to the end of time.

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ART. VII.—THE CHRISTIAN STAND-POINT.

"The truth as it is in Jesus."—Eph. 4: 21.

CHRISTIANITY is the highest, the most perfect, yea the *absolute* religion: by it alone man's *true* relation to the Deity is expressed. As man in his primeval state was the most noble of all terrestial creatures, embodying in his person all earthly excellency, whilst at the same time he was created in the image of God, so amongst all the religions, that have been revealed in the world, Christianity is the most perfect, the most sublime, the most true, and the most holy. It was observed by Pindar, a celebrated Grecian poet, when about to sing in honor of the Olympic games, that, amongst the elements, water is the best, amongst the coins gold far outshines all the rest, and if in the firmament you wish to see a brilliant star, never expect to find one more so than the sun himself. In like manner we may observe, that among all the religions in man's spirit-

ual firmament, there is none to be compared with the *Christian*, which, like the sun, has arisen upon us with healing in his beams; it is constantly exerting its transforming influence upon human nature, elevating it to its own higher sphere, thus proving itself to be a new creation in the image of the Triune God with all his glorious perfections, his power, his presence, his wisdom, his holiness, his justice, his mercy, and above all his goodness and his love. Its truths are so plain that he who runneth may read and understand them; yet it is a concrete generality, which cannot be defined, and whose nature cannot be fully explained: there are in it mysteries the most sublime and the most profound, which even the angels desire to look into. "It is a stream in which the lamb may wade and the elephant swim."

In considering this subject it is of the utmost importance that we do not confound the true *idea* of Christianity with the different forms in which it has been revealed in the successive periods of its history.

In the commencement it made its appearance in the world as a new life, in the totality of its own being and in the unity of its own elements, all symmetrically united and blended in the common centre of its author's person. Here we find no one-sided tendencies: the teachings, the precepts, and the devotions of our blessed Lord are all in perfect harmony with each other, and with the law of his mysteriously divine-human being. As the God-man, he unites and centres in his person all created and uncreated excellencies: in him dwells the fulness of the God-head bodily. Divinity and humanity, the infinite and the finite, the eternal and the temporal, the heavenly and the earthly have come to a living, a real, harmonious and personal union in Christ, who is "the way, the truth, and the life." As this life is revealed in the apostolic or primitive ages, it naturally assumes, in a *pre-eminent manner* the form of dogma, or doctrine. The inspired Scriptures themselves are now to be distinguished from every thing spurious, and the sacred canon is to be finally settled and closed: the lamp of infallible truth must be placed in the hands of the Lamb's bride in the commencement of her pilgrimage through this benighted

world. The doctrines of the Scriptures must now be deduced and clearly defined over against the errors of the Jews, on the one hand, and the heresies of the Gentiles on the other. The doctrines of the Trinity, the incarnation, the divinity and humanity of the Son of God, justification by faith, &c., are now to be brought home to the consciousness of Christians, that they may not be blown about by adverse winds: hence much account is made during this period of the form of sound words.

For this work there was a remarkable adaptation in the first bearers of the Christian life, who enjoyed the advantages of the ancient Grecian civilization, learning and refinement. When, however, the Grecian power begins to decline, together with its cultivation, and the strong and vigorous nations of the West are brought under the influence of Christianity, it unfolds itself pre-eminently in the form of authority and law. The wild and uncivilized nature of man must be brought under subjection, his passions must be subdued, and his will must be brought into submission to a wholesome discipline: the conflicting elements of the moral world must be made to harmonize, and if possible, all nations be brought to acknowledge the regal power and dominion of this supernatural revelation. All is made to turn upon obedience and good works; rites and ceremonies, fasts and holy days must be observed as unto the Lord. The Christianity of the entire middle period, reaching from the fifth to the sixteenth century, is accordingly to be viewed mainly as a great power revealed in the form of moral law; hence its great success in civilizing the nations of Europe. But we find that, just as the legalism of the Old Testament dispensation was necessary to prepare the way for the coming of Messiah, and the kingdom of grace, so the reign of Christianity itself, under the form of law, had a tendency to prepare the way for a dispensation of Gospel freedom.

The errors and abuses springing from the human side of the Church, during this period, cast a dark and gloomy shade over the page of her history. But the Reformation of the sixteenth century must not be regarded simply as the protest of truth and righteousness against these dreadful errors and abuses,

but also as the legitimate product of Christianity in the form of Gospel and redeeming power; it was a fuller revelation than ever before of Christ in his Church, who said in regard to her: "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." It was a revival of religion in the proper sense of the term, in which the people generally were made acquainted with the contents of the Sacred Scriptures, and the general plan of salvation through Christ. The justification of the sinner by faith now became the doctrine of a "standing or falling Church;" salvation by grace, solely upon the merits of the Saviour's sufferings and death, without the deeds of the law, is the good news proclaimed in every hamlet and city throughout the Germanic nations, which have become a congenial home for Gospel light and freedom.

Christianity, as dogma, is peculiarly the religion of the ancient Greek Church, which, to this day, styles itself the "orthodox;" as moral law it has developed itself most fully (I do not say the most purely) in the Church of Rome, which still arrogantly claims to be the mistress of the world; and as soteriological power, which includes the knowledge both of doctrine and law, it is the religion of the modern Reformation Church.

Neither of these forms is, abstractedly considered, perfect or complete; it cannot of itself square fully with the idea of Christianity in its totality. Doctrine, (Glaubenslehre) for instance, is an essential element of the true religion; there can be no Christianity without it. Yet Christianity does not consist in doctrine alone, however good and however true. This relates to man's rational or intellectual nature; this must, of course, be illumined; but yet, as we all know, a man may even become eminent for his knowledge of sacred truth, and still not be a Christian. The law has reference more particularly to the will and moral nature of man; this must be brought into a state of righteousness, or harmony with the will of God. Yet, we are expressly told, that "by the deeds of the law no flesh shall be justified in God's sight." "Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven."

As Gospel or redeeming power, Christianity of course brings man into a saving relation to God in Christ Jesus; but not by any means in an outward or abstract way, but in the form of an internal, real spiritual life union with the person of the Saviour. There is no point that is more clearly and fully established by the Bible, than the necessity of this union in order to salvation.

This is the form in which the blessings of grace and salvation are applied to the sinner. He is interested in, and put in possession of Christ's redemption by union with him: "Of him are ye in Christ Jesus." 1 Cor. 1 : 30. "Men must not think to stand afar off from Christ," says an eminent theologian (namely, Boston) "and partake of the benefits of his death, upon their praying to him for them, as the beggar by his crying gets of the rich man's money thrown to him, which I observe is the soul ruining notion many have of this matter. But he must unite with Christ, and so partake of the redemption purchased by him, as the poor widow drowned in debt, by marrying the rich man, is interested in his substance. It is with Christ that all saving benefits are given, and without him none such are received." "He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely gives us all things." Rom. 8 : 32.

As the sin of Adam could never have injured his posterity, if they had not been in him by a living union, so Christ's redemption can never profit them unless they are vitally united to him by a true faith, and baptized into his mystical body by the Holy Ghost. That this mystical union between Christ and believers is not merely of a moral character, but real and vital, is evident from the plain scriptural terms in which it is expressed. Christ is said to be in believers and they in him. Col. 1 : 27 ; Rom. 8 : 10 ; 1 Cor. 1 : 30. He is said to dwell in them and they in him. John 6 : 56. They are said to abide in one another. John 15 : 4. They are said to have put on Christ. Gal. 3 : 27. They are said to be so joined as to be one spirit. 1 Cor. 6 : 17.

To expound these Scriptures as of a mere relative or moral union, such as exists between a king and his subjects, a

master and his servant, is evidently to wrest them from their proper meaning. Our view is also fully corroborated by those Scriptures in which the union of believers to Christ is compared to that between the vine and its branches, John 15, 5; the the head and the body, Eph. 1: 22; meat eaten and the eater, John 6: 56; yea to that between the Father and Christ, John 17: 27.

These unions are all *real*, so that must be real which they illustrate. Let us add to this the evidence derived from the true nature of the sacraments. The Apostle Paul, having maintained that Christ is mystical, i. e. that Christ and believers are one body, illustrates and confirms his declaration by an allusion to the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper: "For by one spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free, and have been all made to drink into one spirit." 1 Cor 12: 13.

If this union be not real, but merely relative, then the sacraments are merely signs and not seals, exhibiting and applying Christ to the recipients of his grace. For without this real union the feeding on Christ's body and blood truly and really in the sacrament is not possible, which is, nevertheless, the doctrine of the Scriptures and of our Catechism, proven from the very words of the institution, "Take eat, this is my body." If the sacramental eating and drinking be true and real, then the union must be true and real also, as that between the food and the body in which it is incorporated. "First union, then communion," is the language of the excellent and pious John Flavel. To deny the Scriptures in regard to this point, on the ground that Christ is in heaven and believers on earth, is to deny, at the same time, the reality of the incarnation; it is to overlook the fact that whilst he is seated at the right hand of God the Father, he is by the power of his Godhead and Spirit at no time absent from us. That the union is spiritual and not that of external contiguity, is by no means an argument against its reality. Thomas, who had thrust his hands into the wounds of the Saviour's side, was not more closely united to him than were the other disciples, or even the converted thief, whose spirit had been conveyed to

Paradise. Faith annihilates time and distance; "it is the substance of things hoped for and the evidence of things not seen;" it is the organ through which the realities of the spiritual world are let in upon the soul of man, and the form in which he receives Christ with all his benefits. It being settled then that Christ is mystical, that he and believers are one body, animated by the same life and the same spirit, as truly as Adam and his posterity constitute but one family, it must necessarily follow that Christianity squares fully with man's entire being. Like leaven, it pervades the whole lump, and sanctifies every department of human life. The laws and customs, the arts and sciences, learning and literature, all social relations and conditions; in a word, everything human is brought under its hallowed influences. The disciples of Christ are called *Christians*, because being united to him by a true faith, they are made partakers of his anointing; the same spirit, which is poured out upon the head, naturally flows down upon the members of the body, so that they are made prophets, priests and kings unto God. Just as Adam and his posterity, and the natural world with which they stood connected, were cursed in consequence of sin, so in the dispensation of gospel grace, everything is baptized in the Christian name. Hence we have our Christian men, families and nations; we have our Christian temples and worship, our Christian laws and countries; we have our Christian institutions; we have colleges and seminaries, philosophy and letters, arts and sciences, *all* baptized in this sacred name. They are all connected more or less remotely with the grand system of religion which has Christ for its centre, and humanity as mystical in him for its periphery.

There is no room here for abstract speculation or thought. Indeed all abstract forms of doctrine, if they are not to be looked upon with suspicion, must be regarded, nevertheless, as one-sided and incomplete.

The religion of mere doctrine is at best a cold intellectualism, which, like the regions of the North, has sufficient light, but not warmth enough to produce the fruits of grace and righteousness. The religion of mere ceremonial forms and observances is like the marble statue, imposing and beautiful

without; but there is no beating heart within, whose warm pulsations give expression to the countenance and motion to the body. The religion of abstract spiritualism, which makes but little account of doctrine and none whatever of forms, is like the mist and vapor of the morning that vanish into air; it has no power to elevate man to the position from which he fell, in consequence of sin, and from which he may be carried forward to the high degree of perfection and dignity for which he was designed in his creation. Yet, no religion that comes short of this, or does not square fully with man's entire being, meeting all his wants, can be regarded as perfect and complete. Just here precisely does Christianity authenticate itself as divine and altogether true; it redeems man in the totality of his being, both soul and body, and brings him into a state of actual union and communion with the divine nature. Hence its true idea involves more than doctrine and precept; yea, even more than faith as receiving power and grace; it is life and spirit flowing over to us continually from the fulness of him who filleth immensity with his presence, whilst at the same time, he is formed in the heart of every believer as the hope of eternal glory.

That Christianity is a living unity, whose mysteries cannot be fathomed by the finite understanding, is just as rational too as it is Scriptural.

Has it ever occured to those religionists, who deal exclusively in abstractions, that, whilst they are contending for their favorite theories, according to which every thing is made to square with human reason, they deny, or at least ignore the grand fact upon the ground of which salvation is alone possible? I mean the fact on which the very doctrine of the atonement is based; namely, that the same human nature which hath sinned must likewise make satisfaction for sin. This is a point which is fully settled by every confession of faith and every system of theology that is entitled to the least respect. Is it reasonable that the justice of God would punish any other creature for the sin which man hath committed? Could God in justice lay upon the angels the iniquities of us all? Or could he so lay aside his justice as to save men in their sins and iniquities? Impossible in the nature of the case.

If then, God has atoned for sin at all, he must have done so in human nature; that is the Saviour of man, whilst he is very God, must also be very man, sustaining to his people the very same relation as exists between Adam and his descendants. Either we must admit this fact, or we must deny altogether the doctrine of the atonement and the possibility of salvation. This is the only alternative left us. Those who profess faith in the doctrines of the Bible, and yet deny that Christianity is a life-power, are sadly and most fearfully deluded. Doctrinally there is no soundness in them from the crowns of their heads unto the soles of their feet. They may profess Christ with their lips, but they deny him in their hearts. Their error is fundamental; hence they can have no proper conception of any of the great doctrines that are essential to salvation, such for instance as original sin, human depravity, regeneration, justification, &c.

And here we would ask, Is such unbelief reasonable? How can the origin of sin, its malignity, and the evils it has brought into the world be accounted for on the principle of such unbelief? "The fool hath said in his heart there is no God;" he is no less a fool who denies that the Son of God hath come in the flesh. Of all absurdities, the greatest is that of unbelief in this respect.

On the contrary, what is more in accordance with sound and enlightened reason, than the supposition that the infinitely good and merciful God would save such of his fallen creatures as are capable of salvation? Truly if man can be redeemed, he whose essence is love, and whose power and wisdom are infinite, may be expected to bring deliverance. But we are asked, Why has not the same goodness redeemed the angels that kept not their first estate? We reply, no doubt if they could have been redeemed they would. The very reason why no such favor has been shown them, is, because they are not capable of receiving it. Every fallen angel is a sinner "per se;" the legions who fell with Lucifer did not fall because he fell, or in consequence of his transgression, not having been generated from him; therefore, in order to their redemption, it would be necessary for the Deity to assume the nature of

each angel separately, which we conceive to be impossible in the nature of the case. All the children of men, however, being possessed of one common nature, having descended from the same parentage, or, in other words, constituting but a single organism, we find here a possibility of a union with God, and consequently man is capable of redemption: "For if by one man's offence death reigned by one; much more they which receive abundance of grace, and of the gift of righteousness, shall reign in life by one, Jesus Christ. Therefore as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation, even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life. For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous."

From all that has now been said, it will follow that the interpreter, who occupies the Christian stand-point, does not take as the principle of his instructions any particular doctrine, or form of religion, but he rather plants himself upon the Christian system in its entireness, having as the principle of his interpretations "the truth as it is in Jesus." Conscious of his own personal union with Christ, by the Holy Ghost and by faith, he looks out from *this eminent point of view* upon the two worlds with which he stands connected, namely, the world of nature and the world of grace.

The importance of this position will appear more fully by an induction of particulars.

Objectively, or in itself considered, the truth as it is in Jesus, is one and undivided—more permanent than the heavens, more stable than the earth, and can be found no where else than in him, who is the Logos or personal word. *He is the truth*, as he is the way and the life; being the brightness of the Father's glory and the express image of his person, he is emphatically the truth of God, "the great light that lighteneth every man who cometh into the world."

He has, in his infinite goodness, favored us with a two fold revelation, the one natural and the other supernatural. The truth which we find in the great volume of nature is the truth of God no less than that which has been revealed in a

supernatural way. The one form of revelation, therefore, cannot contradict the other, but is in perfect harmony with it, and is necessary to its completion. As the truth is related to the different objects of nature, such as the earth and the stars, it becomes the object of natural science; as it has been supernaturally revealed in the Holy Scriptures, and is related to God it is the principle and norm of theology. In the form of science it is subjective, and consequently it becomes multiform; hence we have many sciences, as for instance, Geology, Chemistry, Astronomy, Anthropology, Moral Philosophy, &c., also Theology with its many branches and departments.

It is obvious, that, inasmuch as the truths of these different sciences all spring from the same divine source, they must, if rightly studied and understood, lead the mind back to God. "Philosophia obiter libata abducit a Deo, penitus hausta reducit ad eundem."

This might be illustrated by a reference to the natural sciences generally. It might be shown that they cannot come to their ultimate meaning until this earth with its rich variety of scenery, so splendidly illumined by the starry firmament, is contemplated as the grand theatre on which God has displayed his perfections in the mission of his only begotten Son, and in the wonders of the new creation. Otherwise this habitation of man must be regarded as creation's blot and creation's blank. I shall select my illustrations, however, from those departments of learning more immediately connected with Theology.

The best introduction to the series generally is Athropology. This term has been used in a wider and in a narrower sense by different writers. According to the views of some, this science has to do simply with man's intellectual being, the mind, the soul; hence it is termed *Psychology*. The phenomena and activities of the soul, however, can only be understood fully, when it is considered in its relation to the body. The idea of the one is not complete without the other. The soul and body interpenetrate each other so as to constitute one being. This again is conditioned on all sides by external circumstances.

Man, who is formed out of the dust of the earth, is found to

sustain a necessary relation to the natural world around him as well as to the "spirit-world" above him. Hence he is regarded by some mental philosophers as the termination of a boundless past, the centre of a boundless present and the beginning of a boundless future, including in himself and in his relations the whole universe of existence. This is a sublime and grand view indeed which contemplates man as a microcosm, as the created universe in miniature.

The proper sphere of mental philosophy is, as we conceive, the study of man in all his relations by which he is affiliated and joined to other things, both temporal and spiritual, but, at the same time, as distinguished from these by the peculiarities of his own nature; its business is to solve the problem, "How a man may come to the knowledge of himself, as distinguished from the world on the one hand, and God on the other."

This problem cannot be solved by considering the individual simply in relation to himself, nor by taking a general view of society as it exists in common life. The individual must be viewed in his identity with his race, and the entire race again must be viewed in its complex union; that is, man must be studied in the totality of his nature. Under this view, however, we find that he is a religious, as well as an intellectual being. Notwithstanding the deep depravity of his nature, we find no nation or tribe so barbarous as not to worship the Supreme being under some form or other. Amongst all nations we find what may be termed a "God-consciousness," which distinguishes man from the lower orders of living creatures. But, as we have already seen, there is no form of religion so perfect as the Christian. This is the greatest plastic power that has ever been revealed in the world; it changes man's entire nature, so as to constitute him a new creature; it assimilates his character to that of God in Christ. If then it is important, in the study of this science, to make ourselves acquainted with those natural objects and influences, which condition human life in the different stages of its development, how much more important is it to consider those spiritual realities that are constantly exerting a transforming influence upon

the soul and upon the body. If the devotional and intellectual nature of man is to be studied and understood at all, he must be regarded as a religious being, and here our knowledge of him must be confined to comparatively very narrow limits, if we do not follow him in the higher stages of his development in the sphere of the Christian religion. And again, if Christianity is the highest form of human life, as we have seen, then it is obvious that our knowledge of human phenomena cannot be perfect as long as Christianity is left out of view. So on the contrary, it must be plain that, if in Christ alone humanity is perfected, our knowledge of it can only complete itself in him also, who is the source of all wisdom: i. e., the truths of this interesting science can only be understood fully when they come to be considered in their relation to "the truth as it is in Jesus," in whom humanity is sanctified in all the stages of its development from the mystery of birth to the still greater mystery of death, and in whom the body shall be raised from the grave at the last day, fashioned like to his own glorious body.

When we come to enter the department of moral science we also find this view fully sustained. Moral Philosophy is the science of the harmony of the human will with law, as revealed in reason.

Here the grand question is, "What is the principle of law?" or what is the ground of "moral obligation?" Many different principles have been discovered and unfolded in this department of learning. Amongst the most prominent are the Educational, the Political, the Eudaemonistic, the Practico Aesthetic, the Teleological, and the Theological, each having its corresponding expression: "Educate thyself and others," "Promote the general welfare of man," "Be happy," "Cherish right feelings and let moral sense rule;" "Live with reference to the end of thy being," and finally, "Do the will of God." All very well said. But all moral principles and precepts of this kind are powerless unless they ground themselves in the idea of the divine and eternal. "Educate thyself;" but wherefore? Where is the ground of my obligation to do so? "Be happy;" but how? Where? In what element? "Be

useful;" but to whom? What for? What is utility? That which I conceive to be a benefit to my fellow man may be the occasion of his ruin. "Let moral sense rule;" but what is moral sense? According to what law shall it rule? "Live with reference to the end of life;" but what is that high and noble end? "Do the will of God;" but what is that most perfect will? Where has it been most fully revealed?

These questions never have been, and never can be satisfactorily answered outside the sphere of Christianity. Just as little as the stream of human life, since tainted with sin, can purify itself, so little can man understand the true and ultimate ground of moral obligation without the aid of supernatural revelation. It is only when the light of revelation and the light of moral science mingle their beams, that the latter can be fully understood. The principle of morality is thus discovered not simply to be the law of God, as eternal necessity outwardly revealed to man; but it is said law in man, as identified with his very being. Neither is it the general consciousness of God in the soul, but it is this consciousness in the special form of Christianity.

So we perceive that Christianity is not only the most perfect form of humanity, but it is also the deepest ground and brightest form of morality. The only reliable system of Ethics is that of Christian Ethics. In this high and holy sphere it is alone possible for the science of Moral Philosophy to reach its ideal perfection.

As soon as we enter the sacred temple of theological science we shall also discover that nothing can be understood fully excepting in its relation to that within the veil. As every object in the Jewish temple, from the mercy seat to the doorpost, as well as the grand superstructure as a whole, was typical of the Messiah and his kingdom, so we find that in this department of learning, every subject must be studied and understood in its living relation to him "who is the truth."

It was once said, in the way of reproach, of an eminent theologian, that he was a man of but one idea; but this just happened to be the grand idea in which all other ideas are included, and from which they are derived; namely the proper idea of Christ's person.

He who is pervaded by this all-powerful and eternal idea is prepared to study and understand the truth in whatever form it has been revealed; and he, on the contrary, who has not this idea, cannot have a proper conception of the truth in the fulness of its meaning.

We may take, for illustration, some of the primary and most essential elements of theological science, those which have to do with God's being and character, and those which have to do with man's condition.

As intimated before, all nations have some notion of a Supreme being. Those voyagers, who have visited the most barbarous and savage tribes, have never yet discovered the phenomenon of a nation of Atheists. God is a spirit, filling immensity with his presence, and in the works of nature he has sufficiently revealed himself to the consciousness of man to leave him without excuse. "For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; even his eternal power and God-head," (Rom. 1: 20.) We cannot maintain then in any sense that the truth of God's being and perfections is undiscovered truth; but we affirm that its revelation completes itself only as it is "truth in Jesus."

The apostle Paul has said of Christ that he is "the image of the invisible God." Col. 1: 15. This we presume cannot be understood in any other sense than that which attaches to him as the Word of God.

"What speech is to thought, that is the incarnate Son to the invisible Father. Thought is a viewless thing. It can traverse space, and run to and fro through creation—and all the while there is no power in my fellow men to discern the careerings of this mysterious agent. But speech is manifested thought. It is thought unbodied; made sensible and palpable to those who could not apprehend it in its secret and silent expatiations." And precisely what speech thus effects in regard to thought, the eternal Son effected in regard to the invisible Father. The Son is the manifested Father, therefore he is termed the "Word," the relation between them being accurately that of speech to thought, the one expressing and setting

forth the other. We conceive, that in a similar sense, Christ is the image of the invisible Father.

With this precisely corresponds the remarkable declaration recorded in the Gospel according to St. John 1: 18, "No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him."

Every where in nature, we can see evidences of the divine wisdom, power, and goodness. "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth forth his handy work;" but how much greater is the glory of Jehovah as it passes before us in the person of his only begotten Son! Here his perfections and attributes are revealed as they never were before.

In nature, we see created wisdom, power, and goodness, but in Christ Jesus, these, and all other attributes, are personally embodied and revealed. From the general dealings of God with the nations of the earth, we may gather some evidences of his holiness and his justice, which must necessarily proceed against all sin; but does any one wish to be fully satisfied that God is holy and just, let him but go to the garden of Gethsemane and to the cross of Calvary; let him gaze upon the illustrious victim as he is, bending under the burden of human guilt, accumulated by sins not his own, but by imputation; let him but notice the awakened sword of God's justice execute its fearful office in smiting the shepherd, and certainly he must be fully convinced that sin cannot go unpunished. Let him but notice the blood flowing from the wounds of God's Son, for the washing away of human guilt, and he must be fully convinced of the divine holiness.

So everywhere in nature, we can see evidences of God's goodness; but no where has he commended his love toward us, as in the gift of his Son in redemption. Here we are fully assured that "God is love." And, in like manner, the wisdom and power of God are revealed here in the most pre-eminent degree; the former in discovering and the latter in executing the grand scheme of human redemption. The glorious miracles of creation and providence are surpassed by the greater miracles of the incarnation, by the crucifixion of the Son of

God, by his resurrection from the grave, and his ascension into heaven. The glory of God, as declared by the natural heavens, is eclipsed by the brighter glory of the new heavens and the new earth wherein dwelleth "righteousness," as the light of the moon and the stars is eclipsed by the brighter effulgence of the natural sun.

To show the correctness of our general position, we shall select but one illustration more. And for the sake of clearness, we shall take the grand distinguishing doctrine of the Reformation period of the sixteenth century; namely, the doctrine of justification by faith.

This doctrine, we maintain, must lose all its value and force, if viewed simply in an abstract way, or if separated from the general system of Christianity, of which it constitutes an essential element, and on the contrary, its true meaning can only be understood, when it is considered in its proper relation to him who of God is made unto us righteousness and complete redemption.

The term justification is usually, and not without some propriety, taken in a forensic sense; that is, the same in which a criminal, after satisfying the law, is acquitted, or justified in a court of justice. Justification is regarded as that act of God by which he pronounces the sinner just, for Christ's sake. A court has been erected upon Mount Zion; the sinner is apprehended by the law and arraigned for trial. He is found guilty of all the charges preferred against him; he acknowledges his guilt; he is penitent; he pleads for forgiveness. Now God, for the sake of Christ's righteousness, wrought out more than eighteen hundred years ago, pronounces the sentence of acquittal. This is justification. Now the question is, whether God justifies out of Christ or in Christ, whether the righteousness of the Saviour is thrown around the sinner outwardly, as a garment, or whether it is made over to him internally by the Spirit working faith in the heart. Now, if the abstract view be correct, can justification be a reality? Is it true that God justifies the sinner in his sins? It is replied that God sees the end from the beginning, and that, according to his gracious decree, he may have pronounced the sentence of acquittal upon

the sinner before he was born. Very true; but is it not also true, that God's only begotten Son was sent into the world, crucified and slain before the foundation of the world? Is it not true, that with *Christ* God has given every other saving benefit? If so, he must also have given the benefit of justification with Christ. Consequently no sinner can receive this benefit until he receives Christ. And God cannot (reverently be it spoken) pronounce upon the sinner the sentence of acquittal out of Christ. Therefore justification must be concrete, and not abstract. To prove this, we need but notice the parts of this work, namely, that performed by the Father, that performed by the Son, and that performed by the Holy Ghost. As said, it is God that justifies; but not God, simply as Father, or as Son, or as Holy Ghost. The three persons of the adorable Trinity are united in the entire work of redemption, so also in the particular work of the sinner's justification.

The Father is seated upon the throne as judge. The sinner is summoned to appear before him. He puts him to pleading his own cause, and when he acknowledges his guilt, he points him to his surety, and when he embraces this surety with a believing heart, relying upon his righteousness, he receives the sentence of acquittal. God the Son also does his part in the work; he places himself between the incensed Judge and the criminal; he pleads the merits of his sufferings and his death; he shows that he has borne the culprit's sins in his own body on the cross; he offers himself to the sinner with his perfect righteousness and when the sinner accepts the offer by a true faith, he receives justification. The office of the Holy Spirit is to convince of sin, of righteousness and a judgment to come. He brings the sinner to a consciousness of his guilt and misery; he shews him the insufficiency of his own righteousness, and brings near the righteousness of God, Isa. 46: 13, which he does not only doctrinally by his word, but also internally and powerfully by his gracious influences, working faith in the heart.

From all this it is obvious that the doctrine of justification by faith, viewed in an abstract way as is often the case, cannot be of any real force; but only comes to its full meaning

when considered in its living relation to "the truth as it is in Jesus." As two or more negatives can never make a positive, so an abstract notion can never make a living and saving reality. And here precisely is the grand reason why Christianity has been made to suffer so much from the hands of its professed friends.

Why is it that the preaching of our day accomplishes comparatively so little good? Since we have the Bible and the pure doctrines of the Reformation, why is it, that they have so little power in bringing the multitudes within the pales of the Church, and why is it that we have not the zeal and earnestness in the cause of the Christian religion, for which our pious forefathers were so eminently distinguished? Is it because God's arm is shortened that it cannot save? Is it because Christ has forgotten his promises to his people? Not at all. It is just because Christianity as a living power has been too much left out of view.

Ministers of the Gospel, instead of preaching Christ and him crucified, deliver polished and beautiful essays. Instead of delivering, the truths of the Bible, as the truth of Christ in living connection with him, they deal in abstract notions and speculations: these they deal out to the people just as merchants do their goods. (I mean as dry-good's merchants deal out their dry goods.) Men study theology to become great and learned; if possible to become Doctors of Divinity. Hence we have the distinction of theoretical and practical men. A theoretical man is one who deals merely in theory. The practical man is the one who retails other men's thoughts. In this sense we have come to hear of late even of practical theology. It has been conceived to be necessary and important to select practical men as professors in our seminaries, who could teach young men the art of dealing out to advantage the good thoughts of others, when they once come to be preachers. What a conception this! as though theology itself were not a living power intended for the heart as well as the intellect; as though this greatest of all sciences were a mere theory.

It is sacrilege to entertain such a thought. Theories spring from the brains of men. Sciences spring from God, and that

of theology especially springs from God in Christ; and as we have clearly seen will lead back to him.

Therefore the most truly scientific man, and the best theologian, will also be the most practical man. Theory may be true or false. Science is essentially true and must necessarily be practical in its bearings and results. How important, therefore, that all our colleges and other seminaries of learning be truly scientific.

How important that every interpreter of truth, and particularly the professor of theology occupy the Christian Stand-Point! If this were generally the case, that is, if all truth were considered in its living relation to Jesus, every form of error would soon give way; darkness would be dissipated, infidelity would blush at its own deformity, and all abstract thinkers as well as abstract forms of thought would soon become instinct with supernatural life.

When we look upon the immense number of skeletons that are collected in the theological world (of dead theologians and their works), it becomes a serious question: "Can these dry bones live?" O God, thou knowest; with thee all things are possible. Christ is the resurrection and the life; and as those who believe in him are raised from their graves of spiritual death to newness of life, he can also raise up living interpreters of truth, and give a living theology—teachers, who live in the truth of Jesus as in their proper element, and whose words are more beautiful than apples of gold in pictures of silver. Blessed are the Church and the Institutions which are favored with such instructors.

ART. VIII.—SHORT NOTICES.

KNOWLEDGE IS POWER: *A View of the Productive Forces of Modern Society and the Results of Labor, Capital and Skill.* By Charles Knight. Revised and Edited, with Additions, by David A. Wells, A. M., Editor "Annual Scientific Discovery," "Year Book of Agriculture," "Familiar Science, etc., etc. Illustrated with numerous Engravings. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 59 Washington street. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard, 1856, pp. 503.

ONE of the most remarkable and encouraging features of the present age, is the general diffusion of intelligence. In those countries especially, in which the English language is prevalent, and more particularly in the United States, persons are to be found amongst all ranks and conditions in life, who, on the score of intelligence, are an honor to themselves and to their country. There is no honorable calling, however humble it may be in itself, which cannot boast of its intelligent representatives.

This state of things is to be attributed, under Providence, in a great measure, to the special facilities of the age for acquiring information. The art of printing, with its associated branches of industry, has been so greatly improved, that books can be readily multiplied almost without number, and at such a cost as to be furnished at a price fully within the reach of persons of the most moderate means. Besides this, many individuals peculiarly qualified for the task, have devoted themselves to the special business of preparing works, eminently adapted to extend amongst all classes, a correct and extensive knowledge of the various arts and sciences, together with the practical results to which they have been successfully applied. Such individuals, accordingly, must be ranked amongst the benefactors of mankind.

We are gratified to be able to say, that the book, whose title we have given above, belongs to the class of works to which we have just referred. The author seems to have devoted himself to the praiseworthy task of serving his generation in the particular sphere we have been contemplating, and has furnished abundant evidence of his eminent qualifications for the position he has assumed. He has already

given to the public a number of valuable works, peculiarly adapted to spread intelligence among the masses. The one now before us, is by no means the least eminent among the series. It furnishes a vast amount of important information in relation to the arts and sciences, as applied practically to the various spheres of industry. We do not know, when we met with a book, which contains so much useful information presented in a very intelligible and attractive form. It is, in reality, Political Economy, practically applied. The American Editor has done much to render the work serviceable to his readers, by his careful revision, and various valuable additions, so as to adapt it to an American sphere. The work should be in the possession of every intelligent citizen. F.

THE SUFFERING SAVIOUR; *Or Meditations on the Last Days of Christ.* By Frederick W. Krummacher, D. D., Chaplain to His Majesty the King of Prussia; Author of "Elisha the Tishbite," "Last Days of Elisha," "The Martyr Lamb," etc. Translated under the express sanction of the Author, by Samuel Jackson. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co. 1856, pp. 474.

IT is sometimes a matter of surprise, even to an intelligent mind, to observe the great variety of gifts which are found to characterize men of acknowledged intelligence. Scarcely any two are to be met with, whose mental characteristics are in all respects alike, and no one, with perhaps here and there a rare exception, seems to excel in more than one particular sphere. There is much divine wisdom shown in this arrangement. It furnishes a pleasing variety, which tends to interest, and does much to throw a charm over human society. Besides this, it provides men adapted to every variety of sphere and want in life.

Dr. Krummacher, the author of the work, the title of which is given above, possesses a peculiarity of intellect, which is emphatically his own. He cannot be said to be a profound theologian or erudite philosopher. To any thing of this character, he would, by no means, set up any claim. His sphere is the pulpit and the rostrum, and not the professor's chair. He is the orator, swaying the multitudes by his burning words of eloquence. Most men, who excel in this sphere, owe much of their popularity and power to their manner. Stripped of this, their mental productions are comparatively tame. Such is, however, not the case with Krummacher. His manner has doubtless something to do with his fame as an orator. But this is not the

leading feature in what proceeds from his eloquent lips. The productions of his mind are pervaded by a pathos, which gives them power, even when transferred to the pages of a book. He lays hold of his subject with such masterly vigor, as to cause it to pass before the minds of his hearers or readers in living pictures, such as fail not to strike and impress. For graphic descriptive powers, Krummacher has never had his equal. Hence it is, that his various works are so eagerly sought and extensively read. They necessarily lose much in translation; but still retain enough of their original life and power, to make them highly acceptable to every cultivated Christian reader.

The work before us is on a subject specially adapted to the peculiar powers of the author's mind. Here is furnished abundant room for the exercise of his descriptive faculty, and he has not failed to turn it to good account. We have the Suffering Saviour presented before us in every variety of aspect. The diversified scenes immediately connected with the suffering period of his life, are all portrayed in the most vivid and striking manner. The Christian reader cannot arise from the perusal of any portion of its pages, without being deeply moved and most solemnly impressed. The work is eminently devotional in its character, and is well calculated to effect a vast amount of good. The translation, we will yet add, has also been faithfully and admirably executed. F.

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Art. I.—AMERICAN NATIONALITY.

By nationality we understand the peculiar genius of a people which animates its institutions, prompts its actions and begets a feeling of common interest and sympathy. It is not the result of any compact, but an instinct of human nature in its social capacity, an expansion of the inborn love of self and kindred. To hate his own countrymen is as unnatural as to hate his own brothers and sisters.

Nationality grows with the nation itself and acts as a powerful stimulus in its development. But on the other side it presupposes an organized state of society and is the result of a historical process. Barbarians have no nationality, because they are no nations, but simply material for nations. It is not only the community of origin and language, but also the community of rights and duties, of laws and institutions, of deeds and sufferings, of freedom and oppression, of literature and art, of virtue and religion, that enters into the definition of a nation and gives vigor to the sense of nationality. Historical reminiscenses of glory and woe, whether preserved in monuments, or written records, or oral traditions, popular songs and national airs, such as "God save the Queen," "Ye mariners of England," "Rule, Britannia," "Scots wha hae with Wallace bled," "Allons enfens de la patrie," "Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland," "The Star Spangled Banner," "Hail Columbia,"—contribute powerfully to strengthen the national tie and to kindle the fire of national enthusiasm.

Nationality begets patriotism, one of the noblest of natural virtues that has filled the pages of history with so many heroic deeds and sacrifices. Who can read without admiration the immortal story of Gideon, Leonidas, Cincinnatus, Horatius Cocles, William Tell, Arnold von Winkelried, the Maid of Orleans, John Hampden, Prince William of Orange, Andrew Hofer, George Washington, who lived or died for their country.

True patriotism does not imply hatred or contempt of foreigners, and is entirely compatible with a proper regard for the rights and welfare of other nations, just as self-love and self-respect may and should co-exist with the most generous philanthropy. A narrow-minded and narrow-hearted nationalism which walls out the life of the world and for this very reason condemns itself to perpetual imprisonment in the treadmill of its own pedantry and conceit, may suit semi-barbarians, or the stagnant heathen civilization of China and Japan, but not an enlightened Christian people. True and false nationalism and patriotism are related to each other, as self-love to selfishness. The first is a law of nature, the second a vice. We respect a man in the same proportion in which his self-love expands into love of kindred and country, and his patriotism into love of humanity at large. Washington was always generous to the enemy and was the first to establish amicable relations with England after the conclusion of the American war. The Christian religion, which commands us to love God supremely and our neighbor as ourselves, tends to purify and elevate patriotism, like every other natural virtue, by emancipating it from the selfish, over-bearing, all-grasping passion of conquest, and making it contributory to the general welfare of the human family. One of the noblest acts of the English nation, as a nation, is the disinterested abolition of the African slave trade.

The events of modern times tend more and more to break down the barriers between the nations, to bring the ends of the earth together and to realize the unity and universality of the human race.

This we must steadily keep in view, if we would understand

the distinctive character and mission of the *American* nation, i. e., the people of the United States, who are emphatically called by that name, as the chief bearers of the historical life and future significance of the entire Western Continent.

In discussing this interesting topic, we shall avoid, of course, the whirlpool of party politics, and endeavor to rise above those violent sectional strifes, which, for some time past, have been and are still agitating our country on the question of the true nature of Americanism.

Of all the great nations of the earth none has entered into existence under more favorable auspices and prospects, none is better prepared and more clearly called to represent a compact, well defined and yet expansive, world-embracing nationality, than the American. Our motto: *E Pluribus Unum*, is an unconscious prophecy of our national character and destiny, as pointed out by the irresistible course of events and the indications of Providence. Out of many nations, yea out of all the nations of Christendom is to be gathered the one cosmopolitan nation of America on the strong and immovable foundation of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Those European writers are greatly mistaken, who represent the people of the United States as altogether destitute of a proper history and nationality, as a vague conflux simply of heterogeneous elements, and the weak echo of the old world. We have not only the elements, but the actual beginning of a strong nationality. We have a history, short it is true, but fraught with significant events. We have national monuments, such as Independence Hall, Bunker Hill, Mount Vernon, that "look like prophets and speak like oracles." We have national heroes, great in war and great in peace, patriots, statesmen and orators, from Washington and Franklin to Webster and Scott, of whom any nation might justly be proud. We have a constitution and a form of government, which has long commanded the admiration of the friends of liberty and progress, and attracts emigrants by thousands and millions from all parts of Europe. We have a common inheritance of glory and freedom, and a glowing patriotism that animates every son and daughter of the land. We have the promising beginning

of a national literature and an astonishing activity of the press, which is already exerting a marked influence upon public opinion abroad. We have a power of assimilation, which surpasses that of any other people. In general intelligence, wealth and prosperity, we need not be ashamed of a comparison with the leading powers of Europe; and while we are behind them in original creations of science and art, in the extent and value of universities, libraries, museums, and other institutions, which require centuries to be matured, we surpass them all in the rapidity of progress in every branch of life and action, and in bright prospects for the future.

At the same time, it is true, that we are the youngest of all the independent nations, that rank with the great powers. We have hardly entered upon the stage of youth. Our nationality is as yet in a process of formation and consolidation. It may be compared to the "Father of Waters" in his early youth, inviting the tributaries from the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains to swell his volume and to carry the wealth of nations on his majestic course of four thousand miles, through "the garden of the world," to the mouth of the boundless sea.

Let us now proceed to an analysis of the different elements, which enter into the composition of the American nationality and will, in their combined action, enable it to fulfil its great destiny.

It is evident to the most superficial observer that the basis of our national character is English. It is so, not only in language, but also in manners and customs, in our laws and institutions, in the structure of our domestic, political and ecclesiastical life, in our literature and religion. It is perfectly idle to think that this country will ever become German, or French, or Irish, or Dutch. Let them emigrate by hundreds of thousands from the continent of Europe, they will modify and enrich, but they can never destroy or materially change this Anglo-Saxon ground-element of the American people.

History pointed to such a result in its earliest dawn upon this western world. It is true, Spain dreamed herself at first the sole possessor of the "New World," and annexed to the

coat of arms which she assigned to Columbus and his family, the motto:

A Castilla y à Leon
Nuevo mundo dio Colon.
(To Castile and Leon
Columbus gave a new world.)

And Pope Alexander VI, in the exercise of the supreme politico-ecclesiastical power of the mediæval hierarchy, divided in 1493, the entire western hemisphere between the crowns of Spain and of Portugal. But Providence had decreed otherwise, and history soon set aside this hasty interference with its unalterable course. The northern part of this continent was first discovered by John and Sebastin Cabot in 1497, who sailed under a patent of Henry VII of England, and touched at Labrador and New Foundland one year before Columbus set foot on the mainland of South America. The territory of the United States especially, came from the start under English influence and was first successfully settled by English emigrants. The sturdy Puritans, who, since their landing on Plymouth Rock in 1620, and ten years later in Salem and Boston, gave tone and character to the six New England States, and whose descendants are the chief pioneers in our western States and territories; the loyal Episcopalians, who planted the first colony in the "Old Dominion" in 1607, and afterwards extended to Maryland, the Carolinas and Georgia; the liberal Catholics, who accompanied Leonard Calvert, brother of Lord Baltimore, to the shores of the Potomac in 1634, and wisely made the new settlement under the name of the consort of the unfortunate Charles I, an asylum for all Christians without distinction of name and sect; the peaceful Quakers, whom William Penn led to the Key-stone State in 1681—however different in their habits and opinions, spoke all the same tongue and came from the same Albion,

"That precious stone, set in the silver sea;
Which serves it in the office of the wall."

This English element instead of diminishing with the separation from the political control of the mother country, has constantly increased and long since become so powerful as to

exclude the possibility of a successful competition of any other nationality or language. It has assimilated to itself the Dutch settlers of New York and New Jersey, the Swedish colonists on the banks of the Delaware, the Spaniards in Florida, and is drawing more and more every day the French in Louisiana, the Germans and Irish in the middle and western States, into its irresistible current.

Upon the whole, we could not wish any better basis for our North American nationality and must regard it as a mark of the special favor of an all-ruling Providence to our country, which, for this very reason, is so far in advance on the older Spanish and Portuguese settlements of Central and South America.

For, of all the modern nations none is more solid, earnest, energetic, independent and progressive, none better adapted to colonize new countries in the West and to regenerate old empires in the East, than the English. Whatever may be their defects and sins, the world-wide power and influence of their little island-home is certainly one of the most remarkable phenomena in the annals of the human race and can only be accounted for on the ground of an extraordinary strength of intellect and character and an especial design of Providence, which has appointed them to be the pioneers of an enlightened Christianity and constitutional liberty on all the highways of commerce to the extremities of the inhabitable globe.

But with all due regard for good old England, America is by no means intended to be a mere copy or continuation of it. If our nationality, owing to its youth and the many foreign elements still entering into its composition, is less solid and compact, than that of our older brother, it is, on the other hand, more capable of expansion and development; it is composed of a greater variety of material and destined ultimately for more comprehensive ends by the Almighty Ruler of nations, who assigned us not an island but a continent for a home, and two oceans for a field of action.

If ever a nation was laid out on a truly cosmopolitan basis and gifted with an irresistible power of attraction, it is the American. Here where our globe ends its circuit, seems to

terminate the migration of the human race. To our shores they come in an unbroken stream from every direction. Even the tribes of Africa and Asia are largely represented amongst us and call our country their home. But whatever may be the ultimate fate of the red man, the negro and the Chinese, who are separated from us by the unsurmountable difference of race, it is evident that all the civilized nations of Europe, especially those of Germanic origin, have contributed and will continue to contribute to our stock. They meet here on the common ground of freedom and equality, to renew their youth and to commingle at last into one grand brotherhood, speaking one language, pervaded by one spirit, obeying the same laws, laboring for one aim, and filling in these ends of the earth the last and the richest chapter in the history of the world. As Europe is a great advance on the civilization of Asia, so we have reason to believe that America will be in the end a higher continuation of the consolidated life of Europe. The eyes of the East are instinctively turned to the West, and civilization follows the march of the sun.

The history of the colonization and growth of this country strongly support the view here taken. The descendants of England were indeed the chief, but by no means the only agents in the colonial period. The Dutch on the banks of the Hudson, the Swedes on the Delaware, the Germans in Pennsylvania and the neghboring States, the Huguenots in South Carolina, New York and Boston, were amongst our earliest and most useful settlers. In a more recent period Scotland, Ireland and all parts of Germany have made the largest contributions to our population. Florida, California and New Mexico are of Spanish origin. The French claimed once by right of exploration and partial occupation the immense central valley from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, and between the Alleghenies and the Rocky Mountain; and although these possessions have long since been ceded to England and the United States, the French element can never be entirely effaced on the banks of the lower Mississippi, or in Canada East.

In the revolutionary war the descendants of the Continen-

tal Europeans, especially the Germans of Pennsylvania and Virginia, in proportion to their number, fought with as much zeal and success and shed their blood as freely for the independence of the country as the Anglo-Americans. Some of them, as the Mühlenbergs and the Hiesters, acquired considerable distinction as officers of the army, or members of the first Congress.

But a number of our most eminent revolutionary heroes were not even native Americans, but came from different nations to offer us the aid of their means, their enthusiasm, their military skill and experience in the hour of trial. The Irish Montgomery died for us at the gates of Quebec. General Mercer, who fell in the battle of Princeton, was a native of Scotland. Kosciusko, the Pole, paid his early vows to liberty in our cause, and his countryman, Pulaski, perished for it at Savannah. The noble Germans, Baron de Kalb, who shared with Gaines the glory of capturing Burgoyne and fell in the battle of Camden in South Carolina, bleeding of seven wounds, and Steuben, the pupil of Frederic the Great, and the seven years' war, who left a handsome pension to serve his adopted country and helped to decide the day at Yorktown, crowned in the new world the high military reputation, which they had previously acquired in the old ; they were amongst the most experienced officers in the American army, and did it essential service, especially by training, with immense labor, the raw recruits, and preparing them for the victories of the battle-field. Our Congress knew well how to appreciate their merits, by erecting to the former a monument at Annapolis, and by voting to the latter a handsome annual pension, to which the legislatures of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York added large donations of land. France threw the weight of her powerful moral influence and material aid into our scale, and sent us the Count de Rochambeau, Baron de Viomenil, and especially the Marquis of Lafayette, the citizen of two worlds, whose name will be handed down to the latest American as well as French posterity, in inseparable connection with Washington. The West Indies gave us Alexander Hamilton, who fought gallantly in the war, and, after its conclusion, organized our

financial credit and took the most distinguished part in the formation and defence of our federal constitution, thus joining to the laurels of the battle-field the more enduring honors of peace, like his friend, the father of his country, whom we justly revere and love as "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

Thus all the leading nations of Christendom were actively and honorably represented in the first settlement of our country, and in that great struggle, which resulted in the birth of a new nation, and thus they earned a title to a share in the blessings of its freedom.

Italy and Spain, combined in the persons of Columbus and Isabella, first opened America to the vision of the world. England gave us our language, common law, trial by jury, the spirit of constitutional liberty and the power of self-government. The sons of Germany, Holland, Sweden, France, Scotland, Ireland and Poland helped to plant our first colonies and to emancipate us from British rule. The United Provinces of the Netherlands and the republican confederation of Switzerland furnished the example of a federal union. Our arts are from genial Greece; our jurisprudence from imperial Rome; our common school system from Prussia; our literature is gathered from the romotest antiquity of the Mosaic records to the latest productions of English, German and French genius. And finally our dearest treasure, and the only safe-guard of our liberties, the Christian religion, was born in Palestine, and our Protestantism strikes its deepest roots in the land of Luther, Zwingli and Calvin. Our country stands, therefore, even in its early history and constitution, to adopt the language of the distinguished historian of the United States, "more than any other, as the realization of the unity of the race."

When our country, after the close of the war of independence, and the critical period of the formation of a federal constitution, entered upon its peaceful career under a well organized republican government, in the same year, in which Europe was shaken to its very base by the French revolution, it pursued the wisest as well as the most liberal policy with regard to foreign emigration and has maintained it to this day.

True to its history from the earliest settlements, it offered a hospitable asylum to all the nations of the old world with a view to their benefit, and its own interest.

Our naturalization laws in connection with the advantages of a new country of boundless extent and untold resources, and the cramped and unsettled condition of Europe, called forth an emigration, which, after the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars, has steadily increased and assumed the character of a peaceful migration of nations, so that our naturalized foreigners must now be counted by millions. The number of emigrants to the United States in 1820 was 5,993; in 1830, 23,074; in 1840, 83,504, in 1850, 279,980; in 1853, 368,643; in 1854, 460,474. Hence the almost fabulous growth of our Atlantic and Western cities, springing up like the creations of romance, and doubling their population in ten, or as in the case of Chicago, even in five years. Of these foreigners by far the greatest proportion come from Great Britain, especially Ireland, and from Germany. In 1854 the German immigrants alone amounted to 250,000, and the whole number of American Germans, including their English descendants, must now considerably exceed four millions.

In the last and the present year, the immigration has indeed fallen off considerably, owing to the Eastern war, now happily concluded, the high prices of provision and scarcity of employment, and especially also the rise of the anti-foreign and anti-Romanist party, which swept like a whirlwind over our country. This sudden decline of the influx of immigrants may be considered also as a natural and necessary reaction against its excess in previous years, especially in 1854, when the foreign food exceeded our powers of immediate digestion, and thus threatened to decay before our doors and to poison our atmosphere. But this reaction can only be temporary. European emigration, as well as the emigration of our own people from the Eastern to the Western States, cannot and will not be stopped, as little as the course of the Mississippi, or the march of the sun from the East to the West. The westward current of empire will go on, now larger, now smaller, according to the condition and wants of the times, until our immense territory

shall be fairly settled with a population answering in some measure, at least, the inexhaustible resources and the world-embracing destiny of America. "Whether for weal or woe," said an eminent American divine in the year 1849,* "the life of Europe is to be poured in upon our shores without restraint or stint, till it shall cause the ancient blood of the land to become in quantity a mere nothing in comparison. God is fast showing, by the stupendous course of His Providence, that this American Continent was designed from the start, not for the use of a single race, but for the world at large. Here room has been provided, with all the outward necessary conditions, for the organization of a new order of life, that may be as broad and universal as the soil it shall cover; and now the material out of which it is to be formed, the elements that are needed for such world-embracing constitution, are made to flow together from every side, for the purpose of being wrought into a new nationality which shall at last adequately represent the whole."

But here the question arises, Do we not lose more by this immigration, in the purity of our national character, than we gain in numerical strength? Is there no danger to be apprehended to our civil and religious liberties from a population, a considerable part of which was brought up under the influence of superstition and political and ecclesiastical despotism? Are not all the vices and infidelity of old Europe flowing in amongst us to swell the muddy stream already so fearfully large, of our native corruption? Is it not high time, therefore, to modify at least our naturalization laws and to require a longer preparation for admission to the rights of citizenship?

In answer to these objections, we must first freely admit that a considerable proportion of our foreign population is taken from the most ignorant and most neglected classes of European society. Not a few of them have left their country for their country's good, and would, so far as their influence goes, overthrow the very foundations of Church and State and resolve society into anarchy and chaos. It is even charged

* Mercersburg Review, Vol. I, p. 32.

upon some governments of Europe—I do not know with how much reason—that they empty their poor houses and prisons into our country, as Spain unwisely did in the earliest settlements of the West Indies and the South. Such an insulting abuse of our hospitality would certainly justify prompt and vigorous measures of remonstrance and repulsion on the side of the general government and the authorities of our sea ports. For every society has certainly a right and a duty to protect itself with all proper means against pernicious influences, which threaten its dissolution.

But supposing even the number of bad elements in our foreign population to be larger than it actually is, there is really less danger to be apprehended from this direction, than from our strictly domestic difficulties, e. g., the single question of slavery. The political influence of naturalized foreigners is almost entirely confined to the ballot box, where their votes are always cast in favor of one of our leading parties, which will ever be controlled by native American statesmen and politicans. To deprive them of their political rights and repel them by unkindness, would only make them enemies in our own household. The noblest and most successful way to remedy the evil and avert the danger, arising from a part of our foreign population in our larger cities, is a vigorous execution of our laws, an increased activity of our benevolent societies, and the spread of education, virtue and religion. Let us make the foreigners good Christians, and we are sure to make them good citizens. The great change which they have undergone, the new relations and circumstances in which they are placed, are well calculated to open their minds and hearts to the work of home evangelization, and many of them have been reformed in America, who would have died in the prisons or on the gallows of Europe.

Secondly, we must consider the youthful vitality of our country, which is fully able to control the foreign influence and to turn it into the channel of its own national life and general welfare. What might do great injury to an old nation, is assimilated with astonishing rapidity by the American republic and taken up into its organism, or at least made harm-

less by being scattered over our immense territory. Those noisy and unruly demagogues and infidels, who made so much trouble in Germany, France and Italy in 1848 and 1849, have either sunk into perfect obscurity amongst us, or become quiet citizens, and even if they should retain their foreign feelings and habits and cherish a hatred to our institutions, their children and children's children will inevitably be flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone. Thus all foreign emigration only adds to our native strength and resources, and the number and influence of foreigners decreases every year in proportion to the rapid increase of our native born population. It shows a great want of faith in our national vigor and institutions, to suppose that they can ever be overthrown, or even materially changed by foreign influence. America will always be governed by Americans. They are fully able to do it, and any attempt of strangers to wrest this right, so dearly bought in the war of independence, from them, would only prove their fitness for Bedlam. Not unfrequently foreigners, who emigrate from love to our institutions, become the most patriotic Americans, as proselytes are generally the most zealous members of the sect which they join from inward conviction.

But finally, it should not be forgotten, that the great mass of European emigrants, after all, come to our shores to make an honest livelihood, and prove a valuable addition to our national strength and prosperity. They bring millions of money into the country, and are a powerful element in the development of its physical and intellectual resources. Without them, the United States would hardly contain one third of their present population. Without them our progress would be most materially retarded. The immigrants help us to clear our woods; to till our soil; to work our mines; to dig our canals; to build our railroads and steamboats; to enlarge our cities and villages; to increase our domestic comforts; to fill the ranks of our army and navy, and in the hour of danger to fight our battles; to extend our commerce; to adorn our society; and to promote learning, virtue and religion.

As long, then, as we have such an immense body of land waiting for living men, and such a gigantic task of the future

before us, there is no cause to discourage immigration. Let this continent of land continue to attract another continent crowded with men, that they may thus both prove a blessing to each other. How could we cherish a proscriptive spirit without striking at the fundamental creed and glory of our institutions? How could we indulge in hatred of foreigners and shut the gate to the stranger, without insulting the memory of our own fathers and of the fathers of this country? Let us never forget the sacred trust of civil and religious liberty committed to us; never forget our past history, and our comprehensive destiny. Ourselves the children of the pilgrims of a former generation, let us welcome the pilgrims of the present day, and open a hospitable asylum to the oppressed and persecuted of every Christian nation. Favored by the free gift of Providence with a territory, almost as large as Europe, and capable of sustaining ten times the amount of our present population, let us cordially invite and encourage the immigrants, till prairies and forests, and mountains and valleys resound with the songs of living men and the praises of God.

Here are our millions of acres stretching towards the setting sun and teeming with hidden wealth, that must be made available for the benefit of society. Here is room enough for all the science, learning, art, wisdom, virtue and religion of Europe, that transplanted into a virgin soil and breathing the atmosphere of freedom, they may bring forth new blossoms and fruit and open a new epoch in the onward march of civilization. Here is the general congress of the noblest nations of Christendom, the sterling, energetic Briton; the strong-willed, enterprising Scotch; the hard-working, generous Irish; the industrious, deep-thinking German; the honest, liberty-loving Swiss; the hardy, thrifty Scandinavian; the even-tempered, tenacious Dutch; the easy, elegant Frenchman; the earnest, dignified Spaniard; the ingenious, imaginative Italian; the patriotic, high-minded Magyar and Pole,—that they might renew their youth, and laying aside their prejudices and defects and uniting their virtues, may commingle into the one American nation, the freest, the most enlightened, the most comprehensive of all, the nation of the new world, the nation of the future.

We should not be surprised, that hostile collisions take place occasionally between the different nationalities of our land in this their present transition state. For the process of amalgamation has hardly begun; but it is going on with wonderful rapidity, which seems to increase in the new settlements of the western states. In an old country like Hungary, we find the greatest variety of races, Magyars, Germans, Slovacks, Wallacks, Croats, Servians, Illyrians and Wends, speaking as many tongues, without any real process of amalgamation. In Switzerland three languages and nationalities live peacefully together without making any inroad upon each other. The Alsace is still predominantly German, although nearly two hundred years incorporated with France. England, with all its national power, has not been able yet to assimilate to itself the Irish Celt. But in our Republic, one generation, and sometimes a few years, are sufficient to engraft the new branches upon the Anglo-Saxon stem, and to make them partake of the life of the root. And all this is done not by outward pressure and compulsion, as in Russia, which, likewise, tends to russify every nationality and language in its vast dominions, but by the youthful vitality of our system and the silent operation of our free institutions.

The English nationality is a striking illustration of the fact, that different races can coalesce into one and produce something higher and better than the separate elements of which it is composed. For it is a mixture and cross of at least three stocks. The Briton, or a branch of that Celtic race, which, long before Christ moved westward from central Asia, constitutes, as it were, the root of the English people, still lives in their fearless boldness and love of independence, and gives the name to the empire, "Britannia,"

> "Whose march is o'er the mountain-wave.
> Whose home is on the deep."

The Anglo-Saxon, one of the most vigorous shoots of the great Germanic or Teutonic family, forms the main stem, which supports the branches and supplies them with strength and nourishment. But it has itself been ennobled and fertilized in the eleventh century by a Norman graft from sunny

France. Hence also the English language has received contributions from the noblest ancient and modern tongues, and is, for this very reason, better calculated than any other, to become more and more the language of the world.*

A similar process of commingling of nations is now going on in our country, but on a much more comprehensive scale, and under more favorable conditions, on the basis of the time-honored civilization of Europe, with richer material, and consequently also, with the promise of a greater result. As in ancient Corinth, the accidental fusion of all the metals accumulated in the temples, produced a new metal better than any of its component parts, either silver or gold; so we may fairly suppose, that the providential fusion of all the nations of Christendom on this fertile soil of North America, will result ultimately in a race that will surpass all other nations, either Saxons, or Celt, or Germans, or French.

It is not sufficient, of course, that the outward material simply, be gathered from all lands, but it must be worked up into the inward constitution and be converted into one flesh and and blood. It must not be a mixture merely, but an organic union and reproduction of the several reigning elements under a new and universal form. The result must be, not abstract

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* I cannot refrain from quoting, in this connection, the remarkable eulogy pronounced on the English language by the great German philologist, Jacob Grimm, of Berlin, in the following passage, (*Ueber den Ursprung der deutschen Sprache*, 1852, page 50):

"Keine unter allen neueren Sprachen hat gerade durch das Aufgeben und Zerrütten aller Lautgesetze, durch den Wegfall beinahe sämmtlicher Flexionen eine grössere Kraft und Stärke empfangen, als die englische, und von ihrer nicht einmal lehrbaren, nur lernbaren Fülle freier Mitteltöne ist eine wesentliche Gewalt des Ausdruckes abhängig geworden, wie sie vielleicht noch nie einer menschlichen Zunge zu Gebote stand. Ihre ganze, überaus geistige, wunderbar geglückte Anlage und Nachbildung war hervorgegangen aus einer überraschenden Vermählung der beiden edelsten Sprachen des späteren Europa's, der germanischen und romanischen, und bekannt ist, wie im Englischen sich beide zu einander verhalten, indem jene bei weitem die sinnliche Grundlage hergab, diese die geistigen Begriffe zuführte. An Reichthum, Vernunft und gedrängter Fuge lässt sich keine aller noch lebenden Sprachen ihr an die Seite setzen. Da die englische Sprache, von der nicht umsonst auch der grösste und überlegenste Dichter der neuen Zeit, im Gegensatz zur classischen alten Poesie—ich kann natürlich nur Shakspeare meinen—gezeugt und getragen worden ist, sie darf mit vollem Rechte eine Weltsprache heissen und scheint gleich dem englischen Volke ausersehen, künftig noch in höherem Maasse an allen Enden der Erde zu walten."

Americanism, or any particularism over against the other members of the civilized world, but such an incorporation of the true substance of the past history of Europe into the American character, as may fairly and fully qualify it to represent the unity and universality of civilized and Christianized humanity.

The destiny and mission of such a cosmopolitan nation can hardly be estimated. It must be majestic as our rivers, magnificent as the Niagara Falls, lofty as the Rocky Mountains, vast as our territory, deep as the two oceans around it, far-reaching as the highways of commerce that already carries our name and influence to the remotest regions of the globe. History points to a boundless future before it, and nothing can prevent it from filling the most important pages in the annals of coming centuries than its own unfaithfulness to its providential trust.

It is a remarkable play of history, that sometimes its first beginnings, even in the shape of superstition and incidental error, foreshadow the end. The first Adam was a type and prophecy of the second Adam, who is the desire of all nations and of every human heart. The very name of Abraham pointed to his countless spiritual posterity and the Messianic blessings that should flow from his seed upon the nations of the earth. The future conquests of ancient Rome were indicated in her very name, which means strength, and in the fable of her founders, the sons of Mars who sucked at the breasts of the she-wolf. The reader of the life of Columbus will remember, that the great discoverer, although entirely mistaken as to the geographical position of the new world, and tenaciously holding to the fancy that he had only touched the extreme Eastern borders of Asia, that Hispaniola was the ancient Ophir visited by the ships of Solomon, and that there was a land-route from Cuba to Spain, viewed his enterprise from the loftiest position and connected with it the boldest designs which transcended the capacities of Spain and his age, as well as his own powers of execution.

It was especially the universal triumph of the Christian religion that entered deeply into his scheme. "He looked upon

himself," says Washington Irving,* "as standing in the hand of heaven chosen from among men for the accomplishment of its high purpose; he read, as he supposed, his contemplated discovery foretold in Holy Writ, and shadowed forth darkly in the mystic revelations of the prophets. The ends of the earth were to be brought together, and all nations and tongues and languages united under the banners of the Redeemer. This was to be the triumphant consummation of his enterprise, bringing the remote and unknown regions of the earth into communion with Christian Europe; carrying the light of the true faith into benighted and Pagan lands, and gathering their countless nations under the holy dominion of the Church." His sanguine and pious hopes brought even the deliverance of the holy sepulchre from infidel desecration into connection with the discovery of the western world. He suggested it to the Spanish sovereigns at the time he first made his propositions, and after his return from the West Indies, flushed with the prospects of the vast wealth now to accrue to himself, he solemnly vowed to furnish, within seven years, an army, consisting of four thousand horse, and fifty thousand foot, and a similar force within the five following years, for the conquest of the consecrated soil of the Saviour and the birth-place of Christianity. Thus a holy crusade was to be the consummation of those divine purposes for which he considered himself a chosen agent in the hands of Providence.

Perhaps these visionary projects may, after all, be fulfilled, without a crusade, of course, and in a far better and more spiritual form than Columbus dreamed. America must become one of the high-ways of Europe to the mysterious wealth of Asia, a bridge of nations, a thoroughfare of the march of commerce, freedom, civilization and religion. The settlement of the Western question and the fulfilment of the providential mission of the new world must materially affect the final settlement of the Eastern question and the ultimate fate of the old world. Our growing commerce, the example of our institutions, our press, with its flood of books, pamphlets and periodi-

* The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus, Vol. I, p. 53 and 54.

cals, are already a power for good or for evil in the public opinion of Europe, especially of Great Britain, and a thousand personal ties bind our people to all the nations of Christendom. Our Churches lend a helping hand to every noble enterprise, and will take more and more an active part in the Christianization and civilization of the barbarian tribes of Africa, the vast empires of China and Japan, and the regeneration of the stagnant Churches and sects in Asia, the cradle of the human race and of our holy religion. Thus it is no dle dream or vain conceit to look forward to a time when North America will be, in some sense, the centre of the world, the middle kingdom between Europe and Asia, the great beating heart of humanity itself, sending out the life blood of nations to the extremities of the earth and gathering them into one vast brotherhood of interest and love.

History so far has moved from East to West, from the rising to the setting sun. But the last triumph of this law, which alone is sufficient to secure an eminent place to America for the future, will perhaps be its abrogation. For when history shall have fairly erected its central stage of action on the magnificent theatre of the new world to perform its last and crowning scenes, the extreme ends of the civilized world will be brought together by the power of steam and electricity, the wonderful achievements of modern science, the leveling influences of the press and public opinion, and the more silent, but deeper and stronger workings of the everlasting Gospel. Then Europe, Asia, Africa and Australia will celebrate with America, as one family, the inauguration of the millennium of righteousness and peace, to the glory of Him who made them all and redeemed them all, and whose Kingdom shall have no end.

Such high views on the destiny of our nation, so far from nourishing the spirit of vanity and self-glorification, ought rather to humble and fill us with a deep sense of our responsibility to the God of nations, who entrusted us with a great mission for the world and the Church, not from any superior excellency of our own, but from free choice and an inscrutible decree of infinite wisdom. Nor should we forget, that there are earful tendencies and dangers growing up in our national life,

which threaten to unfit us for our work and to expose us to the judgment of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, who is not bound to any particular human instrumentality, but can raise a new generation on the ruins of our own to carry out His designs. It is only in steady view of these dangers, and by an earnest struggle against evil temptations, that we can at all succeed and accomplish the great ends for which Providence has called us into existence.

Young as our nation is, it has already given ample proof of the awful corruption of human nature in its social as well as individual capacity. There is a false Americanism as well as a true one, and tendencies to dissolution reveal themselves along with the elements of consolidation. The revolutionary period already produced two opposite orders of men, the traitor Arnold, the infidel Paine, and the profligate Burr, in ominous contrast with Washington, Franklin and Hamilton, and the former would as certainly have ruined us by their sordid vices, as the latter saved us by their noble virtues. The last few years were uncommonly fruitful in developing the diseases in the youthful organism of our political and social life, and in revealing the dangers which threaten the peace and prosperity of our beloved country.

I will pass by, as less important, the rapid growth of the wildest extravagance and luxury, so dangerous to a republic, and that contemptible mush-room aristocracy, whose only boast is glittering gold, unable to conceal the native vulgarity; the many popular delusions and humbugs, from the spiritual rappings down to the baby-shows; the sophomorical self-glorifications of our fourth-of-July-orators, who set all governments and society of the old world aside, as a great failure, without knowing the alphabet of his tory; the aping of the worst follies of Europe in strange connection with an affected contempt of all monarchies and courts; the inordinate passion for offices, and childish fondness for empty titles that has blessed us with so many generals without a division, colonels without a regiment, captains without a company, corporals without a guard, physicians without patients, lawyers without cases, judges without a bench, ministers without charges, professors with-

out a chair, doctors without learning, and which may give us after a while a speaker without a Congress, since we had already for two months a Congress without a speaker, not to mention many other follies and weaknesses which abound in all sections of the country.

But what shall we say of the more serious moral and social evils, which seem to multiply so rapidly on our soil? I need only remind you of the wild and radical tendencies of our youth; the fillibuster spirit which scorns all international laws and rights, and meets only with too much sympathy even among members of Congress; the piratical schemes of our manifest-destinarians, who would swallow, in one meal, Cuba, all Central America, Mexico and Canada into the bargain; the growing rowdyism, and its humiliating influence upon the selection of candidates for high offices; the bloody election riots, that have recently disgraced our leading cities; the utter recklessness of human life, which fills the newspapers so often with heart-rending details of railroad and steamboat disasters; the unbridled passion for the almighty dollar, which fosters a mean and heartless utilitarianism and tends to extinguish all nobler aspirations of the human mind; the bitter party spirit in politics, and sectarianism in religion, which arrays brother against brother and violates truth and justice at every step; the speculative steamboat explosions, the Mississippi repudiations, and the multiplication of dishonest failures and gigantic frauds of public officers upon the people; the alarming number of murders and crimes, and the cowardly fear of many of our Courts of justice to punish them as they deserve; the host of political adventurers and unprincipled demagogues, who disgrace our legislative halls, and sacrifice the interests of the nation to their sordid ambition; the shameless briberies practised in our highest seats of national trust; the protracted disorganization of Congress itself, which, a few months ago brought the principle of representative government into danger and disrepute; the barbarous outrages in Kansas, which—no matter where the greatest guilt lies—must excite the just indignation of all friends of order and liberty; the unmeasured violence and low personalities of recent Con-

gressional debates, and the bloody desecration of the national Senate Chamber, which has no parallel in the annals of constitutional government, and causes the hearts of all patriots and Christians to weep; and finally the whole pro-slavery, and anti-slavery agitation, which grows more bitter and fearful every day and darkens our horizon with the terrible prospects of civil war and a dissolution of our union and strength.

I allude to these painful facts, not as a partisan, of course, but as an observer; not as a sectionalist, but as an American, with a sincere love for the whole country from Maine to Florida. No wonder, that, in view of the history of the last two years and the present critical aspect of affairs, some of our ablest and most experienced statesmen begin to look despondingly into the future and to entertain "the gloomy doubt"—I quote the words spoken a few days ago, by the Hon. Edward Everett from the tomb, as it were, of the venerable father of this country—"whether the toils, the sacrifices and the sufferings our fathers endured for the sake of founding a purer and a freer civilization on this Western Continent than the world had yet seen, have not been endured in vain."

Are we really in danger of losing our crown? Is our nationality to rot before it is ripe? Shall the great Anglo-Saxon Republic decay before it reaches the stage of manhood and add another proof to the gloomy reflection of the British poet:

> "There is the moral of all human tales;
> 'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past;
> First freedom, and then glory—when that fails,
> Wealth, vice, corruption—barbarism at last."

Or are these various signs of degeneracy and corruption merely the wild oats of the young giant, who will in due time learn better manners and settle down upon the sober and peaceful discharge of his proper duties? Are they diseases, not of the heart, but of the skin only, the skum on the surface, a passing cloud, which may darken our immediate prospects, but cannot affect our ultimate destiny?

We cheerfully embrace the second alternative, mindful of the old Roman practice never to despair of the commonwealth, not even in the darkest days of defeat and humiliation. We

may lose confidence in men, but not in humanity; in legislators and judges, but not in law and justice; in governors and presidents, but not in government and liberty. We may condemn and deplore single actions and events, but we dare not despair of history. We may fear for the present, but must hope for the future.

For God rules supreme in infinite wisdom and mercy, and makes even the wrath of man to praise Him. He delivered us from greater dangers than those that now surround us, and will not forsake us, until He has accomplished all His purposes of wisdom through our instrumentality.

But the American people, too, whatever may be said of many of their representatives, are sound at heart; they instinctively condemn those follies and vices; they have in themselves all the vital powers of a vigorous organism, which will work off, we trust, the diseases and excesses incident upon its luxuriant growth.

In view, then, of our past history, which abounds in manifestations of divine favor; in view of the boundless resources of our country, which were certainly not created in vain; and in view of the indications of Providence, both in the old and the new world, and their mutual relations, which point to the Continent of the West as the land of promise and the path of empire, we may well take courage and look hopefully to the future, ever cherishing a pure patriotism and exalted philanthrophy, an ardent love of freedom and deep regard for law, fearing God and loving righteousness, pressing forward and onward to the crowning triumphs of Christianity and civilization, and making us a name that shall carry the blessings of peace to the ends of the earth and be pronounced with reverence and gratitude by the latest generations.

ART. II.—REV. JACOB LISCHY.

IN that singularly chaotic period of the German religious life in America, in which date the regular organization and early struggles of the Reformed, Lutheran and Moravian communions, there is no man whose life is more interesting than that of Rev. Jacob Lischy. This "Schweitzer Prediger," has been a standing anomaly and puzzle to all who have glanced now and then, here and there, into the annals of the olden time. He neither began nor ended his course in the German Reformed Church. His appearance in it was like that of a comet in more than one respect—brilliant, but irregular and wild, moving carelessly around some hidden centre—and singularly like a comet, too, in being followed by a trail of consequences occupying a larger space than he did himself. Though the German Reformed Church is in no way responsible either for his good or his evil, yet he occupies a large and important space in her early history. We have attempted, in this article, to bring some order out of what has seemed hopeless confusion, and trust we have found the thread, crooked and knotty as it may be, which gives some kind of unity to his singularly erratic and eventful life. Hoping that the reader believes with us that this kind of historical inquiry has been too long neglected in the German Churches, we respectfully ask him to follow us whilst

"We trace the tale
To the dim spot where records fail."

In the month of March, 1748, Rev. Jacob Lischy paid a visit to Dr. Muhlenberg, on which occasion he gave an account of himself thus: "After he had been awakened,* from his

* Under the preaching of the Brethren in Mühlhausen and Basel. [Reichel in Schaff's Kirchenfreund, 1849, p. 102.]

fourteenth year on, he had become acquainted in his Fatherland with some awakened souls, and at length also with some Moravians; and by their sweet teaching concerning reconciliation and the lovely harmony which seemed to reign among them, he was led to think that they must be the best people in the world. He had visited their most prominent places in Germany, such as Herrnhut, Marienborn, and had also, in connection with them, come to Pennsylvania. The Moravian communion had empowered him as a Reformed preacher,* and used him in their plans, but still he had never been regarded as a full brother. When he had for several years preached among the Reformed in various places, and been the instrument, by preaching and personal intercourse, of awakening some souls, he also attended the Brethren-conferences. Some of his hearers insisted that he should honestly say, whether he was a brother of the Moravians? These also several times demanded of him he should say, whether he was willing to labor in all their plans? In this way he had for some time hung between both; till at length three written questions, which he should answer, were sent him from Bethlehem; as, Whether he wished in future to be regarded as, 1st a Natural Brother of the Moravian communion, or 2nd, A Friend, or 3rd, An Enemy. This induced him to set a time to pay a visit to Bethlehem, in order that he might, once for all, properly examine their affairs, in their connection and in an impartial spirit, and come to a decision. After he had been there several weeks, had prayed to God secretly that he might enlighten him, impartially considered their affairs, but also heard from Bishop Cammerhof very blasphemous expressions in public sermons, and in private conversations experienced nothing but offensive things; he took leave, and renounced his previous connection with them. The most prominent among them, especially Spangenberg, had made the utmost efforts to retain him, but he could do nothing else but cherish towards them a

* He was not a minister when he came to this country. After he was brought under the influence of Zinzendorf, he was, by his suggestion and request, ordained by David Nitchman and Anthony Seifert.—[Rev. Levin T. Reichel in Schaff's Kirchenfreund, 1849, page 101.]

general tender love; and that he first of all, felt himself induced to publish a declaration, expressed in mild terms, and to show why he had felt constrained to withdraw from their communion. Should they, on the contrary, as they are wont, reply with abuse and falsehood, he had yet much in store with which he could expose their nakedness and shame. I reminded him in love how greatly he had sinned, in secretly standing in communion with these people, and yet several times in his sermons had protested to his poor Reformed hearers that he was no Moravian Brother. He did not deny that he had committed much sin, and been the cause of much injury; but that he would pray to God for grace and pardon, and that he would create in him a clean heart and renew a right spirit within him. He said farther, that now he stood alone, and it was natural to suppose that the Brethren would invent and publish all kinds of reasons and motives which induced him to leave them; he asked, therefore, that we would embrace him in our prayers, that God would manifest in him the abundance of his grace and mercy, protect him against a fall, and bestow upon him power in the conflict with Satan and his wiles. For should he now commit the least error, the Brethren would trumpet it before all the world and say: Here now you see the reason why Jacob Lischy could not remain with us! After this he had his Declaration printed, and united himself with the Reformed ministers sent in by the Classis of Holland. He lives near the Pennsylvania line on the other side of the Susquehanna, where he has bought a piece of land, and serves several congregations."*

Such is Lischy's own account of himself, and of his connection with the Brethren, which became to him a source of much perplexity and trouble for many years. This report must, however, not be read without keeping in mind a full view of the position of Lischy at the time he made it, as well as that of Dr. Muhlenberg and the Brethren. This done, it will be found that our impression of the apparent craftiness on the one side, and the seemingly harsh judgment on the other, will be greatly modified.

* Hal. Nach. pp. 262, 263, 264.

It must be evident to any one who, with an impartial spirit, goes over the historical ground of that period, that Zinzendorf, in his mission to America, and in his early labors, from his arrival in 1741 onward, was moved largely, if not entirely, by a truly sincere, disinterested, and catholic spirit. This is especially true of the first years of his work. He was deeply penetrated with the sentiment, that all who are truly pious, are one in Christ Jesus, and that they ought to be one also in zeal and cöoperation for the general good of the kingdom of grace. Especially was he deeply persuaded that this should be the case amid the scattered and spiritually destitute Germans of this new world. His favorite idea, and that toward the realization of which, he directed his earliest and most undivided labors, was the formation of "a congregation of God in the spirit." * On this ground he desired to raise the standard of grace and peace, crying into the wilderness of barrenness and dark confusion, "Hither, all who belong unto the Lord!"

Around this standard, so beautiful in theory, but so difficult to realize, as time proved, a number of Reformed, Lutherans, and pious members of some of the smaller German communions, were already in heart enlisted. Henry Antes, an intelligent and pious layman of the Reformed Church, in Frederick township, had before imbibed this spirit and devoted much zeal and influence in its favor. Rev. Johannes Bechtel, as early as 1726 a German Reformed minister in Germantown, being of like spirit, also gave his heart, mind and influence to a scheme which looked toward such a result.

Thus there had been a movement in this direction independent of Zinzendorf, and previous to his arrival, which prepared the way, and if it did not suggest the idea to him, at least strengthened him in it, and encouraged him to hope and labor for its realization. † As early as 1736, a certain John Adam Gruber, formerly of the sect of the so-called Inspired, had sent out a call to "the awakened

* "Eine Gemeine Gottes im Geist."

† "It ought to be borne in mind, that Count Zinzendorf was neither the author nor advisor of these meetings at Germantown, but as he expressed it, "Pennsylvanians who had become tired of their own ways."—[Rev. Reichel in Moravian Miscellany, Vol. I, page 266.

souls scattered here and there in Pennsylvania, to a new organization of union and communion in prayer."* This call directed the thoughts of many toward this subject; and as early as 1739, the feeling thus awakened, had already manifested itself in special efforts toward its realization.† On the 15th of December, 1741, Henry Antes sent out a circular calling the first meeting at Germantown; which, accordingly, met Jan. 1, 1742. Six more Synods of this character were held previous to June, of the same year, in different parts of Eastern Pennsylvania. At the seventh Synod "the congregation of God in the spirit," was founded. Zinzendorf identified himself with this movement, and became in a degree the soul of it. In time, difficulties arose in the practical workings of this union. Some of the smaller sects, such a Swenkfelders, Dunkers, and Mennonites, gradually withdrew their sympathy. Meanwhile, in 1742, Dr. Muhlenberg arrived in the country, commissioned to organize and bring under the original ecclesiastical Lutheran order, the scattered Lutheran churches in the land. His work brought him in conflict with this union movement, the basis of which his commission did not allow him to approve. Thus some Lutherans withdrew, while others remained with the union. In like manner, in 1746, Schlatter arrived, commissioned to consolidate the scattered Reformed congregations in their original order, doctrines and worship. This was again a draught upon the union movement from another side. Those that remained with the union, of the Lutheran, Reformed, and others, were gradually regarded as being under the influence of Moravianism; and Zinzendorf, and those who with him labored to sustain the union, were charged with harboring the secret motive of drawing Lutheran and Reformed ministers and churches over to Moravianism. This suspicion increased, as the union became year after year, by the force of circumstances, more prominently, prevailingly and decidedly Moravian.

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* Rev. Reichel in Schaff's Kirchenfreund, 1849, p. 103, 104.

† See Heinrich Antes Circular-Schreiben, dated Dec. 15, 1741: "So ist man schon wohl zwei Jahr oder mehr damit umgegangen, ob's nicht möglich wäre eine Allgemeine Versammlung anzustellen." Büd. Samml., Vol. II, p. 722, 723.

Though at the time when this union movement commenced, there was as yet no Moravian congregation in Pennsylvania, yet at the time of its seventh meeting, in June, 1742, Zinzendorf founded one at Bethlehem. A colony of "Moravian Pilgrims," that had arrived at Philadelphia on the 7th of June, a few days before the Synod, made application to be received into the spiritual connection of the "congregation of God in the spirit"—and a vote having been taken, all were permitted to enter."* Thus, at length, was that movement which was designed, honestly, we believe, to take a wider range, narrowed down into the nucleus of the Brethren church in this country. Henceforth Bethlehem, and the union Synods which were still continued, became centres from which preachers and teachers went forth all over Pennsylvania to gather souls into the "congregation of God in the spirit." In this work Lischy was enlisted. This explains his position—showing, on the one hand, how and why, while he stood in this union, he was suspected and accused of being secretly a Moravian when he preached among the Reformed: and also, on the other hand, how and why he himself, as of Reformed origin and sympathies, withdrew from the union, when in the lapse of a few years, and by force of circumstances, it became distinctively Moravian. Thus the zeal which was manifested on the one side was not a spirit of proselyteism in favor of the Brethren, but only a zeal to keep up the union; and those Reformed ministers who held their Reformed predilections subordinate to this union while it yet stood on its original ground, are not to be regarded as guilty of duplicity and secret conspiracy to rob the Reformed Church of ministers, churches and members, but must be regarded as honestly laboring to sustain the interest in whose bosom they stood. It is also easy to see how this anomalous state of things would naturally give rise to misunderstandings and harsh judgments—accounting fully for the severe language of Lischy in withdrawing from the body, which under his eye, and during his ardent interest in it, had, as we have said, by the force of circumstances, gradually changed its entire character.

* Rev. Reichel, in Moravian Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 271.

Having found this hasty statement, as underlying the whole position of Lischy, necessary to a proper understanding of his seemingly versatile and inconsistent course, we now proceed with the narrative of his life.

Lischy having at first been brought in this way into connection with the "congregation of God in the spirit," as a layman, was by them ordained in January, 1743, as a minister, and sent out from Bethlehem to preach in various parts of Pennsylvania, especially among the Reformed, under the direction of Zinzendorf, and very frequently in company with him.

In December, 1742, Count Zinzendorf, in passing, spent a short time in Lancaster county. He preached in private houses in Warwick township, where Litiz now is, and also in the Court House in Lancaster. The people were much interested and moved by his preaching, and desired that he should send them a minister who should preach to them in the same spirit. He sent them the Rev. Jacob Lischy, who preached for some time in this region, and especially at Muddy Creek and at Kiesel's farm. "As Lischy had been brought up in the Reformed Church, before he came over to the Brethren communion, his sermons were received with special favor by the Reformed members in the neighborhood, and many came to hear him. The consequence was that a great awakening began among them."* This seems to have been his first field of operation after his ordination.

Being a close, warm-hearted, "gifted and approved preacher," he made an impression wherever he went; and received call after call to settle and become the pastor of Reformed congregations, to which, however, at this time he did not yield, preferring, as it would seem, a kind of evangelist life. Among others, he received a call, dated April 10, 1743, to Coventry township, Chester county, where he preached with effect.†

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* Biene, Vol. II, No. 14.

† We give a copy of this call:

"Vocation der Reformirten Vorsteher an Br. Jacob Lischy zu dero Lehrer.

Dieweilen uns auf unser Begehren und Gesuch der Ehrwürdige Herr Jacob Lischy als Reformirter Prediger in unserer Gegend und Nachbarschaft

In the same year we hear of him in the counties of Berks and what is now Lebanon, then a part of Lancaster.* "In 1743, the Rev. Jacob Lischy, whom Count Zinzendorf has sent out from Bethlehem, came into this region"—Hebron, near Lebanon, "and preached, as opportunity was afforded, in churches and private houses, and took care of the awakened souls in Berks and Lancaster counties."†

The general Synod of the "congregation of God in the spirit," was so constituted as to allow of different types, or modes (*Tropus*, as Zinzendorf designated it) of Christianity in its bosom, but under its general supervision. Thus, for instance, the Reformed and Lutheran Churches were to stand in connection with the Unity mediately under a special conference or consistorium.‡ This left to the Reformed section consider-

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eine Predigt gehalten, und wir gefunden, dass der Zweck seiner Predigt, mit dem Zweck seiner an uns übersandten Declaration völlig überein kam; wir auch zum Theil etwas an unsern Hertzen gefühlt, und wir glauben, dass sein Sinn rechtschaffen, finden es auch höchst nöthig und nützlich, dass wir einen solchen Lehrer, dem es um das Heil unserer und unserer Kinder zu thun ist, annehmen; vociren und berufen den ihm gedachten Herrn Jacob Lischy, hiedurch, als im Namen des grossen Ertzhirten Jesu Christi zu unserem ordentlichen Lehrer und Prediger, in unserer Gemeine, uns die Lehre Jesu Christi und die heiligen Sacramenta zu unserer und unserer Familien Segen mitzutheilen, deswegen wir uns mit unserer Namen willig und von Hertzen unterschrieben haben.

Philip Breitenstein, Johannes Schoder, Johannes Frey, Nicholaus Cörper, Christian Strohm, Velten Scheidecker, Conrad Reffion, Michael Ysony, Simeon Schneck, Jacob Karl, Johannes Neydick, Caspar Büchner, Conrad Walther, Heinrich Möller, Gerhart Brambach, Heinrich Böhner, Johannes Carl, Johannes Hubel, Conrad Seibert, Friedrich Funck, Jacob Freymann, Johannes Paul, Henry Freys, Melchior Koch, Samuel Esch, Johannes Clauer, Albertus Ehrenwein, Friedrich Möller, Adam Schött, Wilhelm Adam, Adam Stein, Heinrich Böhr, Lorentz Puffenbach.

Coventry Township, den 10 April, 1743.

Es liegt 36 Mile ob Phild. an der Schulkil, wo noch kein Bruder gewesen ist. So hab ich noch etliche Vocationen mit eben so viel und noch mehr Namen, die mich gebeten, dieselbe anzunehmen." Büding. Samml., Vol. 8, p. 109. 110.

* He received calls similar to that to Coventry, from the Reformed congregations of Heidelberg, Bern, Mühlbach, Moden creek, Berwick and other places.—[Rev. L. T. Reichel in Schaff's Kirchenfreund, 1849, p. 101.

† "Die Biene," getruckt in Bethlehem, July 1, 1848.—Band. III, No. 14.

‡ "Ueber den Reformirten Plan soll eine aparte Conference gehalten und ein Kirchen Collegium formirt werden zur Direction dieser Sache, in genauer Connexion mit der Synode." 15te Penn. Synode, §. 30, quoted by Reichel. 17te Penn. Synode, §. 10. "Die Reformirten Prediger, Aeltesten und Vorsteher haben Erlaubniss, dem luther. Consistorio beizuwohnen, doch ohne voto, und vice versa." Ein Protokoll des Reformirten Collegii vom 12ten Aug. 1746, in Philadelphia gehalten, ist noch vorhanden. Rev. L. T. Reichel in Schaff's Kirchenfreund, 1849, p. 103.

able freedom and right—a circumstance which did much to allay the suspicions of Reformed members and churches in regard to the new movement, and caused a goodly number to fall in with it. Rev. Mr. Bœhm, who, from the beginning, stood directly under the direction and in the spirit of the Church of Holland, at whose hands he had received his ordination, very zealously opposed the movement, on the ground especially of what he regarded as dangerous tenets put forth in reference to the doctrine of Free Grace. Lischy being the soul and leader of the movement among the Reformed, Mr. Bœhm contended against him and his teachings in the pulpit, in the public papers, and in a very caustic pamphlet. Lischy felt that this influence was operating strongly against him, and he was led, accordingly, to take measures to defend himself and his teachings. Operating about this time in Lancaster and Berks counties, he called a council, to meet at Heidelberg, August 29th, 1743. Fifty Elders and Deacons, besides a large number of church-members from twelve congregations, met on the appointed day. At this meeting many complaints were lodged against him: "He is a Zinzendorfer, and has promised the Count to take the care of the Reformed, and bring them to his side: He is not properly ordained," et cet. Lischy vindicated himself by relating the history of his life hitherto—how he had been awakened through the preaching of the Brethren in Mühlhausen and Basel, and how he had afterwards gone to Marienborn and Herrnhut, and at last come to America—showed also his certificate of ordination. The result was that these congregations renewed their call to him."* It seems he had satisfied the Reformed, but it was evidently by a compromise, in which he had to spread himself quite too much two ways. He must have kept back much of his heart and mind from the Reformed council; while, on the other hand, he yielded to them more than was fully agreeable to the Brethren in Bethlehem. On this matter he himself remarks: "My Breth-

* Rev. L. T. Reichel, Schaff's Kirchenfreund, 1849, p. 102. This call was signed by every Elder of Bern, Heidelberg, Cocalico, Donnegal, Schwatara, Blue Mountain, Maiden Creek, Wintzen at the Schuylkill, and Whitecakland.

ren (in Bethlehem) gladly rejoiced with me over the victory I had gained, and yet my matters were never exactly to their mind, and I often knew not how to suit myself into affairs, yet I ever comforted myself in this, that they always said they would regard the matter with indulgence, perhaps the Saviour would bring matters into the track again."* How truly has the highest authority said: "No man can serve two masters." How true too, that compromises in religion are the natural children of hypocrisy, and bear the lineaments of the parent. What a compliment to God's wisdom to suppose that His cause needs the two-faced cunning of a compromiser to carry it successfully forward! It is poor ballast that rolls from side to side in the ship.

Next we find Lischy preaching in and around York, Pa. "In the year 1744, the well-known Lischy, who had been sent out by the congregation in Bethlehem, came into the neighborhood of Yorktown to preach the Gospel to all who were willing to hear him. He professed to be a Reformed minister, and was allowed to preach in the Reformed church in Yorktown. His testimony of the death of Jesus, delivered in the name of the congregation, made a favorable impression on many. Hence a great excitement arose among the people. Many who had before been uneasy, came to confer with him on the state of their hearts. In the following year, brother Nyberg (Lutheran minister of this union stamp in Lancaster) frequently preached here; the awakening continued to increase, and it seemed as if all in and around Yorktown, as well as on the Crice-creek, would be converted. Anno 1746 a Brethren Synod was held at Crice-creek. A few weeks prior thereto, the people first became aware that Lischy had been sent by the congregation; and when he wished to preach again in the Reformed church in Yorktown, many persons had collected in front of the church with great noise, who forbade him, as well as brother Christian Henry Rauch,† to preach in their church. Nevertheless brother Rauch preached on the same

* Rev. L. T. Reichel, Schaff's Kirchenfreund, 1849, p. 102.

† Rauch was also Reformed.

day, in the open air, to a very large audience, and proclaimed to them the word of life with great joyfulness. Public preaching was thenceforward held at Immel's house on the Codorus."*

This is a graphic picture of the practical workings of this Unity scheme, which had evidently at this time already so far apparently fallen into a Moravian current as to awaken the fears of the Reformed members of York. How far there was, at this time, ground for this suspicion, and to what extent Mr. Lischy labored to explain his position to the people, and how much there was in his present spirit and views under the pressure of his zeal for the new order that seemed unnatural and suspicious to such as held on to the original Reformed order, it is difficult now to know. We do know, nevertheless, that however deficient in piety some may have been, their opposition to Lischy cannot be regarded as against true piety, but only against that type of it which he represented, and which they felt to be foreign to that which was homogeneous in the Reformed Church. A considerable portion of the congregation adhered to Mr. Lischy and gave him a call to become their stated pastor.

In a short memorandum in the Record Book of the York congregation, Mr. Lischy gives a brief account of his coming to that place and his connection with the German Reformed church there. "In the year of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ, 1744, I came hither on the written invitation of a number of members of the congregation, and preached the word of life to this deserted flock which had hitherto been without a regular pastor and teacher. And as the preaching of the word was attended with unmerited blessing from above, from "the Father of lights," the congregation made strenuous efforts to obtain my consent to become their regular and appointed Pastor. To this end, they transmitted to me by the Elders, George Mayer and Philip Rothrock, a written call, dated on the 12th day of August, 1744; and after I had declined accepting it,

* "Brief account of the origin and founding of the Moravian congregation at York."

the whole congregation* unanimously sent me another, asking me, in the name of the Triune God, to become their pastor, as will appear from the call itself, dated on the 29th of May, 1745. Thereupon, I came hither, in the name of Jesus Christ, and preached my introductory sermon from Ezekiel 2: 1–7, organized the congregation, and served it according to the grace given to me, by preaching the word and administering the sacraments."

Only a short time before Mr. Lischy received this second call to York, namely March 21, 1745, there was a large Church council held at Mode creek, similar to that held in Heidelberg in August, 1748, where fifty Elders and Deacons from twelve German Reformed congregations, were present. Lischy's true Church relations were again the subject of inquiry. He was called upon to say whether he was a Moravian or not. At first he endeavored to evade the investigation;† but when closely pressed by Rauch, Bechtel and Antes, who were Reformed, but stood at the time in the Brethren Unity, he was constrained to acknowledge that he stood in union with the Brethren. At the same meeting a Hymn of sixteen verses, composed by him, was publicly read before the Council. This Hymn breathes so peculiarly the spirit of the Unity of the Brethren at that time, and is so full of loyalty to that movement, that one is led to suppose that it was written under the new impulse of zeal consequent upon the position which he had now newly assumed under the pressure of circumstances. A copy of this singular poetic production has been kindly furnished us by Rev. Levin T. Reichel of Salem, N. C., from a work in course of preparation by him, entitled, "The Early History of the Church of the United Brethren, commonly called Moravians, in North America, from 1740 to 1775." The reader will be pleased to read it entire. It would lose by a translation, and hence we give it in his own German:

* "So hat die ganze Gemeinde ihm, im Namen des Dreieinigen Gottes, noch mal zu ihrem Prediger berufen."—[Records, York cong.]

† "Anfänglich trug er (wie H. Antes sich ausdrückt) die Kirche um's Dorf." Reichel in Kirchenfreund, 1748, p. 102.

JACOB LISCHY'S LIED FUER DEN KIRCHENRATH IN MODECREEK DEN 21. MERZ 1745.

1. Was soll der Knecht Gottes Zwinglius
Und der ehrwürdige Calvinus
Doch wohl zu uns sagen,—wenn sie herkämen,
Und ihres Volks Sache so recht vernähmen?—Wer weiss es wohl?

2. Ich dächte, sie weinten vor Herzeleid
Ueber die heutige Christenheit,
Die gewisslich so sehr verworren,
Dass es in Sodoma und Gomorrah—kaum ärger war.

3. Man nennt sich, dem Namen nach, reformirt.
Das heisst, verbessert, zurechtgeführt,
Und die armen Seelen sind im Gewirre.
Es läuft fast alles noch in der irre.—Kyrie eleis.

4. Wo ist unser erster und alter Grund,
Der durch der Apostel glückseligen Mund
Ausgesprochen worden und aufgeschrieben?
Wo ist die uralte Lehre blieben—von Jesu Blut?

5. Es stehet im Berner Synodum,
Dass Christus Jesus der Punct und Summ'
Aller Gottes Lehre, zu allen Zeiten,
Dass Jesu Marter und blutiges Leiden—der Text soll sein.

6. Hört man denn itzund so viel davon?
Ist diess der sel'ge und sanfte Ton?
Klingt es den Ohren und Herzen süsse;
Dass unser Gott Jesus an Händ und Füssen—die Mahle hat?

7. Macht man viel Wesen zu dieser Zeit
Von Jesu durchstochnen blutigen Leib',
Von den heilgen Wunden, so herzlich schöne?
Ist das der Prediger ihr Getöne?—Nein, nein, ach nein!

8. Es geht gewisslich, wie Cicero schreibt,
Dass Symonide die Sache treibt;
So wird's heutzutage pünktlich getrieben,
Man ist bei dem heidnischen Maxime blieben—und weiss sonst nichts.

9. Man redet zwar viel von dem grossen Gott,
Und bleibet im Herzen steinkalt und todt,
Denn kein Mensch kann nichts von Gott verstehen,
Bis man lernt in's Jesu Wunden sehen,—Gott war im Fluch.

10. Man prediget nichts als Sittenlehr'
Und von dem Herrn Jesu so ungefähr
Zu Passionszeiten—in den Charwochen
Thut man sowas über die Juden pochen,—wie schlimm sie wer'n.

11. Wir aber, die wir von Gott erwählt
Und aus Gnaden zum Volk gezählt,
Des Jesu Marter hält hoch in Ehren,
Wir wollen mit den ehrwürdigen Chören—das Lamm erhöhn.

12. Wir predigen mit Jesu Blut Gemein
Kreuz, Tod, Blut, Wunden, Jahraus, Jahrein,
Sagen allen Seelen von diesem Lamme,
Der blutig gehangen am Kreuzesstamme—für alle Welt.

13. Diess ist die Maxime der Gottes Knecht,
Daran erkennt wird, ob man auch recht
Von dem Geiste Gottes ist ordiniret,
Wenn unser Herz göttlich ist ausgezieret—mit Jesu Blut.

14. Da weist man, mit Paulo, keinen andern Gott,
Als den, der am Kreuze für uns ein Spott
Mit der Dornen Krone, der blutigen Seiten,
Darauf man mit Herz und Mund thut deuten—ganz kräftiglich.

15. Diess ist die Lehre, die ewig bleibt,
Wie St. Johannes in Wahrheit schreibt,
In der Offenbarung im 5ten Capitel,
Da giebt er dem Lamme den höchsten Titel,—im 9ten Vers.

16. Wir bleiben also bei dieser Lehr,
Herr Jesu Christe, komm zu uns her.
Wir sind deine Leute, die du erworben,
Da du am Kreuze für uns gestorben.—Es bleibt dabei.

Acquitted by his judges, Mr. Lischy again serves the congregation at York for several years. When Schlatter came to that place, May 2nd, 1747, he found "a large German Reformed congregation there." Lischy, however, was not at that time, a regular pastor in York. Schlatter says, he had previously been their pastor. Schlatter preached for them, and administered the Lord's Supper, baptized twenty-nine children, and spoke specially with the communicants, "because the Brethren, in connection with Mr. Lischy, had brought much confusion among them."* These difficulties, it seems, had some time previous to Schlatter's arrival, effected a separation between Lischy and the congregation in York. Rev. Neuberg, who sustained the same relation to the Lutherans and the Brethren, as Lischy did to the Reformed and Brethren, had preached in York among the Lutherans. The largest portion of the Lutheran members, however, locked the door of the church on him. As Neuberg was at the time operating more particularly in Lancaster, having only gone over to York on a temporary mission, his party were left in the hands of Lischy, who, meanwhile strengthened and sustained them, in connec-

* Schlatter's Journal, page 263, 265.

tion with a like-minded party of his own adherents from the Reformed Church. Thus he went with the fragment which he carried away.†

About this time we find Mr. Lischy again afloat as an evangelist. June 20, 1747, Dr. Muhlenberg mentions Neuberg as preaching in Lancaster in the interest of the Brethren, and remarks: "With him, a Reformed preacher, Jacob Lischy, preaches alternately even the same doctrines."‡ At this time, he also missionated about Litiz, and the northern portion of Lancaster county. Having lost his hold, to a great extent, in York, he desired to establish for himself a charge in this region, no doubt including Lancaster. In this he failed; and seeing that his present semi-Reformed and semi-Moravian position was likely permanently to work to his disadvantage, he began to look around him for a position in which he would be more likely to succeed. He resolved on a separation from the Brethren, and an union with the Reformed Church.§

A short time after this, namely on the 26th of June, 1747, Mr. Schlatter stopped at Bethlehem, while visiting the Reformed congregations in Lehigh and Northampton counties, where he providentially met Mr. Lischy for the first time. He seems just to have come from Lancaster county. Wishing, as it seems, to have some communication with Mr. Schlatter, he accompanied him ten miles to Nazareth. "When we got into conversation, this man very magnanimously manifested a hearty penitence and sorrow, that he had suffered himself, with many other erring souls, to be bewitched by the crafty Brethren, and become entangled in the net of their soul-destroying teachings and customs. This open-hearted acknowledgment gave occasion to an extended and earnest conversation, in which I was fully persuaded of the honesty and sincerity of his in-

† Jener (Lischy) hatte schon eine zeitlang in diesem District in der Reformirten Gemeine gearbeitet. Nachdem aber bekannt worden, dass er Herrnhutisch gesinnt sei, haben sich seine Gemeinen daselbst gespaltet." Hal. Nach., 232.

‡ Hal. Nach., p. 280.

§ "In the summer of 1747, the otherwise gifted and active minister, Lischy, out of ill-humor (Missmuth) on account of having failed in establishing a congregation or charge for himself out of the Reformed portion of the awakened souls, separated himself from union and communion with the Brethren, and left the neighborhood." Biene, Vol. III, No. 14.

tentions, and of his firmly formed determination completely to separate himself from the Brethren, and gladly return again into the bosom of the true Reformed Church. I agreed to write to the Reverened Christian Synods in regard to this interesting circumstance, and wait for their counsel and direction, and earnestly advised him meanwhile to consider the matter in silence and the fear of God, and afterwards to transfer to me to Philadelphia, his conclusion in writing."‖

It soon became known to the Brethren composing the Unity, that Lischy was losing his loyalty to that movement. Accordingly at the meeting of the 23rd general Synod held in Germantown, May 1747, they passed a resolution demanding of him that he should now decidedly declare himself either as a member of the Brethren Church and answerable to it, or as a Reformed minister under the Brethren Consistorium, or as an independent Reformed minister. He declared in favor of the last.¶

Lischy now took active measures to have himself received as a regular minister of the German Reformed Church in connection with the Synod organized a little later in the same year, Sept. 29th, 1747, through the instrumentality of the Rev. Mr. Schlatter. He now returned to York, if possible to reinstate himself there and win the confidence of the people. In Aug., 1747, Schlatter received the first letter from Lischy, the contents of which he does not mention, but it contained, among other things, an invitation to Mr. Schlatter to come to York, and if possible restore harmony and peace in the congregation, and use his influence to effect his restoration into their confidence.

On the 29th of September the Synod met in Philadelphia, at which Mr. Schlatter, and Rev. Reiger of Lancaster, were appointed to proceed to York, "to examine into the strife which had been occasioned between the York congregation and Mr. Lischy on account of his attachment to the Brethren."

On the 23rd of October they were on the ground. On the 24th Rev. Reiger preached a preparatory sermon; and on the

‖ Schlatter's Journal, pp. 271, 272.

¶ Rev. Reichel, in Kirchenfreund, 1849, pp. 102, 103.

25th they administered the holy supper. "After the service," says Schlatter, "I asked the whole congregation how they felt inclined toward Mr. Lischy; whether they would receive him as their regular pastor, in case he would be appointed by the Reverend Synod of Holland and established among them agreeably to the order of the Church? The greatest number of the members said, that, if it were possible, they would prefer another minister; because they mistrusted that he had not yet fully withdrawn from the Brethren Church; still if they had very clear evidence of his good intentions, and he would make such a public acknowledgment as the Christian Synods should approve, they would then feel inclined to bestow upon him again their former affection.

"Mr. Lischy, who, during this transaction, conducted himself with propriety, manifesting good sense and Christian meekness, promised that he would put upon paper the true sense of his heart, and hand the same over to Mr. Reiger and myself; and said, that we might be assured that sincere uprightness lay at the main-spring of all he had done. We admonished him to refrain from administering the holy sacraments till further orders were given; still we told him that we would consent that he might, if he desired it, deliver exhortations unto edification, in his own house, to such as should feel inclined to hear him, in order in this way to relieve the people of their concern as to the sincerity of his intentions."* Thus ended this conference for this time.

On the 17th of May, 1748, Mr. Schlatter and Mr. Reiger met again in York, and inquired still further into the case of Lischy, and the state of the congregation. They found to their joy that confidence in him had been measurably restored, and that their affection for him was kindling anew—with only a few exceptions.† On the 18th Mr. Schlatter asked Mr.

* Schlatter's Journal, pp. 276, 277, 278.

† To this period, in the history of this matter, refers, no doubt, the passage in "A brief account of the origin and founding of the Moravian congregation at York." It runs thus: "Anno, 1748, Lischy, who had been called to Bethlehem and had now separated himself from the Brethren congregation, returned, and at once sought to get the awakened souls on his side, and make them regard the Brethren congregation with suspicion; in which he in many cases succeeded. Still the Redeemer retained a little flock, which adhered to him and the congregation, turning a deaf ear to Lischy."

Lischy to preach, by way, no doubt, of testing his orthodoxy on the point involved, on Matthew 22 : 14, "For many are called, but few are chosen," which, without having had much time to prepare, he did with great power, and greatly to the satisfaction of all. This was the first time he had preached publicly in the church since the first disturbances. With the consent of the congregation, Mr. Schlatter and Reiger agreed that he should now continue to preach; but that he should still withold himself from administering the holy sacraments until orders in regard to his case should come from Holland.* At the next meeting of Synod in October, he was, however, authorized, in the interim, to administer the holy supper, if the congregation desired it at his hands.† On the 3rd of December, 1748, Mr. Lischy handed over to Mr. Schlatter the promised written statement of his faith, which Mr. S. then sent to Holland;‡ Mr. Lischy, meanwhile, awaiting at York the final direction in his case. In November, 1750, Mr. Lischy, at the request of Mr. Schlatter, visited the congregations in Virginia, where Mr. S. had previously been.

After Mr. Lischy separated from the Brethren, he turned strongly against them, manifesting his opposition zeal both in writing and preaching§—not the best sign of sincerity in his conversion, nor yet that he would be a promising acquisition to the cause he now espoused. Time will show.

There was about this time much uncertainty and delay in communicating by letter with Europe, and we find that Synod at a special session in December, 1750, complain of this as a great hindrance to them. As Schlatter makes no mention in his Journal of the final decision of the case of Lischy up to that time, it is likely that the same cause effected this delay. He was, however, finally approved, and received.

He has recorded the following in the church-book at York, which shows the progress of his life. "In the year 1750, after having, from various causes and considerations, concluded to accept a call from another charge, which had been placed in my hands, and with that view announced my intention to

* Schlatter's Journal, pp. 286, 287. †Ibid. p. 294. ‡ Ibid. p. 297. § "Hat auch gegen dieselbe schrift- und mündlich gezeuget." Hal. Nach, p. 230.

preach my valedictory sermon; I again received a unanimous request from the congregation to remain with them as their minister, as will appear from the call, dated December 31st, 1750. Whereupon I continued to serve the congregation several years longer." We are told that "prosperity marked the period that followed this."*

Toward the close of the year 1753, some difficulties again occurred between him and the people, so that at the beginning of the year 1754, Mr. Lischy, being desirous of withdrawing from the congregation, once more resigned, and even went so far as to preach his farewell sermon, taking as his text, the words: "Testifying both to the Jews, and also to the Greeks, repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ." Acts 20: 21. The congregation, however again, took active measures to prevent, if possible, his leaving them. "In the hope," as they say, "of thereby inducing him to reconsider the matter and consent to serve them anew as Pastor," they called a meeting, and "without the privity or knowledge of the minister," agreed upon the following unanimous resolution and declaration:†

"IN THE NAME OF THE TRIUNE GOD!

WE, the undersigned, collectively and publicly assembled in the church, on the 1st day of January, 1754, have agreed to adopt, receive, and acknowledge the following articles, and have resolved that they, in connection with and in addition to, our existing church discipline and regulations, shall at all times hereafter be maintained and observed by the elders and membership of the congregation:

First. It is our matûre and deliberate meaning and intention that our church discipline, as prepared by the Rev. Mr. Lischy, and repeatedly read before the congregation, shall at all times be enforced and observed by the elders and members.

Secondly. It is our design that henceforward the names of the members of the Reformed congregation in York, shall be recorded in the church-book, so that they may be treated and

* Rev. J. O. Miller's Centenary Sermon, 1854.

† Rev. J. O. Miller's Centenary Sermon, 1854.

dealt with according to the ordinances of Christ. And if any decline or refuse to comply herewith, or by their conduct or behavior violate the discipline and regulations, they shall be excluded from membership, and their names, if recorded, erased from the list.

Thirdly. We deem it necessary and beneficial that in future, the minister shall annually nominate four persons for Elders and two persons for Deacons; and of the persons so nominated the congregation shall select and elect two Elders and one Deacon.

Fourthly. It is our unanimous conviction and resolution that we, the undersigned, are bound, according to our several means and ability, to contribute to the support of our Pastor and the maintenance of the Church, so that public divine worship may continue to be held, and be perpetuated among our descendants.

Fifthly. We hereby renewedly call the Rev. Jacob Lischy to be our Pastor, confirming and renewing also the previous calls given to him in the years 1745 and 1750—promising to conduct ourselves toward him as Christian brethren, hearkening and submitting to his earnest exhortations and admonitions.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, we have hereunto either personally signed our names, or duly authorized them to be subscribed for us.‡ Done as above, Jan, 1st, 1754."

‡ It will be a matter of interest to some to be permitted here to read the names afixed to this interesting document. They are: George Mayer, Casper Kieffer, Christian Wampfler, Jacob Ob, Jun., Philip Hintz, John Welsch, Abraham Welschans, Jacob Ob, Sen., Peter Ob, Joseph Welschans, Martin Danner, Peter Wolff, Philip Weber, Tobias Anspacher, Henry Klatfelder, Geo. Christian Sinn, George Hoke, Philip Ganss, Michael Houck, Michael Weider, John Welsch (tailor) Killian Smith, Peter Seiss, Abraham Reüblatt, Dieter Meyer, Benedict Schwob, Ludwig Kraft, (school-master) Ulrich Hess, Michael Schlatter, John Dalman, Nicholas Reisinger, John Dentzel, Henry Chartron, Abraham Kieffer, Gerhart Luckenbach, Nicholas Ob, Jacob Reiff, Michael Grebill, John Gerber, Henry Wölder, Killian Dueffinger, Nicholas Schaffer, Henry Bier, Nicholas Wilt, Jacob Correl, Dieter Obach, Philip Hintz, Jr., John Humerichaus, Nicholas Schrum, Jacob Ottinger, Conrad Anna, Zachariah Schuckert, Casper Kieffer, Jr., Henry Stertzenecker, Christopher Weider, John Wahl, Geo. Krimm, John Guckes, Michael Neumouth, John Appelman, Christian Dittenhoffer, Dewalt Emrich, Geo. Schram, Jonas Leib, John Bantzel, Jacob Schaffer, Geo. Michael Kann, George Rudy, Christian Wampfler, Sen., Jacob Hildenbrandt, Conrad Miller, Henry Everhart, Jacob Welsh, John Wolff, Jacob Wagner, Jacob Sharer, Nicholas Kerr, Henry Wolff,

This writing is signed by eighty-seven male members of the church. It was all done, as they say, "without the privity or knowledge of the minister;" but when it was afterwards presented to him it had the desired effect. He afterwards refers to this as determining his mind to continue with them for a time longer. "A remarkable interposition of divine providence, the members having manifested and promised renewed earnestness and zeal, frustrated my design, and I am induced to continue serving the congregation as its Pastor—whereunto may God confer grace and strength, for Jesus' sake. Amen!" So he wrote in the church-book, April 18th, 1754.

It was but a precarious prosperity that followed this action. Some trouble or other always lingered in the background, which would spring in upon them at the least occasion. The storm, which he had long been raising over his own head, was fast preparing to break in a fierce finale upon him, and through him upon the congregation.

With all his etherial pretensions to extraordinary piety, many inconsistencies showed themselves from time to time, in his conduct, yet not so as to destroy all confidence in him, or subject him to ecclesiastical discipline. At length, however, the mask fell off, and his sin found him out. In 1756 he made himself guilty of a grevious scandal; and his case was brought before the Cœtus of 1757. "He was requested to appear publicly before the Cœtus; but he did not appear. He was requested to present himself privately before a committee of our Cœtus; but he did not come. He was unwilling to submit to the decision and censure of the Cœtus, and contrary to your expressed wish, he immediately appealed to the Synod and Classis. We suspended him immediately from his ministry until he should remove the objections against him; but he conducted himself very improperly, and with the aid of his abettors broke open the doors of the church with force, and thus proceeded to do as he thought he had a right to do. In this country we have no power to compel him. We do not know

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Henry Luckenbach, Mathias Gemshom, Adam Schlaby, Jacob Meyer, Charles Krimm, Henry Stittler, Henry Leinbacher, Godfrey Frey, George Weldey.—87.

whether he will bring his case before the Venerable Fathers. Certainly the irregularity is to be regretted by which Domine Lischy, against the public reputation which he had for piety, has turned his liberty into licentiousness, and has thus brought himself, not only under the censure of the Church in general, but also of the whole Cœtus."*

In an abstract of the Minutes of Cœtus of the year 1757, transferred to Holland by the Secretary, Rev. Joh. Conradus Steinerus, there is a full account of the case of Lischy, which, as it is not unto general edification, we give it in the original merciful Latin for the accommodation of the curious. For this document we are indebted to the Rev. Dr. De Witt of New York. It furnishes a most instructive example of the devilish counterfeit which underlies that boasted spiritualism which in one form or other, always ends in the flesh.†

* From the proceedings of Cœtus for the year 1759, transferred, in Latin, to Holland, the original of which has been kindly furnished the writer by Dr. De Witt of New York.

† Nota res, V. P. breviter ita te habet. Jam a multo tempore, multae, imo gravissimae de D. Lischi Ecclesiae Yorktunensis Pastore, querelae motae, consilio autem et auxilio amicorum et fautorum ipsius, secularium maxime, semper hactenus suppressae fuerunt, donec ante annum circiter, D. Lischi, praematuro suo, post obitum conjugis suae, cum serva sua concubitu, quam quidem postea matrimonio sibi junxit, illa autem septimo post copulationem mense, filiolum integrae naturae enixa est, novam et justissimam coetualibus suis, de ipso conquerendi, ansam dederit, qui isto Lischii lapsu adeo offensi et irritati sunt, ut longe maxima illorum pars, illum porro audire, et pro pastore suo agnoscere abnuerit. Membra congregationis ad fluvium Kreisskriek, unanimiter illum respuerunt. Congregatio Yorko politana a misere distracta et in duas partes discissa est, ita tamen, ut illorum pars, qui Lischium tanquam indignum Ministrum rejecerunt, alteram Partem, quae illum retinere cupit, et Numero et Bonitate longe superet. De quibus circumstantiis, cum potior illa Pars, memores officii sui vinculique, quo Ecclesiae reformatae Coetui nostro obstrictae sunt, certiores nos fecisset, simulque auxilium nostrum efflagitasset, valde anxii atque dubii rediti sumus, quid agamus, et qua ratione offensis a D. Lischio Auditoribus, ad delendum ex animis ipsorum conceptum Scandalum, restuendamque Pascem et Concordiam, optime consulamus. Licet enim praematurus ille concubitus a multis pro peccato veneali habeatur, nos tamen, ob varias concurrentes circumstantias, non ita leviter de illo judicare possumus. Nihilominus amice et fraterne cum illo agere nobis propositum fuit.

Hinc:

I. Dom. Lischi ad amicum inter Ipsum, Seniores Ecclesiae Yorko politanae et tres ex Coetu nostro denominatos Ministros, instituendum Colloquium invitavimus. Quum a hoc nostrum Concilium D. Lischi adeo non arriserit, ut potius in literis ad D. Praesidem, Rieger, et D. Otterbein datis, sine ulla ratione nos injuste adversus ipsum odii inimicitiaeque accusare; crimen vero suum rationibus levissimis nulliusque momenti argumentis extenuare atque excusare non erubuerit, sicque nonnullis ansam suspicandi dederit, animum

The matter lingered for several years in the hands of the Cœtus, while "he continued in the same hardness of heart," persevering in his insubordination to the authorities of the Church, and at the same time showing neither humility nor penitence on account of his sin. Meanwhile the strife continued in the York congregation, part taking sides with him and part wishing him removed, as unfit to exercise the functions of the holy ministry. Other charges were added during the pro-

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ipsius a foedissima illa pristinorum Nicolaitarum haeresi forsan haud alienum, et pestiferis Zinzendorfii, quem olim secutus est, opinionibus adhuc infectum esse.

II. Unanime consensu statuimus ut D. Lischi publicum Ministerii Exercitium pro tempore interdicatur, et Congregationes interim a D. Otterbein, quotiescunque fieri possit, invitantur, donec in proximo, qui nunc habitus est, Coetu nostro, omnes circumstantiae penitus examinentur, et necessaria possibiliaque ad unionem et aedificationem distractae Ecclesiae remedia adhibeantur. At D. Lischi cum suis audire noluit, ita ut non solum in exercendo Ministerio praefracta fronte perrexerit, sed occlusum etiam Templum, ab iis, qui ipsi adhaerent, pluries vi effractum fuerit.

III. Cum Tempus Coetus nostri appropinquavisset, D. Lischi a D. Praeside humane ad illum invitatus fuit, in quo tamen comparere recusavit, absentia vero atque in obedientia sua in causa fuit, ut nihil concludere, nihil in ordinem redigere potuerim.

IV. Denique D. Lischi literis nomine Coetus scriptis, denuo officii obedientiaeque quam Coetui debet, admonemus, sique gradus cum illo egimus, sed in hoc usque diem optatum finem assequi non potuimus.

Dolemus interim V. P. miserum Ecclesiae Yorktunensis Statum; dolemus nostram, illam maxime ob Ministrorum defectum, juvandi impotentiam. Dolemus praesertim, quod malo Pastoris istius Exemplo, et Coetuatium Discordia, boni majis majisque offendantur, Sanctus Dei Spiritus contristetur, Nomen Verbumque Divinum profanetur, Sanctissima nostra Religio, ut et S. Ministerium ludibrio Hostium exponatur.

Illi qui Lischium deseruerunt, et ab illo discesserunt, gemunt et discruciantur animo ob pessimum illius Exemplum et Mores; altera vero Pars non tantum nihil hoc curat, sed malo illius Exemplo ad irresipiscentiam potius abutuntur, quod pluribus Exemplis demonstrare possemus, ex quibus evidentissime patet, Lischium, etiamsi angelicis linguis loqueretur, Ministerio tamen suo, in Yorktown saltem nullos amplius fructos bonos producturum esse.

Cum vero ita res sit summopere vos, V. P. rogamus, quin flagitamus ut prudentissimum verbum, in arduo hoc Lischiano casu, concilium sine mora nobis impertire, validoque vestro auxilio nobis impotentibus succurrere benigne velitis quo tandum lapis offensionis in Congregatione Yorktown e medio tollatur, quies autem et aedificatio Ecclesiae restituatur, quod, juxta nostrum saltem judicium, si illud proferre liceat, aliter fieri non poterit, nisi Lischius AUTHORITATE VESTRA a Ministerio in Yorktown removeatur et alius melioris notae Minister in ejus locum substituatur.

Quum a. Numerus Ministrorum in hac Terra valde imminutus sit, ita ut pauci, qui residui sunt Ministri, omnibus et singulis Ecclesiis sufficienter prospicerent quam valeant, id possissimum a vobis, Ven. P. petimus, ut previda vestra cura, plures idonei ad nos mittantur Ministri, qui Συνεργοι nostri in opere Domine existant. Alias periculum est, ut congregationes hactenus collectae brevi iterum dissolvantur et dispergantur.

gress of his difficulties before Cœtus. At the Cœtus of 1760 "he was charged with duplicity, and accused of highly objectionable conduct." The minutes say: "Domine Lischy did not make known to us anything concerning the friendly letter addressed to him by the venerable Synod of Holland and the Reverend Classis; of this we have been kept in ignorance. This conduct is so provoking that we can have no communion with him; and it appears he is growing worse from day to day, so that we cannot hope anything good from him in the future.* Shortly after this he was expelled from the ministry. He then left York and removed to a farm, which he either before possessed, or then bought, some distance from York, on the Codorus, near the line between Pennsylvania and Maryland, where he farmed, and continued to preach irregularly and independently to some country congregations.

After this Mr. Lischy disappeared from the ecclesiastical arena. He continued to live on his farm until his death, which occurred 1781. He lies buried, by the side of his wife, in a retired family graveyard on his own farm, not far from Wolff's church, in York county, Pa. A marble slab, marking his resting place, bears the inscription: "In memory of the Rev. Jacob Lischy, V. D. M.; born in Switzerland, in Europe. Departed this life in the year A. D., 1781." The spot where he lies is elevated, and affords a considerable view of the rolling country around, and along the beautiful Codorus. The graveyard is pretty large, but only six tombstones are visible in it; there seems, however, to be more graves there. Near the grave of his wife, who died in 1754, a large pear-tree has since grown up. The fence around it is in such a broken condition that any animals roaming in the bordering fields may enter freely.† None of those who loved Lischy are there to protect his remains and dress the sod which covers his ashes!

So passeth the glory of this world! "Also their love, and their hatred, and their envy is now perished: neither have they any more a portion forever in anything that is done under the sun."

* Extract in Dutch, communicated by I. D. Rupp, with a translation.

† Rev. Joel L. Reber, 1854.

The life of Lischy is a most instructive commentary on the bastard character of that kind of spiritualism, which caught him up like a whirlwind, carried him through the many strange evolutions of his life, and drifted him at last upon the bleak and barren shores of the flesh and the world. He was, what has since been called, a New Measure revival man. The serious reader will easily discover the far-reaching similarity between this spirit, as it wrought in the time of Lischy, and as it manifested itself nearly a century later on the soil of the German Churches. He will see that its fruits then and now are the same. It was our design to point out this similarity definitely, and further illustrate the points from the facts of Lischy's life; but our article has grown to full size and we are admonished to come to a conclusion. We cannot, however, refrain from indicating the land-marks of this false spirit as they are, and as they come to view in the life of Lischy, leaving the details to the reader's own meditations. This false spirit is, 1. Restless and roving. 2. Censorious and self-righteous. 3. Dishonest and double-dealing. 4. Insubordinate to authorities and order. 5. Stirring up strife and dividing churches. 6. Given to fleshly lusts. 7. Ending in some form or other in the world.—Having spent itself in spasms, it is helpless and dead. A careful review of the facts brought out in this article, as well as a study of the history of fanaticism, will show how truly these are the legitimate fruits of this plausible but dangerous spirit. The Church cannot too earnestly lay to heart the words of the beloved disciple: "Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God."

Lancaster, Pa. H. H.

ART. III.—CHRISTIAN HYMNOLOGY.

[COMPOSED FROM ALT'S "DER CHRISTLICHE CULTUS."]

To begin with the Apostolical period, it is acknowledged on all hands that Christians then, as was the case with the Jews in general, made use of the *Psalter* for singing, both in public and private worship; and so when the Reformed Church, in the time of Calvin and Beza, confined itself to the same psalmody, it may be considered in one view to have been a return to the primitive usage. St. Paul himself, however, (Eph. 5: 19; Coloss. 3: 16,) along with psalms makes mention of "*hymns* and *spiritual songs*;" and the opinion of the Reformed theologian, Le Clerc, that these passages also refer simply to the Psalter, designating with these three names only three different sorts of psalms, is not likely to be sanctioned now in any quarter. As naturally as the term "psalms" in both passages, refers to the sacred songs contained in the Psalter, so plainly are we required to conceive of the "hymns and odes" as referring to other compositions. Nor need we be at any loss with regard to these. Such *hymns* we meet with in the Old Testament; for example, the triumphal song of Moses (Ex. 15.), the songs found in the 32nd and 33rd chapters of Deuteronomy, the victory chant of Deborah (Judges 5.), the thanksgiving of Hezekiah (Isaiah 38.), &c; and still later specimens of Jewish composition in the same line, are presented to us in the book of Sirach (ch. 44–50.), and in the song of the Three Men in the Fiery Furnace. As regards the "spiritual songs," or "odes," mentioned by St. Paul, we need only call to mind the custom which prevailed among the heathen, of joining with their religious sacrifices and banquets all kinds of songs, the contents of which could not fail to be in many ways offensive to those who were converted to Christianity. In

opposition to these heathenish songs, the followers of Christ are called upon to sing such as were spiritual and edifying; a practice not without some precedent, as we may learn from Philo, even among the serious minded *Essenes*, at whose meals in common some one always chanted a hymn of praise to God, either composed by himself or borrowed from some older poet. Similar songs of praise are found in the New Testament; the anthem of the blessed Virgin, for instance, (Luke 1: 46–55,) and that of Zacharias, (Luke 1: 68–79,) which, according to Schleiermacher, are to be regarded as hymns, that existed in the time of the Evangelist, and were thus incorporated by him into his historical narrative.

It is not so clear that Muenter is right, in taking certain passages of the Apocalypse, (such as the new song of the Lamb, c. 5: 9–13; the heavenly act of praise, c. 11: 15–19; the song of Moses, c. 15: 3, 4,) to be fragments of ancient hymns. For, since the book bears throughout the character of lofty poetical inspiration, there does not seem to be any sufficient reason for singling out from it in this way, particular parts as poetical quotations, where the rythmical form may be owing simply to the nature of the subject. There is better reason for admitting the supposition of such a fragment in the words used by St. Paul, Eph. 5: 14:

> "Awake, thou that sleepest,
> And arise from the dead;
> And Christ shall give thee light!"

because the passage is introduced by the clause, "Wherefore he saith," implying a distinct citation, which, however, is not to be found in the Old Testament. Two other passages, 1 Tim. 3: 16, and 2 Tim. 2: 11, have been represented also to be such fragments; but the most we can say of them is, that they may be, not that they must be, of this character.

Holding ourselves to the express voice of history, our attention is carried first to the *Syrian* Church, which, so far as our knowledge of Christian antiquity goes, had its first hymnologists in Bardesanes and his son, Harmonius, who belong to the last half of the second century; whilst of the Greek hymnologists of the first and second centuries, (with the single excep-

tion of Athenogenes, whom Basil the Great mentions as the author of a doxology,) we know not even the names, to say nothing of their songs.

From such dearth of information, it might seem natural to infer a dearth of authors. In the opinion of Muenter, however, we have no right to come to any such conclusion. Rather we have no reasen to be surprised, he thinks, that we should know next to nothing of the hymnologists, which may be supposed to have belonged to this early period; because, in the first place, our notices of the first centuries of the Christian Church, in general, are very meagre and fragmentary; and then, again, we know that in the Pagan persecutions one thing especially aimed at, was to destroy the ecclesiastical books, to which belonged, of course, any collections which might have been made of hymns. Augusti refers besides to the *disciplina arcani*, which must have made it an object with Christians carefully to keep secret such hymns as had for their theme the Trinity, or the Divine Majesty of Christ; whilst he reminds us, at the same time, that there was in the ancient Church a difference of opinion, with regard to the lawfulness of using for Church purposes, any compositions of this sort, not taken directly from the sacred Scriptures.

How precarious all such reasonings are, hardly needs to be shown; and one who should choose to dispute the existence of church hymns in the Greek Church of the first two centuries, would not be likely to alter his mind from having it explained ever so clearly, how and why they *might* have perished so as to leave for us no trace of their use. So much is certain, that the great body of Christians, in the earliest times, belonged to the ruder class of people, and that such church hymns as are here in consideration, regarded at least as the property of the laity, cannot well be thought of as in use, till such a measure of cultivation had come to prevail, on the part of the people, as would create for them some proper need and demand. Whilst then, there may have been occasional effusions of Christian devotion here and there, in the form of original song, the worship of these first times confined itself in the main, no doubt, to the psalms; which were regarded as songs given by God,

and the use of which was the more easy and welcome, as almost every one of them was found to include a reference to Christ.

Just this, however, served to put the heretics out of humor with the psalms; and as it did not seem expedient to question the correctness and necessity of such interpretation in which Jews and Christians agreed, both referring the psalms to the Messiah, with only the difference that the latter saw already fulfilled in Christ those representations which the former applied to a Messiah who was expected still to come, it became naturally enough an interest with the antichristian tendency in question, to have the biblical psalms superseded by others that might better comport with its own doctrinal views.

When Ephraim, the Syrian, tells us, therefore, of the already mentioned Gnostic philosopher, Bardesanes, (about a. 172,) that in imitation of David he had composed one hundred and fifty psalms, we may infer that it was his purpose, not just to bring in some new hymns, but to furnish the Church in form with another Psalter altogether, which it was hoped might take the place of that previously in use. Such as adhered to the true doctrine of the Church, however, could not be pleased with the pretended improvement. The new psalms abounded with Gnostic dreams and fancies; and it was plain enough, that by coming into popular use they were in danger of becoming a vehicle of wide-spread ruinous error.

Still they struck a chord in the common mind, from which they seem to have met a welcome response. They suited a want of the time, and fell in with the popular feeling and taste. Hence they were not to be set aside by mere authority; nor would it answer now to fall back simply on the psalms of David. For, not to speak of the advantage the new hymns had over the Jewish psalmody in point of well sounding melody and rhythm, they had already begun to diffuse the poison of various false sentiments, which needed to be counteracted in a more direct way. Ephraim saw all this; and courageously addressed himself to the task of meeting the evil in the only manner in which it could be done with full success. Being possessed of poetical talent himself, he undertook to compose

orthodox hymns of his own, in opposition to those of Bardesanes and Harmonius; and so well did he succeed, that not only the heretical hymns at that time fell into disuse and oblivion, but his own came into such enduring credit that they continue to be used in the East even down to the present day. Many of them are alternative songs, and some almost dramatic dialogues, as for instance the song in parts between the Virgin Mary and the Wise Men at the birth of Christ. As regards number, the Syrians ascribe to him 12,000 hymns, the Copts as many as 14,000, with the express remark, at the same time, that this is to be understood, not of single verses, but of whole songs consisting of several stanzas. It must be borne in mind, however, that he stands as the general representative of the whole Syrian hymnology, and that many hymns from less distinguished later authors have thus been attributed to his name.

A similar influence of the heretics in the ecclesiastical hymnology, appears to have had place also in the Greek Church. Eusebius, in his Church History, quotes an older writer against Artemon, who denied the divinity of Christ, as appealing to "many psalms and odes, written of old by believing brethren, in which Christ is extolled as the Divine Logos." Origen expresses himself to like effect, when he says to the heathen philosopher, Celsus, among other things: "We celebrate with hymns God and his Only Begotten Son, as do also the sun, moon and stars, and all the heavenly host; for all these, as a divine choir, join with just men in singing the praises of God over all and his blessed Son."

Whether such hymns proceeded, in the first place, from polemical interest, or were the free effusions of faith in Christ, cannot now be certainly known. But it is clear enough, at all events, that they were in use before the middle of the third century; and we need not be surprised, therefore, to find Paul of Samosata, a decided opposer of all the *later* hymnological productions. The more directly and plainly they gave utterance to the true Church faith in regard to the Trinity and the Divinity of Christ, the less agreeable were they, of course, to his heretically disposed mind. As a bishop, however, he could not declare openly the real ground of his dissatisfaction; and

so he was fain to cover it over with a show of zeal for David's Psalms. These the Church had all along held to be of Divine inspiration, and could not, therefore, reasonably find fault with him for giving them the preference over the hymns in question, which were after all the product of only human art. To his own mind, at the same time, the Psalms seemed to be in a great measure free from all that he found offensive in the reigning Church faith, as distinctly enunciated in the orthodox hymns. These proved not less offensive in a somewhat later period to the heretic Arius; and he, accordingly, more bold than Paul of Samosata, was not contented with trying to set them aside by insisting on the exclusive use of the Psalter, but believed himself called to make a better provision for the religious wants of the people by hymns of his own composition. And as it was the general character of Arianism, by rejecting all that was mysterious, to bring Christianity as near as possible to the practical understanding of men, and to lay stress on its moral virtues more than upon its incomprehensible dogmas, the hymns of Arius seem also to have been mainly of this turn, referring to practical rather than doctrinal themes; so that even zealous opponents of the man were constrained, not only to acknowledge his own strict personal morality, but to allow also, that, by his hymns for travelers, sailors, &c., he had exerted a salutary moral influence likewise upon others. Supposing the orthodox hymns of the time to have been combinations simply of doxological and dogmatical formulas, as was probably the case, it is easy enough to understand how, in comparison with them, the popular practical songs of the Arians, might, for a time, meet with more favor from the common world. These were out and out intelligible, while the Church hymns, by their prevailing doctrinal character, appeared to be both obscure and less suited for the purposes of edification. With this was joined the great pains which the Arians took with their public worship, contriving especially by the singing of their hymns, to render it very solemn and impressive; for they held their processions, we are told, in the deep silence of the night, by the light of torches, with sounding chants and antiphons—which had the effect of drawing to them crowds of people.

Whether with reference or not to such heretical hymns, we find the Council of Laodicea, in its 59th canon, decreeing, "that thenceforward no private psalms, (ψαλμοι ἰδιωτικοι,) and no uncanonical books should be used, but only the canonical books, of the Old and New Testament."

That these "private psalms" stand immediately opposed to the psalms of David, is clear enough. Still it is a question, whether the prohibition is to be regarded as extending at once to all hymns without exception which were not taken from the Scriptures, or only to such as were held to be doctrinally unsound, like the Psalter, for instance, of the Apollinarists. In the first case, the Council would have declared itself against all that had been done in the way of such composition after the time of the Apostles; in the last case, it must be understood as condemning only the works of those hymnologists, who, as private persons, held no charge in the Church, and so were not to be trusted as caring properly for the purity of doctrine, without meaning at all to reject the hymns of orthodox teachers; and this second view seems to be the one which it is necessary to accept in fact, as the true sense of the canon. Gregory of Nazianzum, at least, did not allow himself to be restrained by the Laodicensian decree, from composing ecclesiastical hymns; neither did his contemporary Synesius, Bishop of Ptolemais, (about a. 400;) and Chrysostom of the same period thought he could perform for the Church no better work, than when he sought to outdo the Arians, if possible, by bringing out more excellent hymns than theirs, in the service of the right faith. It might be said, indeed, that as the Council of Laodicea was only a Provincial Synod, these bishops paid no regard to its prohibition, as being of no universal or permanent force. But the Council of Chalcedon, (a. 451,) it must be remembered, sanctioned and confirmed the proceedings of this very Synod, making them to be thus of general authority. When we find the Church then, notwithstanding, making use of new hymns afterwards, along with the Psalter, it shows clearly enough that the prohibition in question was considered as referring only to heretical productions.

True, neither the hymns of Gregory, nor those of Synesius,

have remained a permanent property to the Greek Church, and their use was not perhaps at any time altogether general. But this is to be ascribed, not so much to any prejudice against their novelty, as to their peculiar form and the altered circumstances of the Church in subsequent times. It has often been asked, how it comes, that the Greek Church, which glories so much in the high antiquity of its Liturgy, and has shown itself so true to the ancient forms in general, should, nevertheless, in the matter of hymnology, have given preference to the later poets of the eighth and ninth centuries, over those of the fourth—more especially as the advantage of poetical merit is unquestionably on the side of these last. Let the following serve for answer. Gregory of Nazianzum, was in truth not only a deservedly celebrated theologian, but so distinguished a poet also, that philologists, like Grotius and Valkenaer, have not hesitated to place him beside the best among the classics. But, of his many poems, a few only were properly church hymns; and even these were too much cast into the peculiar mould of the author's cultivated and scientific thinking, to be adapted for common popular use. Still more was this the case with the hymns of Synesius, of which we have ten still extant. With their palpable imitation of the Pagan forms of poetry, and their characteristic vein of philosophical and theological speculation, they might pass indeed as respectable samples of the Alexandrian taste in their day; but they lacked popular simplicity too far, to be fitted for the edification of plain persons. This of itself, would account for their not coming into much use in the Church. Another circumstance, however, of no less weight, made itself felt in the case. In the time of these writers, when Arianism prevailed, the controversies concerning the Trinity and the Divine nature of Christ, and so also such hymns as referred to them in a strong and marked manner, were of general interest. Afterwards, these questions having come to a close by the full triumph of orthodoxy, attention was drawn more to other points. It was disputed concerning the veneration of the "Mother of God" and the Saints; and in proportion as the mind of the Church went in favor of this, there was a disposition to welcome hymns of

which they were made the subject and theme. These seemed indeed to be what was now mainly needed, inasmuch as the new heretics attacked not the doctrine of Christ's person, but the honor which was held to be due to the Virgin and Saints. The want began to make itself felt especially in the eighth century; from which time, accordingly, we find a series of hymnologists, who labored for its satisfaction. Of these, the principal were, Cosmas, Bishop of Majuma, (730,) Andreas, Bishop of Crete, (724,) Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, (740,) John Demascenus, (750,) Theophanes, Metropolitan of Nice, (854,) and Joseph, Deacon at Constantinople, (880,) who was the author of forty hymns to the Virgin.

They furnish what the Church wanted, a rich number of compositions devoted to Mary, or in honor of the Saints, suitable to the numerous festivals of the year; and for this service, they were not only praised as "sacred singers" by their grateful cotemporaries, and compared to the "tuneful cicada" or the "musical nightingale," but have secured for themselves besides also an abiding reputation with posterity.

Over against these Oriental hymns, those of the Western or Latin Church, are distinguished for a beauty and dignity peculiarly their own, however little claim they may have to the character of poetry in its more finished forms. The philologist who has been accustomed to classical elegance is often ready to smile, on reading the first verses, at their barbarisms and awkwardness of expression; but as he proceeds farther, his features become more earnest, and almost involuntarily he finds himself disposed to devotion. Hundreds of skilful poets have tried to translate them, and have employed all the charms of diction and rhythm to give the seemingly artless and simple monkish rhymes in modern version. But all their artistic efforts in this way have failed entirely to come up to the effect, which the originals have produced for centuries, wherever read and understood. And what is it that arrests us here with so much power? "Simplicity and truth," replies Herder, rightly. "Here sounds the language of an universal confession, of *one* heart and faith. Most of them are so constructed as to answer for singing at all times, or are fixed to regular festi-

vals and return with these continually in the circuit of the year. They never confine themselves exclusively to a particular feeling only or thought; everywhere rather they offer us the language of Christian devotion in grand accents."

Take for instance the well known morning hymn:

Jam lucis orto sidere
Deum precamur supplices,
Ut in diurnis actibus
Nos servet a nocentibus;
Linguam refraenans temperet,
Ne litis horror insonet;
Visum fovendo contegat,
Ne vanitates hauriat;
Sint pura cordis intima,
Absistet et vecordia;
Carnis terat superbiam
Potus cibique parcitas;
Ut, quum dies abcesserit
Noctemque sors reduxerit,
Mundi per abstinentiam
Ipsi canamus gloriam.
Deo patri sit gloria,
Ejusque soli filio,
Cum spiritu paraclito,
Nunc et per omne saeculum, Amen.

How simple and general the thoughts! It is a hymn for all ages and conditions of life, and for every day alike. It has never been new; and just for this reason it can never grow old.

This character of broad proportioned generality meets us at once in the compositions of Hilary of Poictiers, the oldest Latin hymnologist, († 368;) for whom also, in all probability, the thought of using his talent in this way was suggested by the Arian hymns, with which he had become acquainted in Phrygia, during his banishment there, for holding the true faith. It is true, indeed, that most of the hymns which have come down to us under his name, are rejected by modern criticism as spurious. Against the genuineness, however, of the morning hymn: "*Lucis largitor splendide*," no reasonable doubt can be urged; and this of itself is sufficient to prove, that what has now been said of the Latin hymnology in general, applies in full force also to his productions.

Better known to us, through his sacred poetry, is the celebrated Ambrose, of Milan; who, in like manner, as he tells us himself, wrote hymns in honor of the Holy Trinity, in order to defend the Catholic faith against the false doctrine of the Arians. At the same time, it is necessary to distinguish here also between the genuine and the spurious. Even in the ninth century, Walafrid Strabo had to complain, that many worthless compositions had been attributed to Ambrose to give them credit; and while, in the older editions of his works, and in the Breviaries, over thirty hymns are assigned to him, his Benedictine critics felt themselves bound to acknowledge as genuine not more than twelve. Among these, the first place belongs to the following: "*Aeterne rerum conditor;*" "*Deus creator omnium;*" "*Splendor paternæ gloriæ;*" "*O lux, beata Trinitas;*" "*Veni redemptor gentium.*" One of the rejected hymns is the magnificent *Te Deum*, the so called Ambrosian chant, which he is reported to have composed for the baptism of Augustine. As the first ascription we have of it to Ambrose, is in a writer of the eleventh century, while his biographer, Paulinus of Milan, and others belonging to the same age, say nothing on the subject, it seems more reasonable, with Usher, to hold Nicetus, Bishop of Treves, (535,) for its author.

Prudentius, the cotemporary of Ambrose, was likewise a distinguished hymnologist; besides being the author of different larger poems, of a theological and philosophical character. Of his proper church canticles, particular mention is due to the lovely hymn for the Festival of the Innocents: "*Salvete flores Martyrum,*" and to the funeral song: *Jam moesta quiesce querela.*

From the poetical compositions of Sedulius, (about 450,) the Church has borrowed only the two Christmas hymns: "*A solis ortus cardine,*" and "*Hostis Herodes impie.*"

Not less beautiful are the hymns of Fortunatus, (600;) particularly the two celebrated Passion hymns: "*Pange lingua, gloriosi prœlum certaminis,*" and "*Vexilla regis prodeunt.*"

Gregory the Great also († 604) rendered good service to the Church in this department. His hymn for Thursday before

Easter: "*Rex Christe, factor omnium,*" was pronounced by Luther, the best of all hymns; more, however, with reference to its genuine evangelical sentiment, probably, than to its poetical form.

Among the hymnologists of the eighth century, may be named particularly the pious and learned Bede, († 735;) of whose eleven hymns, one on the Ascension, has continued in Church use.

To the age of Charles the Great, belongs Paul the Deacon, († 799,) the author, among other pieces, of a festival hymn for John the Baptist, commencing with the stanza:

"*Ut queant laxis*
Resonare fibris
Mira gestorum
Famuli tuorum,
Solve polluti
Labii reatum,
Sancte Ioannes!"

from which, Guido of Arezzo, is known to have borrowed the first syllables, *Ut, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La,* as names for tones or notes in music, the use of which, in some countries, continues to the present day.

To the same age, probably, is to be assigned also the hymn for Pentecost, improperly attributed to Ambrose: "*Veni creator Spiritus.*"

Especially deserving of notice in the period of the tenth and eleventh centuries, is Robert, King of France, (997–1031,) famous both as a poet and a componist, and the author, according to Durandus, of the exquisitely beautiful Pentecostal hymn: "*Veni Sancte Spiritus.*"

To this period belongs also the antiphon: "*Media vita in morte sumus,*" (In the midst of life we are in death, &c.;) the original of Luther's "Komm hei'lger Geist, Herre Gott," "*Veni Sancte Spiritus, Reple tuorum corda fidelium,*" &c.; and the celebrated address to the Virgin: "*Salve Regina, mater misericordiæ.*"

From the twelfth century, we have the justly prized compositions of the pious Peter Damiani, and those also of the genial and glowing Bernard of Clairvaux. It is interesting to

compare with Paul Gerhard's "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden," the hymn of this last "Ad faciem Jesu," beginning:

"Salve caput cruentatum,
Totum spinis coronatum
Conquassatum, vulneratum,
Arundine verberatum,
Facie sputis illita."

The great scholastic doctor, Thomas Aquinas, of the thirteenth century, (†1274,) is the author of the hymn for high mass: "*Pange lingua gloriosi Corporis mysterium*, &c.; also of the longer production: "*Lauda Sion salvatorem*," devoted in like manner to the awful sacrament of the altar.

To the thirteenth century also belongs what has been well denominated the "gigantic hymn," once ascribed by some to Gregory the Great, or Bernard of Clairvaux, but composed in reality by the Minorite friar, Thomas of Celano, the world-renowned: "*Dies iræ, dies illa Solvet saeclum infavilla*," &c.

To another Franciscan monk, Giacomo Benedetti, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, we are indebted for the beautiful: "*Stabat mater dolorosa Juxta crucem lacrimosa, Dum pendebat filius*," &c. No one can say how many translations of this hymn, and of the *Dies irae*, have been made into the modern Christian tongues. It is acknowledged, however, on all hands, that no one of them has ever succeeded in doing anything like full justice to either of the originals.

Excellent, however, as these and other hymns in the Catholic Breviaries might be, of what account were they for the mass of the people, unacquainted, as they were of course, with the Latin tongue? We find this a subject of complaint, more particularly among the Germans, as far back as the ninth century. We need not be surprised, then, that efforts were made in certain quarters to form and bring into use hymns in the vernacular dialects. Quite early, as we may learn from Jacob Grimm and Wackernagel, a number of such compositions made their appearance in Germany. In the course of time, these were followed by others; so that altogether this country was by no means so destitute of popular religious songs, in the period before the Reformation, as many might be disposed to

imagine. We may distribute them into the four following classes or kinds:

I. *Versions and reproductions of the old Latin hymns.* Among those who did good service by such translations, may be mentioned in particular John, "the monk of Salzburg," (toward the close of the fourteenth century;) by whom as many as eleven hymns were reproduced in this way. A certain brother Dietrich, after him, translated three; and subsequently others also lent their hand to the same work, to whom it may be sufficient merely to refer in this general way.

II. *Mixed songs, half Latin and half German.* These prevailed especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. One of the best known specimens, is the Christmas hymn, ascribed to Peter Faulfisch, († 1440,) commencing with the verse:

"In dulci jubilo
Nu singet und seid froh,
Aller unser Wonne
Liegt in præsepio;
Sie leuchtet vor die Sonne
Matris in gremio,
Qui est A et O."

It was once pretended that this Peter Faulfisch, (otherwise Peter of Dresden,) being the first who proposed to introduce German hymns into church use, was only allowed after much entreaty, as a particular favor from the Pope, to bring in such as might be mixed with the Latin in this way; and that he set himself accordingly to the task of composing the one just mentioned, and a number of others in similar style, for that purpose. But better inquiry has shown the whole representation to be false. For, in the first place, this very hymn, "*In dulci jubilo,*" has been proved much older than the time of Peter of Dresden, being plainly referred to and named in a manuscript of the previous century; whilst the origin of mixed poetry itself lies as far back as the tenth. The thirteenth century in particular was rich in compositions of this fantastic style, both comic and serious. Neither is it difficult at all to account for them. They grew naturally enough out of the position of the writers, who as men of education found themselves, on the one hand, familiar with the Latin and more or less helpless in the use of

the common tongue, while, on the other hand, they sought to make their Latin intelligible to the people by joining with it words and phrases from the vernacular as a sort of running key to its hidden sense. Such poetry was common in France and England, as well as Germany. It sounds strangely ludicrous now; and we are apt to think of it only as a species of childish and wilful buffoonery. But every such phenomenon needs to be judged from the platform of its own age and time. Considered in this way, as the product of what we may call the transition period of the middle ages, this mongrel versification is not without its claims to respect.

III. *Original German hymns.* Some such there were, which were actually sung by the people, though it might be only on great occasions, such as high festivals, processions, pilgrimages, &c. Among them may be quoted as one of the oldest, the popular favorite:

Nu bitten wir den heilgen Geist
Umbe den rechten Glauben allermeist,
Dass er uns behuete an unserm Ende,
So wir heim suln fahrn aus diesem Elende. Kyrieleison."

To this class belong also the old Easter song: "*Christ ist erstanden;*" the Christian's song: *Gelobet seist du, Jesus Christ;*" the Pilgrim song: "*In Gottes Namen fahren wir;*" the Pentecostal verse: "*Christ fuhre zu Himmel;*" together with the hymns to the Virgin: "*Ave Maria, ein Ros ohn alle Dorn,*" "*Ave Morgensterne, erleucht uns mildiglicht,*" "*Dich Frau vom Himmel ruf ich an,*" and others.

IV. *Accommodations of the popular secular songs.* These, however, belong more to the period of the Reformation itself, than to the time going before. An interesting example of this species of composition is found in the spiritual variations of the familiar drinking song:

"*Den liebsten Buhlen, den ich han,*
Der liegt beim Wirth in keller,
Er hat ein hoelsern Roecklein an
Und heisst der Muscateller," &c.

In one of these new versions, the theme is made to be Christ: "*Den liebsten Herren den ich han,*" &c; in another we have

the "Muscateller" boldly transformed into the Virgin Mary:

> *"Den liebsten Buhlen, den ich han,*
> *Der ist in des Himmel's Throne,*
> *Maria heisset sie gar schon,"* &c.

Altogether, however, the hymns here spoken of did not amount to very much for the people. In the ordinary church services, use was still made exclusively of the established Latin chants; only on some special occasions, as before remarked, the people were allowed to bring forward, not the vernacular versions of these, nor hymns of the mixed order, or of the sort last mentioned, but their old native rhymes, short and quaint, formed originally for such use. Processions and pilgrimages, in which a number of persons, with some religious object in view, moved together from one place to anothor, gave opportunity especially for such popular singing. We read of companies of persons in this way, during the middle ages, passing from country to country, or from town to town, on foot, with strange dress and staff in hand, to visit particular churches or shrines, and causing the air to resound, wherever they came, with songs in praise of God and his saints. The "*Flagellants*," as they are called, who traversed all Germany, during the time of the great plague in the fourteenth century, had a number of penitential hymns which they sung in such fashion, along with their other strange observances, to excite contrition in the public mind. But these were cases confessedly aside from the common practice and rule. It was reserved for the Reformation to open the way fully for popular singing in the churches; and it was Luther himself, more than any one else, who took the lead in this revolution, and by his influence contributed to settle its character and form.

He put his own hand to the work of providing both hymns, and suitable melodies, for popular use. By his example and exhortation he stirred up others to take part in the same work. Later poets took from him their spirit and tone; and he is to be regarded as laying the real and true foundation, in this way, of the almost boundless structure of the German hymnology in later times.

He wrote himself thirty-seven hymns. Of these, a number

were translations of Latin hymns in common use, such as: "*Da pacem Domini*," "*O lux, beata Trinitas*," "*Veni redemptor gentium*," &c. Several were versifications of particular psalms, or other bible passages, among the rest, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments; four were old German hymns wrought into new and improved shape; while as many as six, it would seem, not more, were strictly original and free in their composition.

Of the merits of these hymns it is not necessary here to speak. This is sufficiently attested by their enduring reputation, and the power which has been felt to go with them down to the present time. Their effect, when they first appeared, was very great. With their proper melodies, they fell in so exactly with the popular religious feeling of the time, that it was not easy to set any bounds to their influence and use. Tileman Hesshuss does not hesitate to say, that by the one single hymn of Luther, "*Nun freut euch, liebe Christen-gemein*," many hundred persons were brought to the right faith, who might have had no knowledge otherwise even of Luther's name. The Carmelite monk, Thomas a Jesu, in like manner testifies, "that the cause of Luther had been astonishingly promoted by the fact that his hymns were sung by all classes of people, not merely in the churches and schools, but also in the houses and work-shops, in the markets, on the streets, and in the fields." Nay, they found favor even among his declared enemies. Of this class was Duke Henry of Wolfenbuettel, who, notwithstanding, as Selnecker informs us, caused the hymns: "*Es woll' uns Gott genaedig sein*," "*Eine veste Burg ist unser Gott*," and some others, to be sung in his court chapel. The Catholic priest represented to him, that he ought not to tolerate such hymns. On his being asked, however, to say what hymns he meant, and having in reply, begun with naming the first of the two just mentioned: "*Es woll' uns Gott genaedig sein*," the Duke is reported to have cut him short with the sharp interrogation: "*Ei, soll uns denn der Teufel gnaedig sein? wer soll uns denn gnaedig sein, denn Gott allein.*" So the priest was silenced, and Luther's hymns continued to be sung as before.

At Lubeck, in the year 1529, as a Catholic priest, having preached, was about to offer the prayer following sermon, two small children suddenly struck up the Lutheran hymn: "*Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein,*" when the whole congregation at once fell in and carried it through. And so afterwards, also, whenever a sermon was preached in opposition to the new doctrines, the people followed it spontaneously with the same hymn; till finally the government yielded to their earnest entreaty, and consented to recall the Protestant ministers who had been previously banished from the place.

It was in somewhat similar style, that the Reformation was sung into Heidelberg. The Elector Frederick, through fear of the Emperor, was slow in making up his mind to abolish the mass, and it remained in use, accordingly, as late even as 1646. In that year, however, on a certain occasion, as the priest stood at the high altar in the Church of the Holy Ghost to perform the service, a solitary voice first, and then at once the entire congregation, began to sing aloud the familiar hymn of Paul Speratus: "*Est ist das Heil uns kommen her;*" thus plainly showing how deeply the popular mind and will were bent on having a change of worship. In view of which fact, we are told, the Elector hesitated no longer, but forthwith gave order that the mass should be set aside, and the Lord's Supper administered in both kinds after the Protestant fashion.

The first hymn book in the service of the Reformation was published by Luther in the year 1523, and consisted of simply two plain quarto leaves, containing the two hymns: "*Nun freut euch, liebe Christen-g'mein,*" by himself, and "*Es ist das Heil uns kommen her,*" by Dr. Paul Speratus. In the following year, a collection of eight hymns appeared, text and melody together as before. In 1526 the number published was thirty-nine; and from that time on additions were made almost every year, till they came to be counted at last not only by hundreds but by thousands. The Danish statesman, Moser, had in his possession in 1751, a collection of 50,000 printed German hymns; and now the number is considered to be more than 80,000. Nearly every ten years, from the time of the Reformation, has produced a new, more or less

classic poet in this line, or at all events, some new classic composition; whilst single writers, such as Schmolk and Hiller, have alone produced over a thousand hymns, to swell the general stream.

The hymnology of Germany since the Reformation, like its religion and theology in general, has a history—not simply a numerical heaping together of names and dates—but a regular process or movement in which the subject is comprehended as a whole from one period to another. Its main periods are, 1st, From Luther to Paul Gerhard (1524–1650); 2nd, From Paul Gerhard to Gellert (1650–1754); 3rd, From Gellert to the present time.

With all the poets of the first period, the so called "older school," the distinguishing characteristic is *objectivity*. It was the period of faith and youthful religious life. Its hymns are taken up with the great objects of Christian devotion, the facts and realities in which it properly terminates, rather than with the frames and feelings simply of those that sing. Firm, evangelical trust in the truths of the Bible forms their reigning tone and spirit throughout. The human sinks out of view, to make room for that which is held to be immediately divine. Hence their essentially popular nature; their enduring suitableness, like the old Latin hymns of the middle ages, to all classes of persons and to all times. They are not of an order to wear out or grow old.

Among the more important hymnologists of this period, after Luther himself, may be named, according to their countries and tendencies, the following:

First the Saxon Reformers: Justus Jonas, Doctor of Theology at Wittenberg, († 1552,) author of the hymns, "*Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns haelt, wenn unsere Feinden toben*" (after Ps. 123.); "*Der Herr ehoer euch in der Noth*" (after Ps. 20.); "*Herr Jesu Christ, dein Erb wir sind*" (after Ps. 79.).—John Agricola, of Eisleben, († 1566,) who composed two hymns after Ps. 2 and Ps. 117.—Paul Eber, Doctor of Theology and General Superintendent, († 1569;) he wrote several hymns, among others, the well known lines for a dying person, "*In Christi Wunden schlaf ich ein, Die machen mich von Suenden rein, &c.*"

Friends of the Reformation in Nuremberg: Lazarus Spengler, a leading member of the city council, († 1534;) Hans Sachs, the celebrated minstrel, († 1576;) he exercised his art in turning hymns to the Virgin or saints, into hymns to Christ, as "*Dich Frau vom Himmel ruf ich an,*" into "*Christum vom Himmel ruf ich an;*" "*Sanct Christoph du heiliger Mann,*" into "*Christe wahrer Sohn Gottes fromm;*" and so in other cases, which served to show his sympathy with the cause of the Reformation; as did also indeed his versions of familiar secular songs into a religious form, such as, for instance, "*Rosina, wo war dein Gestalt Bei Koenig Paris Leben,* &c., into "*O Christe, wo war dein Gestalt Bei Papst Sylvesters Leben.*" Sebaldus Heyd, the author of a number of hymns. John Hesse, who, among other things, turned the popular song, "*Insbruch ich muss dich lassen,*" into a hymn commencing, "*O Welt ich muss dich lassen.*"

Prussian Reformers: Paul Speratus, († 1554,) author of "*Es ist des Heil uns kommen her,*" and a number of hymns besides. John Graumann, (Poliander,) assistant of Speratus in the Prussian Reformation († 1541). Albert Junior, Margrave of Brandenburg-Culmbach († 1557). Erasmus Alberus, († 1553,) a poet, whose hymns are placed by Herder and Gervinus in the same rank with Luther; he wrote, "*Gott hat das Evangelium;*" "*Wer Gotts Wort hat, und bleibt dabei;*" &c.

Cotemporary with these, in different parts of Germany, were: Nicolaus Decius, Preacher at Stettin. John Schneesing, (Chiomusus,) Preacher at Gotha. Adam Reussner. John Matthesius, who produced, among other compositions, the beautiful morning hymn, "*Aus meines Herzen's Grunde.*" Nicolaus Hermann, the "old pious precentor" of Joachimsthal in Bohemia, and the intimate friend of his pastor, the excellent Matthesius just named; whose custom it was, we are told, when the pastor preached a good sermon, forthwith to turn its leading sentiments into the form of a hymn; the result of which, in the end, was Hermann's "*Evangelia auf alle Sonn-und Festtage in Gesaengen aufgestellt*"—a book first published at Wittenberg in 1560, and formerly much used.

The first main period from Luther to Paul Gerhard may

itself be distributed into three subdivisions. In that case, the first closes with Hermann (a. 1560). After this, follows what may be styled the "time of controversy among the disciples of the Reformers," (1560—1618;) in the course of which, the hymnology, without parting with its objective character, is found gradually losing the inspiration of vigorous and joyous faith which it had in the beginning, and assuming the form of dry doctrinal statement in conformity with the too often barren polemics of the day. In many cases, they degenerated into short dogmatical tracts in verse, or became mere bible texts and passages turned into flat and worthless tissues of rhyme.

Among the crowd of such tame versifiers, however, there were not wanting, during this time, names of true poetical merit. As such we may mention: Bartholomew Ringwaldt, († 1598,) from whom we have, among others, the valuable hymn, "*Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit*," formed after the *Dies irae*. Nicolaus Selnecker, († 1592,) the intimate pupil and friend of Melancthon, whose moderate Melancthonian tendency drew upon him the fierce hostility both of the rigid Lutherans, (they nicknamed him "Seelhenker,") and of the Crypto-Calvinists, a bitter trial that lasted all his days; as a monument of his spirit, he has left, in addition to other productions, behind him, composed in the heat of the sacramental controversies, the tenderly affecting hymn, "*Ach bleib bei uns Herr Jesu Christ.*" His cotemporary, Ludwig, Helmbold, († 1598,) Pastor and Superintendent at Mühlhausen, who has been styled the "German Asaph," on account of his many hymns and who was publicly crowned as poet at the Diet of Augsburg, a. 1566, by the Emperor, Maximilian II., continues to be still favorably known, especially by his popular composition, "*Von Gott will ich nicht lassen.* Caspar Bieneman, (Melissander,) who was a disciple of Matthias Flacius in the Synergistic disputes, was called to suffer hard persecution from his opponents, reaching even to many years of banishment, and from whom we have the hymn, written in the time of his sore trouble, "*Herr wie du willst, so schicks mit mir.*" Martin Schalling, another disciple of Melancthon, who, notwithstanding his dis-

position to pursue a conciliatory course, was yet, for refusing to sign the Form of Concord, thrown into prison and deprived of his office of Superintendent in Amberg, though he found a peaceful settlement afterwards again in Nuremberg, († 1608,) is favorably known by the hymn, "*Herzlich lieb hab ich, dich o Herr.*" To Martin Moller, († 1606,) we owe the hymn, "*O Jesu Gottes Laemmelein.*" Martin Behemb wrote one hundred and fifty sermons on the Passion, which he afterwards converted into one hundred and fifty prayers in rhyme. From Philip Nicolai of Hamburg, († 1608,) we have the two celebrated hymns, "*Wie schoen leucht uns der Morgenstern*" and "*Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme.*" Valerius Herberger, († 1627,) deserves to be named as the author of "*Valet will ich dir geben.*" Here must be named also Louis, Duke of Wurtemberg, († 1593,) a prince, more theological it seems, than political, who often assisted his own Tübingen divines, it is said, by whispering into their ear the right bible texts which they could not always at once call to mind; he is the author of the hymn, "*Dieweil mein Stund vorhanden ist.*"

Fruitful as the time was, however, in the production of sacred songs, it continued very sparing, thus far, in their church use. Only the most solid and approved hymns were sung in public service; and these stood for the most part unchangeably fixed, not simply for the festival seasons, but even for the common Sundays. So, for example, on all the Sundays between Easter and Ascension, it was customary to sing regularly the same hymn: "*Vater unser im Himmelreich.*" With such practice, the whole congregation were of course perfectly familiar with these standing songs; so that it would have been considered a sort of unbecoming affectation for any one in singing to use a book, *reading* from it "like a precentor." With regard to this, however, a change began to prevail during the latter portion of the main period now under consideration.

The "Thirty Years War" fell heavily on Germany and the Protestant Church; but it was not without its salutary influence in the sphere of religion. It served to draw off the minds of men from dry theological disputes, and to give a more inward and earnest turn to their Christian thinking. One effect

of this was, a new character, to some extent, in the hymnology of the Church, opening the way for what has been considered the third subdivision of the general period ending with Paul Gerhard (1618–1650). Koch's estimate of it is too favorable, when he pronounces it the "Schöne Blüthenzeit," both of church music and church song; although it is not to be denied, that we are indebted to it for many truly excellent hymns, distinguished particularly for their pathos and inward unction. It must be admitted, however, that a considerable improvement took place about the same time in the German language and versification. But whatever superiority the hymns of this period may have over the older ones, in point of pure and flowing style, they fall behind these decidedly in true Church worth; being characterized not unfrequently by a certain diffusiveness, and a sort of didactic preaching moreover, that does not compare to advantage with the more brief, full, and direct heart-utterances of the earlier school.

One of the earliest and most distinguished hymnologists of this period, is John Heermann, of Silesia, († 1647,) the author of about forty hymns, which have found general and enduring approbation. Still more worthy of note is the truly poetical Andreas Gryphius, († 1664,) whose sixty-four hymns, although they cannot be said to keep always within the bounds of proper Church simplicity, are always replete with sound Church sense. Henry Held, († 1643,) deserves mention also, a lawyer, and one of the best poets of the older Silesian school. The richly gifted Paul Flemming belongs to the same time († 1640); to him the Church owes the admirable hymn, "*In allen meinen Thaten,*" composed as he was setting out upon his journey to Persia. John Rist, († 1667,) stood in high credit among his cotemporaries as a religious poet; was crowned with the imperial laureate in 1664; became a member of the so-called "Fructiferous Society," in 1645, with the honorary title of "Der Rüstige;" and founded himself, in 1660, the poetical "Swan Order of the Elbe." He wrote six hundred and fifty eight sacred songs; many of them indeed not of much worth; as his great popularity tempted him to write too much, and the wonderful facility with which he made hymns, led him too of-

ten to substitute verbosity for strength, mere breadth of language for depth of thought. By way of justification for this, indeed, he tells us in the preface to his "Seelenparadies," that it is only through much bruising, the heavenly spices of the Bible give forth their full force and odor; but it must be allowed, that the process in his own hands results too often in a sort of hollow bombast, merely made to supply the place of the true spirit and power of devotion. With all this, however, he has left behind him a number of truly beautiful hymns. John Höfel, his friend, Doctor of Laws and Counsellor in Schweinfurt, († 1683,) was also one of the better poets of the time; a most earnest minded man, who had his own coffin made in the eighteenth year of his age, and in his later life read little else than funeral sermons, of which he had a collection of four thousand; the author, among other hymns, of these two: "*O suesses Wort, das Jesus spricht zur armen Wittwe, weine nicht*" and "*Was traur'ich noch.*" Another eminent poet is Dr. Joshua Stegmann, († 1632,) the author of the truly classic composition, "*Ach, bleib mit deiner Gnade.*" From David Denike, († 1680,) we have about twenty hymns; among them, "*Wenn ich die heilgen Zehn Gebot,*" and "*Hilf Gott, wie hat der Teufel itzt die Leut in seinen Stricken.*" Justus Gesenius, his colleague, († 1671, as Dr. of Theology and General Superintendent in Hanover,) wrote also several hymns of the better class. He and Denike published besides, the Hanoverian Hymn Book, remarkable as being the first that ventured to give older hymns in an altered form. The alterations, it is true, regarded only faults in the versification and language of these earlier compositions, leaving their sound Christian matter and substance untouched; but still they were a small prelude in their way to the more serious rage for innovation which came to prevail at a later time. With these may be named Tobias Clausnitzer, the author of the universally familiar hymn, "*Leibster Jesu wir sind hier;*" and the noble minded Martin Rinkart, who composed, on the occasion of the Westphalian Peace, that stirring, trumpet toned anthem, "*Nun danket alle Gott, mit Herzen, Mund und Haenden.*"

As forming the Königsberg or Prussian school of the time,

the subject requires us to notice: Simon Dach, its proper master and head, († 1659,) worthy of imitation, less through his poetical genius, however, than his cultivated style, as a pattern of contemplative lyrical composition; we have from him about one hundred and fifty hymns. Henry Alberti, organist to the Cathedral Church in Königsberg; he distinguished himself, not merely as the componist of a number of excellent choral melodies, but also the author himself of several good hymns. Valentin Thilo, Professor of Rhetoric, († 1662,) to whom we owe the hymn, "*Mit Ernst ihr Menschenkinder.*"

The most brilliant position here, however, belongs to the pious and devoted Paul Gerhard, († 1676, as Pastor at Lübben,) in whose person finally we have the transition from the first leading or main period of the German hymnology over to the second. He was at home himself, we may say, in both, worthily closing the older stadium as he worthily introduced also the new. "Gerhard's poems," Wackernagel aptly remarks, "mirror the transitional character of his age, in which the subjective tendency, the power of individual feeling began to make itself felt in connection with the more objective confessional spirit of the time going before; so that we may look upon him as the last and most complete of the religious poets, whose minds moved strictly in the confession and faith of the Church, as a system of facts beyond themselves, while he is seen also to lead the way for the succession of that different class, in whose hymns the adoration of God, and homage to the revelation of his attributes and works, yield to the expression of those sentiments, with which the soul is overpowered in view of its own relations to the High and Holy One. He stood on the summit of the age, and both tendencies were united in him with the fullest life." Of the one hundred and twenty hymns composed by him, more than thirty are classic models for all time; such as: "Ich singe dir mit Herz und Mund;" "Ich weiss, dass mein Erlöeser lebt;" "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden;" &c.

Dividing again, as is variously done, the second main period of the German hymnology, from Gerhard to Gellert, (1650–1760,) into subordinate sections, we may include in the first,

the immediate discipleship of Gerhard himself, a school whose lyrical productions in general bear the character of popular believing devotion. As belonging to this circle, we name: The pious princess, Louisa Henrietta of Brandenburg, († 1667,) who composed four hymns; among these the two of classic celebrity, "Jesus meine Zuversicht" and "Ich will von meiner Missethat." William II., Duke of Saxe-Weimar, honored with the title of "Der Schmackhafte," († 1662;) the author, among several other hymns of the one still in common use, "Herr Jesu Christ dich zu uns wend." John Maukisch, († 1669,) author of "Ach Jesu gieb mir sanften Muth." George Neumark, ornamented as a member of the "Fructiferous Society" with the title of "Der Sprossende;" he composed the well known hymn, "Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten," and furnished it also with its proper melody or tune. John Frank († 1677); he wrote about one hundred and ten hymns, which bear a close relation to those of Gerhard, but at the same time give much more prominence to the subjective element, and first begin to strike the chord of that longing after inward union with Christ, whose vibrations enter so largely soon afterwards into the poetry of the Church. Ernst Christoph Homburg, known in the Poetical Society before named, under the title of "Der Keusche," and possessing much of the same character, († 1681;) among his one hundred and fifty sacred lyrics is included the beautiful Passion hymn, "Jesu, meines Lebens Leben." We mention besides only John George Albinus, and Michael Schrimer, with whom this particular circle may be regarded as coming to a close.

Next follows the Nuremberg circle, members for the most part of a particular Poetical Fraternity established in that place, the leading characteristic of whose compositions may be given as devotional sentimentalism. We have in the case, as Gervinus well remarks, a transition from David to Solomon; and what the Psalms had been before, Solomon's Song became now with the class before us, in the way of type for sacred poetry. As writers of this sentimental pastoral order, it may be sufficient simply to name: George Philip Harsdörf, the original founder of the order; Sigismund von Birken; Andre-

as Ingolstetter; Christopher Wegleiter; and George Christopher Schwämmlein. From these we have quite a number of hymns; some of which are acknowledged to be of lasting merit.

The third circle is formed by the poets of what has been styled, "the second Silesian school;" the character of which Koch, the author of this classification, makes to be a certain mystical habit joined to the sentimentality of the previous class. This holds good in truth, however, only of some few among the Silesian poets; and these are to be regarded as solitary harbingers of the tendency which was afterwards brought out by the influence of Spener, rather than as the proper representatives of the Silesian hymnology in general. The succession of the proper mystical sentimentalists opens with John Scheffler, († 1677,) the title of whose poetry, "Heilige Seelenlust, oder geistliche Hirtenlieder der in ihren Jesum verliebten Psyche," is of itself sufficient to show the contact of his mind with the writings of Schwenkfeld and Weigel, as well as the influence which had been exercised upon it by the lyrical school of Nuremberg. He passed over finally to the Catholic Church. Then we have Christian Knorr von Rosenroth, († 1689,) a kindred spirit, known by his alchymistic and cabbalistic studies, the results of which were embodied in his famous "Kabbala Denudata." Of his seventy-five hymns, glowing throughout with desire for union with Christ, one of the best known is, "Morgenglanz der Ewigkeit." A similar character belongs to the two hundred and fifteen hymns of Ludämilia Elizabeth, Countess of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, († 1672,) who, even in early youth, despised the world and held "to her Jesus;" as a specimen of her composition, we may mention the sacramental hymn, "Jetzt kommt mein Gott, ein armer Gast." Her friend and counselor, Dr. Ahasuerus Fritsch, afterwards Chancellor of the University of Jena, († 1701,) known as the founder of the "Jesusgesellschaft," and as the author of "Hundert ein und zwanzig neuen himmelsüssen Jesusliedern," belongs to the same mystical tendency.

In proportion, however, as the Christian faith in the latter

part of the seventeenth century, stiffened into cold dead orthodoxy in one direction, and ran into transcendental mysticism in another, there was felt to be both occasion and need for a renovation in the hymnology of the Church as well as in its religious life generally; such as now arose in fact, through the agency mainly of the celebrated Philip Jacob Spener, († 1705;) who opens the way accordingly for a new and widely important era in the history which we have here in hand. He himself composed nine hymns, all pervaded with the deepest Christian feeling. As belonging to his immediate school, and breathing the same spirit with himself, we name: John Caspar Schade, (1698,) so true a servant of the Lord, Spener tells us, that he knew not any his like. The pious and excellent Scriver, (1698,) author of the celebrated hymn, "Jesu meiner Seelen Leben," in which every verse ends with the refrain, "Ich bin dein, und du bist mein," allerliebstes Jesulein." Baron von Kanitz, († 1699,) Prussian Privy Counsellor, and the intimate friend of Spener in Berlin, distinguished for the union of clear, sound judgment, with the spirit of deep and earnest devotion. John Jacob Schütz, († 1690,) author of the truly churchly and beautiful hymn, "Sey Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gut." Joachim Neander, German Reformed preacher of St. Martin's church, in Bremen; without poetical brilliancy, his hymns, nevertheless, abound in hearty fervor, are biblical in thought and expression, and avoid all unclean mysticism. Christopher Titius, († 1708,) the writer of fifty-four hymns. Adam Drese, organist in Weimar; suddenly converted from a gay worldly life in 1680, by Spener's writings, and known afterwards as a decided Pietist, († 1718;) author of the hymn, "Seelen bräutigam, Jesu Gotteslamm." Caspar Frederick Nachtenhöfer († 1685). Samuel Rodigast († 1708). Laurentius Laurenti, († 1722;) he wrote a collection of one hundred and forty-nine hymns, under the title, "Evangelia Melodica." Cyriacus Günther († 1704).

These represent what may be regarded as the sound and legitimate form of the Spenerian movement. It is well known, however, that there was a tendency in it also to aberration and excess. This gave rise even in his own lifetime, to three dif-

ferent lines of thinking, which afterwards became more fully developed as so many separate offshoots from his religious system namely, the Mystico-Separatistic, the Pietistic, and the Moravians. These exerted severally an important influence in the sphere of hymnology, and produced in fact three different types of religious poetry, each bearing its own distinctive character and stamp.

Among the writers of the first class, it may be sufficient to mention the names simply of the celebrated Gottfried Arnold, Conrad Dipple, ("Christianus Democritus," as he styled himself,) and Gerard Tersteegen. This last has been pronounced the best lyrical poet of the Reformed Church. His hymns are characterized by a most artless simplicity, but possess at the same time an inimitable depth and force. From Arnold we have one hundred and thirty hymns; "divine love sparks," according to his own title in one case, "sprung and collected from the great fire of God's love in Christ Jesus." Altogether the school was very active in hymnological efforts, as appears from its various collections; among which may be cited in particular, "Jesuslieder für seine Glieder, sönderlich für die Kleine und Reine, die mehr im Wesen haben als im Scheine," a work published in two parts, 1720 and 1723.

A far wider field, however, opens before us in the hymnology of the Pietists. Here, also, as in the case of the Mystics, the reigning character is subjectivity, and what we may call the intensification of personal experience, in the form of love to the Saviour and daily soul conflicts with the power of indwelling sin. The tendency groups itself again into three divisions or branches.

First, we have the Pietistic school of Halle. This includes: The celebrated founder of the Orphan House, Aug. Herm. Franke, († 1727,) whose praise is in the whole Christian world; he wrote the two hymns in common use, "Gott Lob, ein Schritt zur Ewigkeit" and "Was von aussen und von innen." His son-in-law, John Anastasius Frelinghausen, († 1730.) Joachim Justus Breithaupt, († 1732.) Joachim Lange, the distinguished defender of the Pietists against Valentine Löscher and the philosopher Wolf, († 1744.) John Daniel Herrn-

schmidt, († 1723.) Christ. Fred. Richter, the pious physician, of the Orphan House, († 1711.) John Henry Schröder, († 1728.) John Eusebius Schmidt, († 1745.) Peter Lackmann, († 1713.) John Joseph Winkler, († 1722.) Wolfg. Christ. Dessler, († 1722.) Ludw. And. Gotter, († 1735;) a most fruitful writer, who turned the whole Psalter into a rhyme, wrought the history of the Passion into a poem of sixty-seven verses, and composed altogether as many as two hundred and thirty-one hymns. Barthol. Crassius, († 1724.) Michael Müller, († 1704.) John Muthmann, († 1747.) Ernst Lange, († 1727.) Emily Juliana, Countess of Schwartzburg-Rudolstadt, († 1706;) she wrote five hundred and eighty hymns; among them, "Wer weiss, wie nahe mir mein Ende." The whole collection appeared after her death, under the title "Der Freuendin des Lammes geistlicher Brautschmuck;" and may be considered a sort of connecting link between the older and younger fashions of this school; participating largely as it does in the forms of thought and expression which give to the last its distinctive peculiarity.

This peculiarity consists in the great extreme, to which the subjective tendency is allowed to proceed. Sound Christian feeling, under its influence, degenerates more and more into a sort of fond love-sick sensibility; and for the proper gravity and simplicity of true devotional language is substituted a more affected diction, forced and obscure, abounding in images and allegories drawn from the Old Testament, in which more particularly the bridal relation of the soul espoused to Christ is portrayed frequently in an unbecoming manner.

The best specimens of the style are: Charles Henry von Bogatzky, the author of the widely famous "Güldenes Schatzkästlein," († 1774,) who wrote upwards of four hundred hymns. Ulrich Bogislaus von Bonin, († 1752;) originally a soldier, who afterwards studied theology at Halle. Benigna Maria, Countess of Reuss-Ebersdorf, († 1751;) a woman, in whom an unusual extent of learning, such as embraced even a thorough knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, was joined with the most truly child-like humility and love to the Saviour.

It is, however, in what is known as the Cothen circle, that

we are to look for the most decided expression of this later style of the Halle Pietism. One of its leading representatives was John Louis Conrad Allendorf, Court Preacher at Cothen, afterwards School Inspector in Halle, († 1778 ;) he wrote one hundred and thirty-two "Love Songs to Christ, the Lamb of God and Bridegroom of Believing Souls;" and published also the so-called Cothen collection of hymns, which, from a comparatively small beginning, grew into continually larger size, till at last we find it brought out at Halle in three parts. To the same circle belong : Leopold Francis Frederick Lehr, († 1744,) whose hymns were collected under the title, "Heavenly Delight in God and Christ." Samuel Lau, († 1746,) author of the hymn, "Ach Herr, du wollest die Wehmuth stillen." Christ. Ludw. Scheitt, Court Counsellor and Librarian at Hanover, († 1761,) whose hymns were taken into the Cothen collection. John Sigism. Kunth, († 1779,) to whom we owe the fine hymn, "Es ist noch eine Ruh vorhanden." Ern. Gottlieb Woltdersdorf, († 1761,) the writer of two hundred and eighteen hymns, which he published under the title of "Evangelical Psalms."

The second branch of the Pietistic school takes its name from Wurtemberg. Its poetry preserves throughout a more sound and healthful character than that of the Halle school ; avoids the too amorous tone especially of its later development, as this appears in the Cothen circle ; adheres mainly to the strong and pithy language of the Bible, and instead of losing itself with Tersteegen, and the other mystics of Northern Germany, in the dark and hidden depths of the soul's own life in God, seeks joy and freedom rather after the example of Bengel, and in the true spirit of Suabian hopefulness and faith, in the contemplation of things to come and the prospect of everlasting life. "I have taken pains," says Phil. Fred. Hiller, one of the leading poets of this school, "to cultivate simplicity ; avoiding the exaggerated expressions of a high flowing fancy, and those quite too familiar terms in which some allow themselves to speak of Christ as a brother, of kisses and embraces, of single souls as though each were separately a bride of Christ, or of child-like fondlings of Jesus considered as a little child.

For such reverence towards the majesty of our Saviour, I shall not be blamed certainly by serious minds." He died as pastor in Steinheim, a. 1769; having written no less than one thousand and seventy-nine hymns, most of them of very considerable merit. In particular his "Liederkästlein," found universal popularity, and next to the Bible and Arndt's "Wahres Christenthum," Knapp tells us, contributed by its general use to form that peculiar style of piety which is associated with the name of Old Wurtemberg. To the same school belong: John Reinhard Hedinger, Court Preacher in Stuttgart, († 1704,) distinguished both for his learning and piety. John Alb. Bengel, († 1752,) who, with his other large claims to praise, is favorably known also by his hymns. William Gottlieb Tafinger, († 1757.) John Christian Storr, († 1773,) one of Bengel's most worthy disciples. John Jacob von Moser, the noble martyr for truth and right, († 1785;) he produced upwards of one thousand excellent hymns; part of which were composed by him during his imprisonment at Hohentwiel, and written with a pair of snuffers on the white wall of the room in which he was confined. Christ. Charles Louis von Pfeil, († 1784;) a zealous admirer particularly of Bengel's apocalyptic ideas, which he wrought accordingly into the form of a series of hymns. He resembles Bogatzky at times.

The third branch of Pietism is that of Upper Lusatia. Here there is an approximation again, in sacred poetry, to the later school of Halle. As belonging to it we may name: Henrietta Catharine von Gersdorff, the grandmother of Zinzendorf, († 1726,) from whom comes the beautiful hymn, "Befiehl dem Herren deine Wege. John Mentzer, († 1734;) author, among others, of the New-Year's hymn, "Nur Jesus, nichts als Jesus heisset." John And. Rothe, Pastor at Berthelsdorf, under the patronage of Count Zinzendorf; with whom he labored a number of years, till at last their difference of views constrained him to resign his situation, and seek another place, († 1758.) One of his best hymns is the well known "Ich habe nun den Grund gefunden.".

We come now to the hymnology of the Moravians. Unduly lauded in one direction, it has been as unreasonably disparaged

in another. Devotion to the Redeemer, the overwhelming sense of his love, the apprehension of his spiritual beauty as it shines through the cross, may be said to form its reigning tone. To the rich fulness of this feeling it owes its strength; to the absorbing exclusiveness of it again, as feeling merely apart from doctrine, may be attributed in a certain sense its weakness. On the whole, it is characterized by a large amount of lyrical simplicity, force, and beauty; although at times running into strange fantastical conceits and the most wonderful vagaries of enthusiastic nonsense. Zinzendorf himself composed upwards of two thousand hymns; many of which are deserving of all praise. His productivity was so great in this kind of composition, we are told, that he sometimes improvised verses for his congregation to sing as he gave them out. His son, Christ. Renatus von Zinzendorf, († 1752,) holds a place also among the Moravian poets. We add here besides, as belonging to the list: The celebrated Bishop Aug. Gottlieb Spangenberg, the author of the "Idea Fidei Fratrum," († 1792;) who, for his learning and gentleness combined, was rightly styled the "Melancthon" of the communion. His successor in the episcopal office, the respectable and worthy Organist, Christian Gregory, sometimes named the "Asaph of Herrnhut;" a title which was earned by the composition of a large number of hymns, as well as by his services rendered to the cause of Church music in other ways. Finally, Henry von Bruiningk († 1795).

So much for the Mystics, Pietists, and Moravians. All this, however, gives us only one side of the hymnological history of the period now under consideration. To make it complete, we need to take into view what was going forward in this line at the same time among the Orthodox, the party which made a merit of honoring and obeying the authority of the Church in its established form.

Here we find, in the first place, what deserves to be honored as a sound conservative interest, which made itself felt with salutary force in the way of at least partial counterpoise to the extreme subjectivity of the opposite unchurchly and unconfessional tendency. We may name as its highly respectable rep-

resentatives: "John Jacob Rambach, Professor of Theology in Giessen, († 1735;) one of the most distinguished divines of the age, in whom the love of sound doctrine, and zeal for practical piety, were blended together in the most happy combination. This is shown in his hymns; which are so formed as to address at once both the understanding and the heart. Erdmann Neumeister, Pastor in Hamburg, († 1756;) a very fruitful writer, from whom we have about seven hundred hymns; in which, for the most part, a genuine sense of personal practical Christianity prevails, free alike from dry didactic formality and high wrought spiritual sentimentalism. To his collection belong the universally popular "Eitle Welt, ich bin dein müde," and "Jesus nimmt die Sünder an;" hymns, which would hardly have led one to guess, that the author was known all his life as the foe of Pietism, and one of the most earnest opponents of "Spener's errors." Valentine Ernst Löscher, Pastor in Dresden, († 1749;) known as a more earnest champion still of the unadulterated Lutheran faith; the very learned and highly celebrated leader and head of the orthodox party for years, in opposition to the Spenerian movement. Bernard Walther Marperger, († 1746;) a man of mild Melancthonian spirit, whose moderation drew upon him, with some, the reproach of being himself too favorably inclined to the Pietistic interest. Solomon Frank, of Weimar, († 1725;) the author of about three hundred hymns. Benjamin Schmolk, († 1737;) styled sometimes the "Silesian Rist," or the "Second Apitz," in compliment to his poetical merits; who has left us in all eleven hundred and eighty-eight sacred songs, the greater part of them good, both as to matter and style. He took for his pattern Paul Gerhard; and although not equal to him in poetical elevation, he succeeded very well for the most part in seizing his popular homelike tone; which has caused his hymns to be used among pious families in Silesia, in their morning and evening devotions, down to the present time; making him in this respect for Silesia, what Hiller has been to Wirtemberg.

Looking in another direction, however, we find the spirit of sacred poetry in a process of marked deterioration and decline.

Witness such monuments as these following: The collection of Pastor Henry Cornelius Hecker, († 1743;) made up of hymns which he composed as recapitulations of his own sermons, with the view of reducing, as he said, all the articles of faith and morals to verse. The "Evangelisch Liedertheologie" of Peter Busch, Pastor in Hanover, († 1744,) in like strain. The "Theologia in Hymnis," published about the same time by Jacob Gottschald, containing a number of metrical tracts on single points of morality, such as the love of dress, the passion for gaming, the use of tobacco, dancing, &c. Finally, though of somewhat earlier date, the collection of Laurence Hartmann, of Critzkow, under the title of "Des geistlichen und evangelischen Zions neue Standeslieder," made up of hymns for the different professions and trades, clerks, farmers, barbers, &c., taken in alphabetical order.

The period that commences so brilliantly with Paul Gerhard, is to be regarded as dying out in these manifestations. The time called for a new genius, who might be the creator of a new era in the history of sacred song. Such in fact was the pious Christian Fürchtegott Gellert; who died a. 1756, as Professor of Philosophy in Leipzig.

Gellert is to be judged from his own age. We do not find in him the tone of strong vigorous faith, which characterizes the compositions of Luther or Paul Gerhard. But it must be borne in mind, that the time also in which he lived had become altogether different. The objective power of Christianity, considered as a system of pure outward revelation, was in large measure broken. To the subjectivity of mere feeling, the Pietistic tendency, in one direction, there had come to be opposed the strangely kindred subjectivity of mere intellect, the Rationalistic tendency, in another. It was the age of skepticism and of little faith. Gellert's poetry is addressed throughout to this habit of mind; and his merit lies in the power and skill, with which he was able to adapt himself to its religious necessities and wants. Correct, grave, clear, at once didactic and pathetic, his hymns commanded the respect of those who affected to despise the antiquated ideas of previous times, and went at once both to the understanding and heart of all

classes of people. Hence their wide popularity, continuing down to the present time.

But, however good and useful his hymns may have been found, in the view now mentioned, it is still certain that the author stood himself in the bosom of the general religious life, to whose infirmities his mission called him to condescend; and it is not, therefore, wholly without cause, we may believe, that he has been sometimes represented as one, whose influence served powerfully after all to help forward the reigning rationalistic tendency of the seventeenth century, as it comes out more fully in the mere moralizing tone of others, who feebly attempted to imitate his manner and style. Be this as it may, it is certain at all events that Rationalism now began to make itself felt in the field of hymnology more and more in this way. It became the fashion to take exception to the older hymns, as being out of taste, when the objection lay in fact to their theological heart and life. They must be either modernized or allowed to go into decay. It was the time for moralities rather than mysticisms. Virtues and duties seemed fitter themes for sacred song than the facts of grace or the objects of faith.

Along with Gellert, it is common to name Klopstock, the celebrated author of the "Messiah," († 1803,) as a leader also in the new era of poetry, of which we are now speaking. His own conception of the significance of his supposed vocation in this view, seems at any rate to have been sufficiently high. "I have entered upon a business," he writes in one of his letters, "which I consider my second calling; namely, the composition of hymns for public worship, one of the hardest things, in my judgment, which a man can undertake. One must be intelligible to the general mass of people, and still do justice to the dignity of religion. It seems to me, however, that God has given me grace to do the work with some success." But in truth his qualifications for any such service were very small. He participated eagerly in the general disposition of the age to substitute reflection, or mere imagination, for faith. He lacked, besides, altogether that hearty popularity of style, which is needed to carry thoughts home to the common mind.

His hymns are elaborate, high sounding odes; rhapsodies rather, that move on exclamation points like stilts. It is a significant commentary, indeed, on the spirit of the age, that such compositions were able at all to command its admiration. In fact, however, he *was* admired far and wide. With many his hymns were held to be master-pieces of art, "sounding like the resurrection trumpet to the lowest depths of the earth and, far above the stars." With such reputation, Klopstock had, of course, as well as Gellert, many imitators.

To the Klopstock circle belong: John And. Cramer, Chancellor of the University of Kiel, († 1788;) known principally by his translation of the Psalms; his hymnological style loses itself at times in the clouds of mere pathetical declamation. John Casp. Lavater, († 1801;) the genial and eloquent pastor of St. Peter's church at Zurich; who has left behind him as many as seven hundred hymns. Christopher Christian Sturm, († 1786;) the "singer of God's greatness and goodness in Creation and Providence;" some of whose works have been widely popular, through translations, in other countries. He preached Christ and the Atonement, we are told, in his pulpit at Hamburg; while in his writings, both poetry and prose, before the world at large, his religion seems to run out for the most part into the sentimental contemplation of mere nature; in compliment of course to the polite but wretchedly shallow "Aufklärung" of the period to which it was his misfortune to belong. Christian Fred. Dan. Schubart, († 1791;) he composed a number of hymns, chiefly during his imprisonment of ten years in the castle of Hohenasperg; whose declamatory pathos, however, was shown clearly enough to have been the fruit of mere transient religious impressions, when he himself soon after forgot all, and lent his talent to the service of the world as theatrical poet in Stuttgart.

The tendency which affected to carry out the spirit of Gellert, was only the same imbecility of faith under another and somewhat different form. Having no power to say, "I believe, and therefore I speak," the religious weakness in question was put to the necessity of making up for such absence of positive Christianity in some other way; and for this the choice seemed

to lie necessarily between the theatrical parade of sentimental feeling, in the style of Klopstock, on the one hand, and the moralizing tone of mere naturalism, which miserably aped the style of Gellert, on the other. Under this latter character, accordingly, the rationalistic spirit of the age made itself felt in the sphere of hymnology, still more broadly than under the former. It is not necessary here to go into details, or to quote names. All who took part in the movement were not of course equally deficient in the right sort of purpose and ability. But even the better poets and best hymns, belonging to it, were not free, generally, from some mark of the dreary and sickly atmosphere in which they had their growth; while altogether the process was such as to involve, more and more, an entire corruption of the sacred interest, unhappily subjected to its power. New hymn books appeared, with all sorts of so-called "Verbesserungen," suited to the culture of the age; in the use of which the congregations were taught and encouraged everywhere, to sing themselves genteelly into full forgetfulness of the faith once sung by their fathers.

With the general religious reaction of later years, which it is usual to date from the "tricentennial jubilee" of the Reformation in 1817, and to regard as the result, at least in part, of the overflowing social and political calamities of the time going before, there has appeared, as might naturally be expected, a sounder feeling also in regard to the hymnology of the Church, and a disposition to see it reanimated once more, if possible, with something of the power of its old life. To what the efforts, which are made for this purpose, may at last come, remain yet to be seen. The great difficulty is, that they are too much the offspring of mere artistic judgment and taste. What is thus composed, with reflection and calculation, can never be popular poetry, in the full sense of the term. It is *for* the people only, not *from* the people, the unconscious outbirth, as it were, of their own life. "However elegant and correct these modern compositions may be," says Gervinus, "and allowing them also to be the product of genuine piety and belief, no one can persuade me that they carry in them the same old faith which gave birth to the old hymns, and

along with this the young fresh strength which sung those old hymns as shield and sword against all evil. Our Christian convictions simply taken may have become intellectually better grounded, our taste more cultivated, our versification and music more artificially complete; but the imposing power of that old faith, the grandeur of that unpretending simplicity, which works far more deeply than the most finished refinement of the modern hymns, is for the present lost to us in religion, poetry and music." This is a melancholy judgment, coming from so high a source; but it is one, for which we fear that there is but too good reason in the actual state of the Church at this time in Germany.

This article leaves out of view entirely the hymnology of Protestant Christianity in other countries. Historically considered, this cannot be said to deserve indeed much separate consideration. The history of hymnic poetry, as an art, has continued to flow ever since the Reformation, with by far its broadest and deepest stream, in Protestant Germany; and here also, what is curious to observe, almost, though not altogether, exclusively in the bosom of the Lutheran Church.

Lancaster, Pa. J. W. N.

ART. IV.—HISTORICAL PRETENSIONS OF FREE-MASONRY.

IT is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the merit or demerit of Masonry as an existing institution. It may have one or the other of these, for aught we know, or wish to inquire at this time. It is well known that honest, and respectable, and religious men in almost every community are members of the order, and to these we hope to say nothing offensive, as they will have the discrimination to perceive that the discussion to

which we invite them does not pertain, except incidentally, to the essential nature, but only to the historical claims of the institution. We propose to ourselves merely an exercitation in the wide field of history.

The historical questions pertaining to any institution are always important, especially where the institution, unlike the ladies, is particularly desirous to be considered ancient. And historical questions are amongst those which any student, whether initiated or uninitiated, is fully authorized to investigate. The field of history is a broad, free common, where there are no pre-emption rights, and no authority to forbid trespass. And any one is at liberty to expose historical pretensions which are unfounded, because the sanction of antiquity is too weighty and sacred to allow it to be unjustly appropriated. Besides, groundless claims to great antiquity, involve a sort of false pretence or fraud upon society, which any man may feel morally bound to expose. The particular sphere in which the claims are put forth is of no consequence; the claims themselves, in so far as they are historical, must ever be open to scrutiny. Any one who knew the facts would not only have been authorized, but in honor bound to prove that Barnum's negro woman, whom he passed off upon the credulous public as the nurse of General Washington, aged one hundred and thirty, was not honored with any such particular age. If the *quondam* Know-Nothings had put forth the claim that they were the legitimate successors of the order of friars in Italy in the sixteenth century, who bound themselves by solemn oaths that they would neither know, learn, nor understand anything at all, but answer every question by the word, "*nescio*,"—I know nothing,—we should feel at liberty to say they were mistaken, and to show that the claim to such antiquity was wholly unfounded. We hold that historical pretensions, of whatever kind, are always open to discussion and must abide the scrutiny of fair investigation.

But it is quite possible that some of the "brethren of the mystic tie," would fain meet us at the outset with a caveat, and attempt to bar all further proceedings on the ground that we, being among the uninitiated, are not competent to investi-

gate the question,—that Masonry has a secret history by which its great antiquity is proved, and which cannot be known by outsiders,— that its traditionary cabala or mysteries, have never been revealed, and cannot be revealed outside of its own mystic circle, and hence that none but a Freemason can be fully certified respecting the origin of the order. The justice or force of this caveat we utterly repudiate, and we would carry it before any competent historical tribunal, and show that from the very nature of the case, it cannot be of any avail. The order may succeed in keeping secret its existing rites and signs of recognition, but it cannot thus throw the mantle of fog over history. It might as well try to hide the sun in the heavens with an umbrella. The facts and documents which make up history cannot be hid under a bushel, nor can a perverted construction of the facts of history long escape the searching eye of an intelligent age. Of this we have already seen some noted examples, and doubtless the coming age is to witness others. The periodical convulsions which attend the passing away of old fabrics and the rise of new forms of civilization, completely rend the veil from all attempted concealment, and history makes its own foot-prints too distinctly to allow an imposture to escape detection forever. The origin, rise and internal structure of the Eleusinian and Dyonisian mysteries of ancient Greece are as well known now to the antiquary as anything else pertaining to that remarkable nation, and yet never was an attempt at concealment more persistent or successful. The Freemason who trusts to his traditionary cabala, in matters of history, is embracing a phantom, taking for his guide a mere will-o-'the-wisp, which, though it may lead him into no imminent peril, may yet play fantastic tricks with his common sense. No other institution which is worth anything to mankind, Christianity for instance, or jurisprudence, could stand for a moment before the civilized world on any such plea. Besides, we can judge masonry, historically, out of its own mouth. It is a house divided against itself. Its history has been carefully written by those who stood high in its own ranks, and who take the ground that its historical pretensions are no part of its intrinsic nature, and that its an-

cient features are mere incidentals attached to it during the progress of its growth, some of them in comparatively modern times. And indeed the whole internal structure of the order too plainly tells of its origin to be mistaken by any one not deceived by a false light.

As to interpretations put by Masons upon authentic written history, seeing hidden traces of their order in it where nobody else can see them, we hold them also to be mere moonshine. For instance, we have been told in all seriousness, by intelligent persons, and the same thing is intimated in the ceremonies of the order, that in the Scriptures, Old Testament and New, there are passages which none but a Mason can understand, because they refer to the order as then existing,—and the advantage of the same superior perception is also possessed in the reading of profane history. Now, this historical second sight we hold to be a mere juggle; and so far as it pertains to the Scriptures, we reject it with scorn, as not only presumptuous but impious. It is an attempt to crib up the words of God's revelation to a fallen world within the limits of an order which has no authenticated claims to be a religious or divine institution.

But it may be averred, again, that we ourselves, in refuting the most ancient claims of Masonry, are fighting a shadow,—that nobody in the order believes these extravagant claims, or asserts them seriously. We answer, that to a considerable extent, this is the case. A large number of the more intelligent are not imposed on by the traditionary cabala of the institution. But it is not so with all, or even perhaps the majority. Nor is this strange, when we consider the text books which are put into their hands, or the lessons with which they are edified in the lodges. The literature of Masonry abounds in these claims, asserted, if not seriously, then dishonestly. Respectable clergymen, some of their names adorned with the "semi-lunar fardel," as Dr. Cox called the epidemic ecclesiastical title, have not refrained from reiterating these claims, or even attempting elaborately to wheedle them into credibility. And we have repeatedly met persons of no mean intelligence, who believed as firmly that Freemasonry was in existence at the building of

Solomon's temple as that said temple was built at all, and that Melchizedek, and Solomon, and his man Hiram, and Zerubbabel, and Nehemiah, and Ezra, and John the Baptist, were high functionaries in the order, as that these persons existed at all. And indeed to our apprehension it is a grave problem how men of high moral integrity can submit to be passed through the various degrees of masonry, and be instrumental in passing others through them, who do *not believe* some such things as these. This problem will rise to the mind of any one who will peruse any Free Mason's Manual.

Let us, then, briefly state *what are* some of the leading historical pretensions of Free-masonry, as set forth by divers of their own writers, and by the ceremonies of the order. And if any astonished reader should be incredulous as to these pretensions, we invite him to the perusal of any one of some half dozen Manuals, Monitors, Hand Books, &c., which may be obtained in the neighborhood of almost any Lodge.

The earliest date which we have seen assigned as the origin of the institution, is *the creation of the world.* God himself, the great architect of the universe, if we are to trust the chronicles of Masonry, fully initiated Adam and Eve into all the mysteries of the craft. To this some wag has rejoined that perhaps an earlier date still might be found, viz: among that portion of the angels which fell, and that the knowledge of it might have come to Adam and Eve through that source. But we are not aware that this either is a matter of authentic history. If it be said with regard to the first assertion, that theoretical, or ideal masonry is meant, or in other words that God imbued the minds of our first parents with the virtues and moral principles which Masonry now inculcates, then the claim means nothing at all, and may with equal justice be appropriated by any other society which inculcates the same moralities and virtues. If more than this is meant its absurdity is its own refutation.

The next date which has been mentioned is the building of the *tower af Babel.* There is a deficiency of zeal, however, in the advocacy of this point, because, perhaps, as in the case of some aristocratic pedigrees, which, if traced backward, ter-

minate in a waxed end or a halter, it might be thought of rather questionable expediency. But it is confidently asserted that from the creation down through succeeding ages, wherever arts and civilization have arisen, wherever there are the ruins of ancient cities and once massive and gorgeous temples, the monuments of antique greatness, there are the traces not only of the masonry of the hammer and the chisel, but the masonry of the modern lodge. And indeed it is not obscurely hinted that the origin of all true civilization is to be traced to the occult knowledge treasured in the mystic institution.

The next point, about which there is the greatest flourish of trumpets, is the building of *Solomon's Temple.* The select Master Mason, whose vision has been purified by passing through all the mysteries of the nine degrees, says that in the account given in the Bible, and in Josephus, of the building of the Temple, are to be clearly discerned the traces of the institution in its full blown development. Lodges were formerly dedicated to king Solomon as the first Most Excellent Grand Master. In passing to the third degree of Masonry, that of Master Mason, the candidate is given, among other things, some valuable details (so says the book) of the traditions of the craft concerning the building of Solomon's Temple. And in the modern poetry of Masonry, (which by the way takes most unwarrantable liberties with Christian hymnology) the Muses are called in to celebrate the same.

> Hiram, the architect,
> Did all the work direct
> How they should build;
> Solomon, great Israel's King,
> Did mighty blessings bring,
> And left us room to sing
> Hail, royal Art.

Now, with regard to the historical basis on which all this rests, it is very much like Sandy MacKaye's "Samothracian mysteries o' bottled moonshine." The letter of Solomon to Hiram, King of Tyre, as given in the Scriptures and in Josephus, is as plain a matter-of-fact letter as any that may have passed between the committee of Congress and the architect of the Smithsonian Institution, and the whole detail of the organiza-

tion of the workmen into companions under captains and overseers, is as simple and comprehensible and natural as the organization of labor in any modern factory. The mystical interpretation which sees a hidden meaning under it all, of the kind which Masonry sees, is about on a par with the vagaries of George Fox, or of certain Christian interpreters of the figurative or symbolical school, who say that Peter's having two swords at the time of Christ's capture, signified the spiritual and temporal power of the pope. It is in fact as destitute of substratum as the universe of the extreme German Idealism, which some one has humorously characterized in the language of the schoolmen as *Chimera bombinans in vacuo.*

Among the degrees of Knighthood which have been transferred to the Masonic institution, the order of Knights of the Red Cross, which is intimately connected with the Degree of Royal Arch Mason, is claimed to have been originated by Darius the Mede, at the instigation of Zerubbabel, in commemoration of the fulfilment of his vow to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem. The order which he is said to have established were called Knights of the East, and are now known as Red Cross Knights, from the badge which distinguished them on their return from the Crusades in the Holy Land. It is matter of authentic record, that such a monarch as Darius reigned in Babylon about five hundred years before the Christian era; that the said Darius made a decree to rebuild the Temple of the Lord at Jerusalem; and that Zerubbabel was instrumental in carrying out that decree, but the matter of the Knights of the East does not appear upon the record, and must be brought up from beneath it by some such process as that by which Signor Blitz brings out chickens, and rabbits, and eggs, and old shoes from the crown of a hat. It is also matter of history that the Knights of the Red Cross arose during the Crusades, but their historical connection with the Knights of the East of Darius the Mede, is about as credible as that the Sons of Temperance are the organized historical successors of the sons of Jonadab, who refused to drink wine, they and their sons forever, because of the commandment of their father.

It is claimed that John the Baptist, and St. John the Evan-

gelist, were eminent patrons of Masonry, and some have even been so bold as to affirm that the Saviour himself held an exalted position in the order, and that the greater portion of his teachings have a concealed reference to Masonry. This holy name we will not drag farther into this discussion. We are sorry for the necessity to have introduced it thus at all. Nor is it worth while seriously to discuss the Masonic claims to the other two, as the history we have yet to give of the Order, will be a sufficient refutation of all these extravagant and baseless pretensions. We may only say, that it is probable these eminent names are appropriated much in the same way that the literary societies of our Colleges elect all the distinguished men in the country "honorary members;" or that the Church of Rome is said to have canonized saints who never lived, and to have manufactured relics according to the demand for them. In the same manner nearly all the great names of ancient Greece are appropriated by the Masonic fraternity, Euclid, Pythagoras, Solon, Archimides, &c., all "honorary members."

It has been suggested that Free-masonry finds its true origin in the so-called "Mysteries" of ancient Greece, of which there were five different institutions, not particularly connected with each other, viz: the Eleusinian, the Samothracian, the Dyonisian, the Orphic, and the mysteries of Isis of Egyptian parentage. These mysteries were named either after their founder, or from the place where they were celebrated, or the divinity in whose honor they were instituted. But the resemblance between these Mysteries and Masonry is very slight, and in their radical ideas they are wholly distinct. These mysteries were essentially religious institutions, according to the ideas of religion then prevalent, and persons of all ages and of both sexes, were admitted to them. The whole structure of these mysteries, their symbols, and the ideas inculcated, were as totally different from those of Masonry as the mythological idea of the trident of Neptune is unlike a picture of an Irishman's hod.

Coming down to more modern times, various theories have been proposed of the origin of Free-masonry, and advocated with ability and learning,—which, as we conceive, shows that

Masonry, as it now exists, is like the order of architecture which the Romans made out of the Corinthian and Ionic, a *composite*, i. e., that it comes from many sources, arises in several divergent streams, which flowing together by the force of circumstances or of elective affinity, have contributed to constitute modern Free-masonry, so that each of the theories proposed and advocated may have a fragment of truth in them. The origin of the Order has been attributed by different writers to the Crusades, to the English Jesuits, to the Knights Templars, and to the Rosicrucians, a secret society of alchemists, natural philosophers and Christian enthusiasts in the sixteenth century, whose chief object consisted in two things, the reformation of the Church, and the discovery of the philosopher's stone.

But before proceeding to give what we conceive to be the most authentic history of the institution whose historic claims we are discussing, it is necessary to premise two or three general remarks. The first is, that secret societies, professing to embody, or actually embodying, some important mystery, have existed in all ages of the world, and among all nations, which have risen to the level of a semi-civilization. These secret societies have assumed every possible phase, and had for their root or core, almost every conceivable principle. They are among the phenomena which history developes, and they must rest upon certain peculiarities of our nature—whether good or evil, it is not for us now to say—but the *diversity* which they exhibit in principle and constitution, is as great as the diversity which exists in any other department of historic fact. There have been religious, political, scientific, philosophical, literary, social, and mechanical secret societies of which traces are discoverable from the earliest ages and amongst all civilized and half civilized nations. And the secrets or mysteries of which these were made the real or pretended repositories, were as various as the features of the societies themselves. And secret societies of the last sort mentioned, i. e. *the mechanical*, or those pertaining to the various trades or crafts, have also existed from very early times, wherever those trades or crafts have flourished. A similarity of occupation and in-

terest, especially in times of comparative ignorance and rudeness, when the possession of mechanical skill, and a knowledge of the occult arts pertaining to the mechanical branches, were regarded as great treasures, would naturally segregate men of the same craft together in such forms as to promote the cultivation and perpetuation of the skill and knowledge which they aimed to acquire. Like causes will generally produce like results, and if the same state of society which existed in the Middle Ages had existed at the building of the Tower of Babel, it is quite probable that secret societies would have sprung up then.

This being premised, our second remark is, that a *mere similarity* to certain features of ancient associations affords no proof that Free-masonry is historically connected with those associations, nor does the fact that such societies of trade or craft *may have existed* at the building of the Tower of Babel, or the pyramids of Egypt, or the palaces of Nineveh, or Carak, or Thebes, or the Temple of Solomon, or the Parthenon of Athens, authorize the *assumption* not only that they *did* exist, but that they furnish the *paternity* to the modern order of Freemasons. Assumption will not do in such a case—we demand historic proof. The mere fact of the similarity between the Know Nothings of the year of grace, 1854, and the Brothers of Ignorance of the sixteenth century, in each of them having as their watch-word, "I know nothing," does not prove that the one order is the lineal descendant of the other. The *assumptions* of Masonry in support of its antiquity, are as absurd as if every person of the name of Stuart should claim an ancestry from the throne of England.

It is in vain that we demand the usual authentications of historical fact. It is in vain we ask for data from the writings of the Rabbis, the voluminous commentaries of the Talmud, or the speculations of the philosophers of antiquity. We are not referred to the fragments of the great libraries of former ages. We are shown no manuscripts dim with the corrosions of centuries, which it has required the cultivation of a special branch of scholarship to decypher. We are stunned with no accounts of hieroglyphics upon ancient monuments or amid the exhumed

ruins of buried cities. But instead of all this, or any of it, we are offered a slight thread of unwritten tradition, so slight as to be intangible, and so soon lost in darkness that it seems to us impossible that a reasonable man should trust himself to its guidance for a moment.

Another remark is, respecting the *appearance* of antiquity which the order possesses in its internal structure. It is argued that there are in the structure of the institution itself, its interior ceremonies and symbols, evidences of the great antiquity which they claim for it. We reply, that it would be easy to show that these are all fabrications *post factum*, i. e. subsequent to the things referred to in the ceremonies and symbols. They have been incorporated to give it an appearance of antiquity; which was very easy to do by just appropriating and embodying in their symbolical usages the historical facts and personages of the Scriptures, just as Shakespeare introduces into his plays men and women who had been dead more than a thousand years. But does this prove that Shakespeare's Julius Cæsar and Timon of Athens, were not written in the beginning of the 17th century? In the corrupt period of the Middle Ages, when numerous innovations of doctrine and ceremony were introduced into the Church, the monks and priests, in order to give these innovations the sanction of antiquity *forged* numerous documents—epistles of fathers, letters of dying martyrs, and decretals of popes,—all testifying that the new doctrines and rites were parts of the ancient faith, and so skilfully were some of these forgeries executed that it is not very easy, even now, to distinguish them from the genuine. It is thus (though the offence is not so flagrant) that Free-masonry has *created* for itself a history to which it has no right. They have a way of building churches now so as to give them an antique appearance, and an edifice which has not been finished a week looks like a weather-beaten, moss-covered church a hundred years old. It is by a somewhat analogous process that the institution of Masonry has acquired its extremely ancient *appearance*.

But we have detained the reader long enough with these extravagant pretensions of Free-masonry. We propose a brief

sketch of the *actual rise and metamorphoses* of Masonry, which we suppose will furnish a refutation of all these pretensions,—and this history rests not on hermetically sealed traditionary cabala, but on the broad basis of authenticated fact.

Masonry has an honorable origin—for the muscular arm and the hard hand which wield the hammer and the trowel, betoken an honorable industry, and the skill and taste which conceive and execute imposing architecture, are qualities of mind which rank their possessor among men of genius and refinement. And Masonry has a *sufficiently* ancient origin to enable sensible men to dispense with those preposterous pretensions which rest only on moonshine. When the modern tourist to Europe pauses in awe-struck admiration before the gigantic architectural structures of the Middle Ages, whose hoary greatness reminds him of a world of ideas, and of men who have passed away—such for instance as the minster of Strasburg or Cologne, the Cathedral of Milan, or Meissen, or Rheims, or Oviedo, or the Convent of Tours, or Fulda, or Monte Cassino,—such an one stands upon the soil, and has before him the evidences of the origin of those affiliated societies of architects and workmen, to which modern Free-masonry may be historically traced. Probably the *idea* of these associations was derived from the ancient Romans; and hence it is necessary to go back a little farther. Amongst the Romans there were corporations of architects established and protected by law, and having certain constitutions and laws and immunities of their own, and the power of making laws for themselves, which were not contrary to the public laws. They had also certain religious rites, and regular meetings. These associations were called by the technical name of *Collegia*, or *Colleges* of workmen or artificers, and the character of their charters or constitutions may still be learned from the "body of the Roman law." These corporations were solely intended to promote the arts and sciences, particularly those pertaining to architecture, and the only secrets they had were the secrets of their handicraft. These societies extended gradually into all the Roman Provinces, the *arts* of the conquering mistress of the world following close upon the conquests of her *arms*, and it is highly probable that

they extended even into Britain. But with the fall of the Roman Empire, and the destruction of Roman civilization in the greater part of Europe, by the rude and fierce Northmen, these societies also disappeared, and were lost in the chaos and darkness of the first period of the Middle Ages. But when arts and sciences and literature began to revive, and society to emerge from its chaos into the forms of modern European civilization, the necessity for such associations of workmen and architects again arose, and as the Roman *law* survived the wreck of the Empire and still survives, and is the basis of our own jurisprudence in this nineteenth century, the idea of these associations was gotten from it, and even the charters and constitutions of the old corporations, were, to some extent, imitated. The development of the religious ideas of those times, taking the direction of an unparalleled enthusiasm for splendid houses of worship, occasioned, in the flourishing period of the Middle Ages, architecture to assume a very great importance; and hence the societies of craft were greatly encouraged both by kings and nobles, and the dignitaries of the Church; and consequently they became invested with very great privileges, and became more and more exclusive in their character, and more wide-spread in their ramifications, until at length the building of all the cathedrals, and convents, and abbeys in all Europe and the British Isles was in the hands of an organized association of Italian, German, French, Spanish, English, Flemish and even Grecian architects, who called themselves by names somewhat similar to Free-masons; and had certain words and secret signs by which they pretended to know one another, and had certain ceremonies, partly mystical, partly religious, in their meetings. When a cathedral was to be built a company of these architects, with their assistants and pupils, came and encamped in huts near the spot, living in a community by themselves, and carried on their work with great expedition and a wonderful economy of expense. These encampments were called in German, *Huetten*, or lodging places—hence the modern name *lodge*. These lodges were places of speculation and inquiry, as well as for improvement in their mechanical knowledge, and hence there gradually arose among them a

system of speculative and philosophical mysteries, composed of fragments of the Greek and Egyptian mysteries, and certain doctrines of the Stoics and Gnostics, combined in fantastic forms with the doctrines of Christianity. To conceal these speculations and mysteries from the watchful eyes of the popes and ecclesiastics, who were ever on the look out for heresy, they observed the greatest secresy, and invented a symbolical language which might elude even the most curious of the uninitiated inquisitors. It was owing to the fact that these speculative and philosophical heresies at last came to the knowledge of the Church, in connection with the fact that the society of Free-masons increased greatly, and the demand for their services consequently diminished as the great cathedrals were completed, and thus they became metamorphosed into societies, not having exclusive reference to building, that occasioned their persecution and ultimate suppression by the edicts of the popes.

The two chief points at which these lodges of architects were first erected in the British Isles, were at the building of the abbey of Kilwinning, in Scotland, and the cathedral of York, in England. Hence the origin of the ancient Scotch Masonry and of the ancient order of York Masons. From these two points Free-masonry spread over all Great Britain, being encouraged by the kings and bishops and nobles, and rose, in Great Britain, to a higher and more permanent prosperity than in any other part of Europe, and from these Islands again issued, at a later period, and spread all over Europe, where it had formerly been suppressed, appearing, however, in a very modified form, having little or no reference to the erection of buildings.

The eleventh and twelfth centuries witnessed that remarkable outburst of religious enthusiasm which found vent in the Crusades and the institutions of Chivalry. This movement gave rise to numerous religious orders of a military character; such as the Knights of the Temple, Knights of Malta, Knights of St. John, Knights of the Red Cross, &c. The main objects of these orders were the protection of pilgrims on the roads to Palestine, the defending of the poor and oppressed and the

destruction of the power of the Saracens in the Holy Land. They had badges and secret signs and ceremonies, and officers of various grades. But after the occasion which had given them birth had passed away, they fell into neglect and contempt if not corruption, and were not only held up as a target of ridicule to future ages by the scathing pen of Cervantes in Don Quixotte; but were charged with partial truth and partial untruth, with heresy and treasonous designs against the Church and the peace of society, and were persecuted and exterminated in the fourteenth century by Pope Clement V. and Philip the Fair of France. Free-masonry was then at its height, and the scattered and hunted knights sought refuge in the lodges of the Masons, and the two institutions were thus combined, and three orders of Knighthood, viz: the Knights of the Red Cross, the Knights of the Temple and the Knights of Malta exist in Masonry until this day.

About the time of the suppression of Free-masonry on the Continent, it suffered a great decline also in England, which continued until the beginning of the eighteenth century. This decline is attributable to the same fact which ultimately led to its suppression on the Continent, namely, the cessation of the demand for operative masonry and the increased numbers of workmen. To remedy this decline, the system was adopted of receiving into the lodges and initiating into the mysteries persons who were not masons or architects by profession. These were called *accepted* masons, a term by which the order is still designated. Exceptional cases of this kind had indeed been admitted from the ranks of nobles and kings and even priests, for a long time previous. But the custom did not become general, of admitting persons promiscuously from all ranks in life, until the seventeenth century, and it is impossible to discover a lodge of pure speculative masonry in England prior to 1717. The period of which we are speaking is that in which Masonry was undergoing its great transformation. The accepted masons crowded into the lodges so fast, and the hard-handed men of the trowel pursued their avocations independently of the order, that at length the new wine completely burst the old bottles. Like an Irish peasant's pantaloons

which are patched and patched and patched until at last it is impossible to tell what was the stuff of the original garment, the declining fortunes of Masonry were so effectually patched with *accepted* Masons, that at length they took entire possession of the order, and cut it loose altogether from its old foster mother *operative* Masonry. Like certain species of the animate creation, the order at this point *cast its old skin*, and appeared before the world in an entirely new dress, and some have even been so ungrateful as to try to disown its ever having worn the old skin at all. It was thus that *speculative* Masonry arose, and this is the only kind of Masonry now practised in the lodges. A Mason and a Freemason are now very different characters. If any of the sons of the original craft are found in the order they enter there not as masons, but as citizens; and one of the surest ways to break up all the lodges in Christendom, would be to compel every man of them to take up the mason-hammer and trowel and go to dressing stone and laying brick.

The necessary changes in the constitution and internal structure of the old Free-masonry, to adapt it to the new state of things, were made in 1717, by three members of the old lodges, George Payne, James Anderson, and Desaguliers, a Frenchman, resident in England. In making these changes, one important matter had to be taken care of. By retaining the *name* and *principal features and symbols* of the ancient fraternity, the new lodges retained the *privileges and charters* of those societies; but upon the basis of this nomenclature was erected the fabric of modern speculative Masonry, which one of its zealous admirers has declared to be more sublime and beautiful than the proudest structure which the ancient fraternity ever erected. So then the latest development, or production of Masonry, or in other words, Masonry *as it now exists*, dates back to the year of grace, 1717, a period of one hundred and thirty-nine years, between which and the time of Melchizedek, or even the building of Solomon's Temple, there is a considerable difference. Speculative Masonry having thus originated in England, it spread rapidly throughout Europe, and into every part of the world where the British lion

had planted his feet. In 1725 the first lodge on the English system was established in France. It was introduced into Germany in 1735; and into Holland the same year; into Denmark in 1743; into Sweden in 1754; into the East Indies in 1729, and into America 1730.

There is one fact connected with the history of modern, or speculative masonry which is worthy of a careful study by the friends of the order, as well as by the historian; it is its wonderful *pliability*, or proneness to take its shape and coloring from the state of society and of public opinion amidst which it exists. It has exhibited as many moral, political and religious shades in different times and countries, as a chameleon would exhibit in passing over all the colors of the spectrum. It is this that gives to Free-masonry such a checkered history, makes it assume such various and even contradictory phases, and has given rise to such grave charges and bitter denunciations on the part of its enemies, and such warm elogiums on the part of its friends. Like all human institutions which are the creatures of circumstance, it changes with changing circumstances, and is determined by the ever shifting phases of human society. When English speculative Masonry was introduced amongst the volatile and versatile French, it underwent quite as great a metamorphosis as would a plain Quaker's coat, if it were to be cut over and made up again in the latest style of a Broadway buck. Instead of the three degrees which existed in primitive Masonry, the inventive French established, not nine, but one hundred and fifty, to indicate which, nearly all the high-sounding names in the French language were exhausted. "The office bearers of the craft," says a Masonic writer, "were arrayed in the most costly and splendid attire, and the lodges were transformed into lecturing rooms, where the wiser brethren supported the most extravagant opinions, discussed the most abstruse questions in theology and political economy, and broached opinions which were certainly hostile to true religion and sound government." This is a very mild statement of the case. It was the skeptical age in French history, and the Masonic lodges became the receptacles of the daring materialism, the wild infidelity and

the frantic irreligion, which preceded and reached their culmination in the bloody atrocities of the French Revolution. In Germany, when Masonry was introduced in 1735, the German rationalism was bringing forth its first fruits. This gave to the secret order a hearty welcome, and received it at once to its embrace. The consequence was, that the Masonic lodges became assemblies for smoking tobacco, drinking beer, and discussing transcendental and rationalistic dogmas. In 1776 Dr. Adam Weiskaupt founded the order of the Illuminati, and the following year he became a Free-mason for the purpose of using the order as a vehicle for disseminating his new Illuminism, and in this he was only too successful. Free-masonry adjusts itself to the religious atmosphere in which it lives. Among Christians it is Christian, among Infidels it is Infidel, among Jews it is Jewish, among Mohammedans it is Mohammedan, and this is a sufficient refutation of the universal character which its advocates claim for it. In conservative England and Scotland, Free-masonry has always retained a good degree of purity and of its primitive simplicity, and has even aspired, in the mouths of some of its advocates, to the character of a highly religious institution. In this country also, it has taken its tone from the high moral character and religious sentiments of our people. Indeed as this Republic is the legitimate daughter of England, and as the Anglo-Saxon race is here in the ascendant, American Free-masonry may be regarded as the purest offspring of the old English speculative Masonry. We have no railing accusations to bring against it, as an *existing institution*. And we here repeat what we said at the outset, that it has not been our purpose to discuss the merits of existing Free-masonry. We have our opinion and we allow others to have theirs, and so long as the institution keeps within its proper sphere, we, for one, shall leave it unmolested. But *historically* Free-masonry puts forth false pretences, and here, as a question of fact, we have joined issue with it, and we trust we have not transcended the limits of candid and honest discussion.

This historical investigation throws some light upon the possibility of the great secret or mystery which Free-masonry

professes so sacredly to guard. Of the nature of this secret, of course we are profoundly ignorant. One Masonic writer tells us that it is an ineffable mystery, which no Mason ever breathes, even to a fellow Mason, but which each one is to learn for himself by a sort of intuition, obtained by severe purgation of the inward understanding; and which the same writer tells us is destined to become the only and universal *religion* of the globe. However this may be, of one thing we may be certain, that no man can bring a clean thing out of an unclean. We mean that the history of Masonry refutes any such pretensions. A secret which has come down, if at all, through the muddy channels of the Egyptian and Grecian Mysteries, the Roman Collegia, and the corporations of the Middle Ages,—a secret which has been in combination with all forms of idolatry and unbelief and superstition, cannot be of much importance to the world in the nineteenth century. All the patching, patching, patching with traditions of Melchizedek and Moses and Solomon and John the Baptist, will not suffice to cover its nakedness.

But there is a mystery, which Free-masonry feigns to imitate or rival, a mystery of as much importance to this nineteenth century as to any other, even the mystery which was hid from ages and from generations,—the mystery of God manifest in flesh,—which is now published, not to a secret order, but to every sinner of Adam's race. To this mystery we can admit no rival.

Chambersburg, Pa. J. C.

ART. V.—THE CHARACTER OF AN EARNEST MAN.*

YOUNG GENTLEMEN:

The last day of your College life has at length come. The cycle of Terms and Vacations has run its course. Recitations, Lectures and Examinations have all closed. The Senior Vacation has ended. Your last duties have been performed, and I may add, well performed. Once you stood at a distance; the long period of a College course stretched out before you, like a long winding avenue, at the end of which stood a white palace, hid beautifully behind a clump of lofty, spreading oaks, where Diligence and Virtue sat with bright eyes and shining faces, ready to crown their followers with an unfading chaplet. You started on your way, and pressed forward from month to month and from year to year, a happy, hoping band of vigorous youth. Now and then, your burdens were heavy; the rays of the sun were oppressive; some cares and anxieties harassed your hearts. But you had pleasures and joys also; purling streams of crystal water crossed your path; gentle breezes rustled among the leaves of the trees, and the birds greeted your ears with songs of praise to God; whilst the secret reward of duty sustained your hopes and animated your hearts. But now your position is changed. You stand in the chaste portico of the palace of Honor; and, as the sun is about to set, you look back through the smiling avenue up which you have just passed, with undefinable emotions of joy and sorrow. You think of your mistakes, I trust, with a truly penitent heart; and of every instance of fidelity with humble gratitude to God for life, health, strength and grace. You think too of the unknown years of your future life; and I trust, with high aims, firm resolutions and strong faith in God. The hour is solemn.

* A Baccalaureate delivered at the Commencement of Franklin and Marshall College, July 23rd, 1856, by E. V. Gerhart, President.

We, who have sought to guide your steps in the way of truth and duty, virtue and piety, to warn you against the deceitful bye-paths of error and sin, and to encourage your minds amid the difficulties of your progress in Literature and Science—we share a deep sense of your interesting and solemn position. And before you break up the circle of College brotherhood, before you extend the warm, parting hand of affection and confidence, and scatter into the wide world, we, your Teachers, who cannot but feel a lively interest in your future career, desire to utter a few words of affectionate counsel.

It has been the aim of the Faculty to conduct the whole routine of your College life under the moulding influence of a spirit, that regards your moral and spiritual relations as paramount to all others, and therefore always addresses the higher and better susceptibilities of your rational nature—your sense of right and of honor, your sense of duty to yourselves, to mankind and to God. For, all intellectual training and higher education is true and good, only in as far as it proceeds in the idea of man's normal position and eternal destiny. Otherwise there is no real discipline of mind, no actual fitness for the work of manhood. In other words, the reality of harmonious development and vigorous discipline, necessarily involves culture. Culture consists in the communication of truth, human and divine, natural and revealed, in its due proportions and relations, as being the requisite pabulum on which human nature feeds, grows and becomes strong, mentally as well as morally. Apprehending and receiving the elements of truth, the mind gets a healthful impulse to a free and complete development. Its manifold faculties are disciplined under the plastic influence of the elements which are taken up and assimilated to its own nature, as a tree absorbs suitable substances by its roots from the soil and drinks in light by its leaves from the sun; the whole man is thus qualified to go forth in his strength, and pursue the vocation of manhood. To the extent, then, that we have succeeded in actualizing our idea of education in regard to you as a class, you have been prepared for a career of earnest manliness. Earnest men we desire you to be always, in whatever sphere of life you may be called to move.

To the consideration of this theme I propose to devote a few parting words.

Who is an earnest man? An earnest man lives for some *fixed specific object.* This is essential to the vigor and efficiency of any character whether good or bad. Whether the principles of a man be right or wrong; whether his life be noble or ignoble; if he would attain to any prominence in the world or to any kind of greatness, it is necessary that he keep some one thing steadily before his mind, upon which his desires, thoughts and energies are concentrated, and to which the various plans and pursuits of his life are subordinate. Here is one secret of success among all classes of men, simply because it develops all the powers of our nature in one given direction. Though that direction be false and the object bad, yet unity of purpose serves to give unity and strength to life. Indeed all the show of unity and strength which the character of wicked or unconverted men possess, is derived from the operation of this principle. Nature furnishes analogies on every side. The majestic river flowing in resistless might to the ocean, is formed by the confluence of many rivulets and streams. The plastic powers of a tree culminate in the rich fruit on its branches, its final end. History is rich in examples. All the men, whether in the Church or State, whether in the quiet sphere of letters or on the field of bloody heroism, who stand out prominently upon the plain of the past, like the Jungfrau among the Alps, have been distinguished for singleness of purpose—for devotion to some one general end of life, to which all other objects and pursuits have been subservient.

But if a concentration of energy is essential to the strength of any character, much more so is it to that of earnest manliness. Singleness and fixedness of purpose, conditions the entire and symmetrical evolution of all the powers of a man, shapes the habit of his inner being by the plastic power of one generic idea, and thus places him in a position where he can put forth an earnest activity—where he can do something, and do it well. And to do some one thing well during life, suffices to satisfy the demands both of duty and interest. To attempt many things—to fix the eye for a while on one object and then

on another—to bend all the powers to the prosecution of this plan, and then to the prosecution of that,—is to fritter away the best talents and the longest life. No one thing is well done. The reason is plain. Life at best is short. Time and health are uncertain. The frailties of human nature are numerous. But more than this. The constitution of man is such, that any single individual becomes influential, useful and strong, in proportion as he possesses unity of action and purpose. The eye sees and sees only; the ear hears and hears only; the eye cannot smell and the ear cannot taste. The human race though composed of millions of individuals, is but one organic whole subordinated to one design of the Creator; and every individual holds but one place as a single member of the organism, and like the eye, can perform but one function aright, to the good and glory of all.

Who is an earnest man? An earnest man does not only select a single object. A man of one ruling passion does that. But he who is under the sway of passion does not belong to the class of earnest men. An earnest man selects one object that is morally *right and good.* The only standard of rectitude and goodness, is the law of God; we know of no other. An object is good and true, therefore, that conforms to this law as its principle. By consequence, it conforms also to the original plan and resistless progress of Providence, it conforms to the system of nature in all its parts; it conforms to the capacities and wants of the race and of each member of it; it corresponds to the necessary institutions of society; and must promote the glory of the State as well as the triumphs of the Church. The possession of rectitude and goodness sets a man at once positively in all his normal relations to himself, to mankind and to God. As the seeing of the eye, and the hearing of the ear, and the respiration of the lungs, are sustained by the laws of physical life, so is a man, wisely pursuing a good object, supported by the universal law of God and borne along in a succession of triumphs on the majestic current of the world's history.

An object that is good, stands connected with the honor of God and the welfare of mankind. It involves the general in-

terests of society either directly or indirectly; for whatever possesses the quality of goodness implies such results by its nature and connections. The ignorant are instructed; the young are trained; the wrongs of the injured are redressed and their rights protected; the guilty are punished; the sick are nursed with parental tenderness and restored to health; the widow and orphan are sheltered and befriended; aspiring genius is taken by the hand and kindly led on in the path of science or art; the erring are sought out and gently wooed back to the path of virtue. Any purpose that may be called good tends to effect some such result in its relation to man. In its relation to God it serves to illustrate the beauty and perfection of His character and works. Justice is enunciated; morality is taught and exemplified; the necessity of good order is maintained; every species of vice is denounced and abhorred; truth is inculcated; virtue is loved; the offerings of gratitude are laid on the altar; the Gospel is proclaimed and obeyed; Jesus Christ is acknowledged and honored as Lord of Lords. Under some one of the innumerable forms of virtue or piety, God is honored by any good design or good act.

An earnest man does not only select a good object as an end, but he selects it and pursues it *for its own sake*. So corrupt is the heart of man, that he does not only select a bad end and then prosecute it by the use of bad means; but he often selects an end, good and noble in itself, and then prosecutes it to gratify pride, ambition, or some more ignoble passion. There are many who proclaim the Gospel of peace and good-will to men, or who practice the self-denying art of healing, for the sake of "filthy lucre." There are many who seem to devote life to the vindication of justice and the defence of truth, but prostitute the science of jurisprudence to the lowest forms of selfishness. There are many who profess to toil for their country's highest good, but have no higher or better object in view than personal aggrandizement. Men prostitute the noblest and most necessary vocations of public and private life, to the basest purposes. But an earnest man pursues a noble vocation from noble impulse, and for a noble end. Not the wishes of self, but a sense of the wants of hu-

manity; not the promptings of pride or ambition, but humble devotion to the happiness and honor of others; not a contracted, narrow, cunning love of silver and gold, but a supreme regard for the unchangeable demands of truth and right—these are the elements of his character.

To pursue a good end for its own sake, from regard to truth and duty at the expense even of conflicting temporal interests, connects a man directly with what is deeper, broader and higher than himself. His mind expands. His heart expands. The activity of his understanding turns away from the darkness of moral evil within, upon objects of light that shine around and above him. His will is subjected to the corrective power of virtuous actions. His aspirations are drawn away from his little self, and go out like radii, over the plain, towards the circumference of the circle of human existence. The spirit of his inner life is itself elevated and ennobled. An earnest man becomes unselfish, generous, humble and noble by the transforming force of the objects on which his eyes are steadily fixed.

Who is an earnest man? An earnest man pursues an ennobling object on its own account with *unwavering resolution.* His purpose is fixed. His will is set. He is firm. Not interest is the motive power, but a strong, unbending will; not a sudden impulse of feeling, not an unaccountable whim, not arbitrary caprice, is the secret of action, but a strong, unbending will; not the hopes and fears of selfishness, not the self-consuming fire of passion—avarice, ambition, pride or revenge—keeps a man in his course, but a strong unbending will to do, to suffer and to toil in pursuit of truth and right. A strong will makes a strong man—a will that does not relax its hold of its object at the suggestion of ease, of indolence or pleasure—a will that resists the solicitations to every species of inconsistency, dishonesty and iniquity—a will that cannot be enticed by the delusions of fancy, by the vain tinsel and glare of hollow pomp and pride, nor by the smiles and promises of deception and hypocrisy—a will that cannot be bribed by flattery, or by the prospect of luxurious affluence, or by the fading chaplet of honor. Earnestness does not consult personal com-

fort or personal aggrandisement; does not connive at vice or cater for passion; does not keep back the truth or apologize for error; does no violence to a sense of moral obligation to make room for a selfish consideration; does not substitute the impulse of self-interest for the dictate of conscience; does not substitute the fear of man for the fear of God; does not give more weight to the things of time than to the things of eternity; does not barter the beatitude of Heaven for the vanities of earth; but holds on in its way under the guiding light of a high and noble purpose, impelled by a tender and wakeful conscience, and cheered, amid the painful disappointments of its progress; with the assurance that rectitude and goodness must triumph at last, whilst wily selfishness, hollow-hearted passion, lying hypocrisy, and low sensuality will sooner or later expose their odious rottenness and be covered with eternal disgrace and infamy.

The steady, onward course of an earnest man is sublime. Resisting the infirmities of his frail nature, setting his face like a flint against every allurement to unfaithfulness, scorning the compromise of principle openly or secretly, in public or in private life, sustained by an approving conscience and the smiles of his Master in heaven, he increases in firmness and resolution with the gathering strength of opposition, and clings to an unalterable purpose in defiance of the seductive arts and the selfish schemes of an unmanly policy.

Who is an earnest man? One element more is essential to the completeness of his character. It is the element of *feeling*. An earnest man has a warm heart. The consciousness of a high and noble purpose and an unwavering resolution to pursue it irrespective of consequences, is necessarily connected with the lively feelings of our nature. The feeling which earnestness implies is not a mere impulse. Impulse is awakened by a sudden thought that flashes upon the mind, or by an accidental excitement of the imagination, or by some indefinable impression upon the senses by some new object. Then it starts off at once, like a rocket in the air, burning, sparkling and brilliant in its ascent, leaving a track of splendid light behind; but its momentum is only of transient dura-

tion; all at once it explodes, explodes beautifully it is true; but the explosion is a glorious extinction of light, and it sinks in darkness, as contemptible refuse, to the surface of the earth. But the symbol of earnestness is the sun, which holds on in its steady and regular course, unaffected by the conflict of the winds or the artillery of the clouds, always pouring forth rays of heat upon the world, yet surrounded by a halo of inextinguishable glory. Impulse resolves without reflection and promises without counting the cost. Impulse burns, but it consumes itself. Impulse works whilst it exists, but it is driven to the right or to the left by accident. Even when it does move in the right direction, it is subject at any moment to some other stronger impulse, sprung into being by a trifling unforeseen circumstance, which diverts it from its course and carries it with as much rapidity in some other wrong direction. Impulse may be kind and affectionate; but its affection turns to hatred or anger by a wave of the hand. Impulse may be decided, but it is not firm.

Earnestness, however, includes feeling of an entirely different kind. It springs not from outward circumstances, but from the centre of inward being. It does not originate in impression, but in principle. It springs from the union of thought and will—from the combined force of certain knowledge and unchangeable resolution. Such feeling impels indeed, but under the direction of a sound judgment. It is subject to adverse circumstances and deceitful impressions, but it is retained in its course by the force of inflexible determination. Such feeling burns indeed, but does not feed on its own vitality; it is but the glow of a rational soul set on fire by truth, virtue and honor, which, like the atmosphere, supply the conditions of light and heat in larger quantities as the flame rises and expands. It is decided and firm most truly, but leaning on a higher arm, the sense of security and the confidence of success temper fortitude with mildness. It is affectionate, but affection flows from knowledge as well as from sympathy, and is fortified by wisdom as well as by appearances.

Earnestness thinks deliberately, but takes the deepest inter-

est in the object of its thoughts; it resolves calmly, but its calm resolves are animated by a warm heart; it plans wisely, but pursues its plans from love; it works diligently, but it rejoices in its work. An earnest man is attentive, kind and obliging; forbearing, generous and forgiving; he is cheerful, zealous and active.

These, then, are the necessary elements which enter into the character of an earnest man. He selects some one noble object of life, to which he subordinates his studies, his plans, his labors, and his enjoyments; he pursues this object as an ultimate end, with a fixed resolution to resist every temptation and press forward towards the mark; and his resolution enlists the deepest and strongest feelings of his heart, calling forth the liveliest enthusiasm in his work. This is an earnest man, distinct from a man of pride, a man of ambition, or a man of covetousness. He is the man who is strong, and great, and blessed.

Young Gentlemen! You constitute the first graduating class of Franklin and Marshall College, over whom it has been my duty to preside during one whole year; and I add with great gratification, that the relation between us has been a source of pleasure during the whole time. You have not been faultless, most certainly; and I will not offend your modesty nor good sense, by expressing a sentiment that your better judgment could not approve. But you have been diligent, respectful, and proficient. The high tone of your gentlemanly deportment and your steady progress in knowledge and culture, has itself been a compensation for the fatigue attending the performance of duty. And when I extend to you the parting hand of affection, it is with sorrow that your Senior year has closed. Yet you must go. Such is the order of College life. But go, young men, go into the world as men, men of earnest manliness. Select a calling, not at the bidding of pride, for pride is but a step from meanness; not from ambition, for ambition ends not in honor, but in shame; not from covetousness, for covetousness is cold, unmanly and degrading; not from love of pleasure, for pleasure stings the soul like an adder; but choose your sphere and end of life from principle—from

the dictates of manly earnestness. Stand firm for the right always, whether the sun shine or is hid behind a cloud; whether you move along in a calm or in the midst of a storm. First know and feel that you are right, then stand fast—stand with the panoply of light well girded on—stand and let the heavens fall. Be strong, not in error, but in truth; be strong, not in man, but in God; be strong, not in self-will, but in the grace of Jesus Christ.

We dismiss you now to take your places, each in his own sphere of life. Go, and prove yourselves the worthy sons of Franklin and Marshall College. May the pillar of a cloud go before you by day. May the pillar of fire go before you by night. May the angel of the covenant hide you in the secret of his pavilion.

VI.—THE TYPICAL CHARACTER OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CHURCH.

It is the object of these remarks to point out, in a general way, in what respects the Jewish Church is to be regarded as a type, a shadow, or prophecy of the Christian Church. That they sustain this relation to each other follows from the more general principle, that the entire Jewish dispensation was a type of the Christian; and that it was so organized in all its parts as to foreshadow a state of things which was to exist in Christian times. The Apostle Paul was full of this idea, and accordingly we find that in his hands it became a strong weapon, in resisting the influence of certain Judaizing teachers, who, like birds of evil omen, followed him in all his labors. The early disciples were internally only too much exposed to the seductive influence of those false teachers, and therefore easily led to place a false confidence in the empty forms and ceremonies

of the Jewish law, to which they had been accustomed from their earliest youth. To resist this retrograde movement, this downward tendency, the Apostle proceeds to show, that the ceremonies of the Jewish law, so far from being the foundation of the Christian's trust, were altogether of a shadowy, unsubstantial and typical character. They all looked to Christ and found in Him their true meaning. *Which things*, he maintains, Col. 2 : 17, referring not only to what had just been said, but to the Jewish dispensation as a whole, *are a shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ.* In these words we have the enunciation of a general principle, that connects the two dispensations, and shows their relation to each other, as one in spirit, but two-fold in form and manifestation. The one is the shadow, the other the substance.

The principle, we remark, is of very extensive application. It might indeed be employed for the purpose of confirming and illustrating every vital truth in our common Christianity, and the argument thus adduced, whether in favor of Christianity as a whole, or of its specific doctrines or parts, must carry along with it overwhelming conviction. For let it once be felt, that from the beginning of the world, there were types and shadows of some great event in the future ; let it be seen that they all pointed in one direction and towards the same thing, and that when this long-looked for event took place, they all met and found in it their fulfilment; and who will not see in all these things an accumulated proof in favor of the divine character of Christianity? Who could have foreseen so long beforehand the coming of Christ, and prefigured it in so many and such different ways, except God? And who could have arranged such a complicated system of rites, doctrines and ceremonies in such order, and with such beauty, except the Divine Mind? To the Christian at least, arguments of this kind possess a value that rises infinitely higher than those which are drawn from analogies in heathenism or nature, and it is only strange, that they are not more frequently resorted to.

As already remarked, it is our object to select only a single specimen of the analogies, which connect the two dispensations,

that is, to inquire how far the constitution of the Jewish Church throws light upon that of the Christian. This may serve to confirm our faith in one Holy Catholic Church, respecting which, there are at the present time, such contradictory views, and often apparently little, if any, faith at all.— We must also add, that our remarks are designed to be general, rather than particular, suggestive of further reflection, rather than an attempt to exhaust the subject. This must necessarily be the case, when the subject, viewed in all its bearings and difficulties, might fill volumes of earnest thought and inquiry.

1. In the first place, we remark, that the Jewish Church was an *organized unit*, and under this character, a type of the Christian. As an organized body, there was nothing like it in any part of profane history. It stood alone, firm and erect, when other institutions gave way and were consigned to the dust from which they sprung. Beyond Judea the face of human society, in every direction, resembled a desert of drifting sand, where no organization or association of men could endure the ravages of time. All works of this kind, the productions of the most refined skill and wisdom of men, never arrived at a full and compact state of organization, and hence were in a short time either disintegrated by the fingers of time, or covered over by its accumulated dust. Neither the fixedness of the Lacedæmonian will, nor the power of prejudice or tradition among the most energetic nations, could preserve their institutions from decay and dissolution. Systems of philosophy were organized one after another, but began to decline again as soon as they arrived at the acme of their growth and prosperity, showing that they did not possess within themselves a proper vital organizing principle. Systems of religion also, grand and gorgeous, addressed to the sensual nature of man, and, one would suppose on that account, destined to endure as long as man himself remains sensual, also sprung up, but how soon they degenerated and passed away. The same remark is exemplified on the highest scale in the case of civil power, wherever it became organized. When the celebrated kingdoms and empires of antiquity had arrived at their meri-

dian splendor, disorder and confusion reigned throughout their entire extent, whilst order, law and unity, in their full meaning, were out of the question. What seemed to be almost superhuman efforts to bring about a permanent union among men were only so many splendid failures, which reacted most violently upon their authors. But amidst all this change, this disorder, this confusion and chaos among the world's elements, the Church of the Jews remained fixed and permanent. A vital principle pervaded all its parts, forming a unity, a divinely established order of things, which nothing could dissolve. When those to whom it was committed proved untrue to their trust, the divine order remained, and as soon as a better spirit took possession of them, attracted them again by a hidden power, and brought them to rally around it as the centre of their national life. Any attempt to alter or change its constitution was regarded by the Jews as a most heinous sin, as well as an unrighteous blow at their highest earthly interests. A schism in one case resulted in the establishment of a separate kingdom, which ever afterwards was regarded with feelings of hostility. Captivity in a strange land only tended to increase their faith and confidence in the Church, as an order of things established by divine appointment. It was their ideal of everything that was grand, glorious and beautiful in the world, the "joy of the whole earth." The longer it stood the more firm and compact it became; its parts were mutually consistent with each other, and mutually supported each other. Nothing could be added to it and nothing could be taken from it. It stood in broad contrast with the world on the outside; it would not mingle with the elements of time; it would not surrender aught that was distinct in its character, nor would it receive anything into its constitution that was opposed to its divine spirit. Like the people, who sustained it, it was regarded as unyielding, unreasonably stubborn, and hostile to mankind. Its boundary lines separating it from the world, were so definitely fixed, that they were known and read of all men. It had a constitution that was fixed, and peculiar, and with this corresponded all its aims and operations; it was the most perfect polity which had ever been witnessed, it was a

world within a world, a higher cosmos, designed to reflect as far as possible, the glory which had faded from the face of this present lower one.

But this system of order and unity in the midst of a disorganized world, was, as we are told, only a shadow of something more perfect, that was to be developed in the future. It pointed plainly to the Church of Christ, as its fulfilment, as the substance of which it was only the shadow, in which, what it only possessed in idea, was to be realized on the widest and grandest scale. The Jewish unity was confined and local in its limits, and it could not, therefore, in the nature of the case, extend beyond its national boundaries. But Christianity commenced where Judaism left off, and realized in the fullest sense, what this latter could not do on account of its peculiar character. It set aside the barriers, which sin had set up between Jew and Gentile, between nation and nation, and ignoring them as the work of Satan, aimed to secure the unity of our race on the largest scale, so as to include all men in one brotherhood of love and harmony.

Thus the Christian Church was established; the old remained, but not as it had existed previously: what was Jewish and temporal passed away: what was divine and eternal was disengaged from the wreck and made to pass over into the new. The first announcement of the near approach of the new Church was made in the first place to the Jews in the wilderness by the Baptist, the harbinger of Christ, who proclaimed that the kingdom of heaven was at hand; but soon afterwards it was extended to all alike, to Jew and Gentile, to high and low, to rich and poor, to learned and unlearned. All men were urged to enter this kingdom, to place themselves under its government, and to unite in forming integral parts of one glorious whole. Baptism was proclaimed as the rite of initiation into its privileges and blessings, and a polity, an organization immediately arose upon a basis of its own, claiming for itself all the prerogatives of the old Church, and revealing still higher hopes of salvation, eternal life to the lost children of Adam. Love was the pervading principle, which bound its members together and to Christ its head, and which, by its

plastic power, produced a family-likeness among its individual members to each other and to Christ. Division, dissension, schism and heresy, as they are most antagonistic to love, were regarded as most dangerous and hostile to the new institution, and hence they were resisted on all sides, as fraught with evil. By the apostles, its immediate founders, it was compared to a building fitly framed together, that groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord; and still more appropriately, to a body, connected together by joints and bands, and knit together, increasing with the increase of God. Such was the idea, towards which all the labors of the first disciples tended, namely, to build up a spiritual and divine institution in the world, which should receive men from the world, form them into living parts of one holy temple on earth, and thus prepare them for heaven. And such must ever be the true idea of the Church, until it becomes fully realized at last in the new heavens and the new earth. In the nature of things, it must correspond with its prototype among the Jews as an organic unity. It must be one body, and have one mind, one spirit, and one aim. This of course excludes all divisions, schisms and heresies, as antagonistic to its very nature. As all attempts to divide the Jewish hierarchy, or their religious constitution, was a grievous sin, so in Gospel times, it must be at least equally as grievous a sin to attempt to do the same thing. Salvation, then, was of the Jews, as the Saviour himself said; salvation now must be of Christians and the Christian Church; in the one case destruction and ruin overtook all those who despised the divine arrangement that had been made for their salvation; if they neglected it or refused to submit themselves to its claims upon their souls, they were cut off, and there remained no hope for them: why then should not the same rule hold good in the other case, and why should men in Christian times stand aloof from the Church with impunity, and yet expect salvation in an isolated and hostile position to the only means through which they must be saved. The case is a very clear one. What was true when men had only the type, must certainly be true also when they have the antitype. But as the Christian Church is the realization, the substance of something

that went before, it must rise above its shadow, and exemplify in a much higher degree all the attributes of the Jewish type. It must not, of course, slavishly copy what was purely local and national in this latter, for this like everything transitory must pass away ; but, when this is granted, no one reflecting for a moment can deny that the present Church should not be more united, more compact and more organized than its predecessor. This follows irresistibly from the nature of the case, and hence all opposition to the Christian unity, all rending of the body of Christ, all ignoring or setting aside its claims or prerogatives, must be an aggravated sin and evil; and in the same degree that the substance is of more account than the shadow. This is clearly implied in the following passage: Heb. 10 : 28. He that despised Moses' law perished under two or three witnesses; of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, &c. Unity, then, extending not merely to individual members of the Church, but also to its inward constitution, was an attribute of the ancient Church, and therefore, under the Cnristian dispensation, it ought to be manifested in a still higher degree than formerly, notwithstanding the divisions and distractions of Zion at the present day, which seem to deny its necessity.

2. Again, the Jewish Church had a *ministry*, a *priesthood*, by which its unity was mediated ; in this respect also, it must find its fulfilment in the Christian Church. The affairs of religion among the Jews, as is well known, were committed to the tribe of Levi, and the family of Aaron, the most distinguished of this tribe, were divinely called to discharge the priestly functions. The Levites outside of this family were required to take charge of the temporalities of the Church, whilst Aaron's family attended to the spiritualities. From among the priests one was elected to serve as High Priest, who presided over the other priests and to preserve order in the services of the sanctuary, but also discharged certain remarkable duties, which no one could assume but himself. Thus there were three orders of public servants connected with the sanctuary. There could not have been more nor less. The divis-

ion grew out of the wants and necessities of the Church, and the nature of things. The question now is, were these three orders typical, and if so, what do they prefigure in the Church of Christ? Some deny their typical character altogether, and when it is asserted that they typify the Christian ministry, refer us to the ancient prophets as their proper representatives under gospel times. But if this were so, it is difficult to think of any thing else which they prefigure; they must have been types of something, because they constituted the living and most important factors of the old economy; besides, if we are not allowed to assign to these a typical significance, there would be no sufficient reason to regard other parts of that economy, especially such as were less vital in the system, as typical. But this would be doing violence to the whole tenor of the New Testament, which is so manifestly built upon that which preceded it; to the whole line of the Apostles' argument, in which they resist the Judaism of their times, by maintaining that the Christian is the fulfilment of the Jewish dispensation; and especially to the words of the Saviour himself: "For verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one title shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled." Matth. 5: 18.

Others contend that the priesthood finds its fulfillment in the body of Christian believers, that the division between people and priest has been broken down by the coming of Christ, and that now every believer is a priest, as much so as the ministry. This view is based upon the passage in 1 Peter 2: 9, where believers are called a chosen generation, a royal priesthood. But it must be remembered, that this same language was applied to the children of Israel by God, through his servant Moses, in ancient times, Exodus 19: 5, 6, and that if it elevates the body of believers, it does so, only in the same degree as the ancient Israelites were elevated by their Church above the heathen around them, without, however, setting aside the distinctive institution of the ministry. As the priesthood of every single Israelite did not destroy a particular priesthood, so the general priesthood of believers now-a-days, cannot consistently be supposed to render unnecessary the

regular ministry in the Church, as something distinct from that of the people.

The Jewish priesthood, then, was a type, and if it have a fulfillment at all, it must be found in the Christian ministry. But when this is once granted, a difficulty still remains in connecting the type with its proper antitype, or in other words, to show how the three orders in the Jewish priesthood are represented in the Christian Church. It is evident, that the Levites were typical of the Christian deaconship. The same necessity which existed for the establishment of a distinct order in the Jewish sanctuary, called Levites, was soon felt by the first Christians, and hence the deaconate was established as a permanent office at an early day. Both classes of public servants stood as it were on the outside of the Church, and attended to such matters as were external to it. It is likewise clear that the ancient priesthood represented typically the ministry in Christian times. The term priest is only an abbreviation of presbyter, a term applied to ministers of the Gospel in the New Testament. It devolved upon Jewish priests to officiate at the altar, to offer sacrifices, and to pray for the people. They stood between God and man, and presented, not orally, but typically, to guilty, yet penitent souls, the way of pardon and peace, through the sacrifice offered up. This is precisely what all Christian ministers are commissioned to do. They stand at an altar also; not indeed a Jewish one, made of brass or stone and covered with blood, but one that is infinitely more precious, an altar, to which no one, who serves the tabernacles dare approach; it is the real and only true altar, for on it lies a true and living sacrifice, Jesus Christ, the Lamb of God, slain from the foundation of the world. At such an altar the Christian minister officiates; there he offers up the sacrifice of prayer and praise; there he intercedes for the people, and there too he exhibits, not by types addressed to the eye, but by the lively preaching of the word, the way of salvation to guilty souls. He and all like him are priests in the truest and deepest sense of the word; or, if the term is offensive, let some milder term be employed to express the same thing; but never let us set aside the idea

also with the term. This lies at the foundation of the Christian ministry, without which, it falls to the ground together with everything that is lovely or precious in the sanctuary. The ministry is not only priestly in its character, but a thousand times more so than the Jewish priesthood, else the order of nature must be reversed; shadows must take the place of realities, and realities the place of shadows.

The principal difficulty, however, in tracing out the analogy under consideration, consists in pointing out in a satisfactory way, the fulfillment of the Jewish high priesthood in the Christian Church. In regard to this, Christians of the present day are divided in sentiment, and such, unfortunately, has been the case in past time. A large portion of Christendom contend that there must needs be a High Priest on earth still, placed at the head of ecclesiastical power, and authorized to preside over the Christian priesthood and the Church at large. This is the view of the Church of Rome, and upon it, together with the words of our Saviour to Peter, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church," the claims of the papacy, so far as they are derived from Scripture, are mainly founded.

Accordingly, the members of that Church maintain with unyielding tenacity, that a pope or chief bishop is a necessary ingredient in the idea of a true Church, the centre and pivot upon which the whole system revolves. Is this so? The question is one of vast importance and of vast difficulty; difficult because the Church as a whole, has not given a unanimous reply in regard to it; at least not in the same manner as she has done in reference to the doctrines of the Trinity, and the Incarnation. Protestantism denies, Romanism asserts. If we appeal to the New Testament, the particular question in this case seems to be clearly settled in favor of the former. In no place is it asserted or even intimated that the High Priesthood of the Jews was ever to be realized in the form of any single bishop; we may say that there is not a single passage that can directly or indirectly be made to show that any one of the Apostles or their followers was to be the glorious antitype of the High Priest of the old dispensation. Instead of this, wherever its typical import is spoken of, it is always

referred to Jesus Christ himself. Thus he is called a merciful and faithful high priest, the high priest of our profession, a great high priest, that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God. From this it would seem to be very clear, that in the mind of the sacred writers, who, in the nature of the case, must have been constantly tracing analogies between the old and new dispensation, Jesus Christ was the only antitype and fulfillment of the ancient order, and the only true High Priest of the Christian profession. But if we consider for a moment the duties of the Jewish high priest, it will be seen at once, that no person could properly represent him in the Church; but the Lord Jesus Christ. It was not only his office to preside over the other priests, and thus serve as their bond of union; he had besides this peculiar duties to discharge, and such as he only was permitted to discharge. Thus he was required once a year to make atonement for the sins of the people, and to enter the Most Holy place, where the Shechinah, the visible presence of God dwelt; this was a function, which it would have been the grossest profanation for any other mortal to have performed. These duties were typical of something vastly different from those performed by any bishop on earth, and resemble nothing else so much as those, which Jesus Christ discharged when he made a real atonement for the sins of the world, and then passed into the Most Holy place in the heavens, there forever to remain as our perpetual High Priest and Intercessor at the right hand of God. If it be asserted, that the head of the Jewish Church was a human being, and ought to be represented in the Christian Church by a human being also, to fulfill the ancient type, the objection is easily met and answered by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, chapter 2, where he admits that it behooved Christ to be made like his brethren, and therefore also took part of flesh and blood, that he might be a merciful and faithful High Priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people.

From the character of the Old Testament Church, then, it is plain, that there are three orders in the Christian priesthood, but not in the sense in which it is asserted by the Church of

Rome. There may be times and circumstances when a visible head may be necessary to guide the destinies of the Church militant; the student of history will admit that such an office in perilous times has been of service in past time; to the cause of truth it may be so now; and had we the eye of prophecy we might foresee such a necessity in the future. But if such an office should be needed, it derives its necessity from the exigencies of the times, and not from the nature of the Church as such, whether as viewed in its Jewish or Christian form. The Jewish theocracy existed as such without a visible head for a long period of time in a high state of prosperity; but circumstances arose in the course of time, when a visible head was called for in the person of Saul. These circumstances, however, were external and not internal. Thus it must be in the case of the Church. A visible head may be required for the purpose of unity, of correcting abuses, or for carrying out a particular mission. But then it must not be urged as the normal, necessary form of the Church, and its authority must not be derived from any type or shadow in the Jewish, but from considerations of an entirely different character.

3. Another attribute of the Jewish Church was the *word of God*, which was committed to her charge. There was thus a Jewish revelation of the Divine mind, and we may expect to find it also only a dim prophecy of that more glorious revelation which was subsequently made in the person of Christ. Upon examination it will be found, that the revelation, as recorded in Scripture, was of a progressive character, commencing with a few faint beams of light, and ending in a flood of celestial glory. The progress is regular, harmonious and most beautiful throughout, each part throwing light upon that which succeeds it, whilst, at the same time, it is itself lighted up with new meaning and significance. But we do not intend to enlarge upon this point, and shall merely refer the reader to French's Hulsean Lectures, where the subject is handled in the most able and satisfactory manner, whilst we proceed to the last analogy.

4. We remark, lastly, that the Jewish Church had her *sacraments*, and as such, was a shadow of things to come. The

sacrifices are sometimes regarded as Jewish sacraments, but as they refer plainly to the sacrifice of the cross, they ought to be placed in a different category. The proper Jewish sacraments were circumcision and the Passover, and for these we find naturally and easily their antitypes in the new covenant. Circumcision was the rite of initiation into the old covenant, and entitled those who received it to all the rights and privileges of that covenant. He who was circumcised became a member of it; he who refused circumcision became a castaway; he was regarded as nothing more than a heathen, and it was said that such a soul should be cut off from Israel. The old covenant, as a mere temporary arrangement, passed away, and gave place to the new covenant; as this needed some rite of initiation, Christian Baptism was instituted, which is now the fulfillment and completion of the ancient rite.

From the beginning baptism has been regarded as an initiatory rite. They who accept of it are entitled to all the blessings of the Gospel, whilst they who reject it have no part or lot in the Christian salvation. Their very act of rejection implies at the same time the rejection of the blessings of the Gospel. Circumcision entitled its subjects to all the spiritual and temporal blessings of the Jewish nation. That eternal life, however, to which it directed the worshiper, was something afar off in the distance, and was only prefigured by the temporal blessings which were conferred upon the person circumcised. It was necessary here, as in the case of the sacrifices, for the pious Israelite to rest his hope of salvation upon a mere promise, which was to be fulfilled after a long series of ages had rolled around. Circumcision, therefore, did not bring the Jew into an immediate contact with eternal life, which they might at once receive or reject. As a mere shadow it could not do this. But what it could do, was left to baptism, its substance and fulfillment. This introduces us into a new sphere of thought, where types and empty ceremonies have passed away, and we are called to deal with living realities. The law came by Moses, but grace and *truth* by Jesus Christ. Though our final and complete reward is to be enjoyed in another world, yet it commences and progresses here in time. He who be-

lieveth in the Lord Jesus Christ *hath* eternal life already abiding in him. Christ is present in his Church, bestows upon his people his Spirit, quickens, and already inaugurates in their hearts the bliss of heaven. The Church is made the depositary of heaven's richest and most precious gifts. There the fountain for the washing away of all sin is found; there stands the tree of life; and there flows the river of life. Baptism introducing us into the most intimate relations with God, brings us into immediate contact with eternal life. It lays as it were that rich blessing into our hands, which we may receive or reject as our hearts incline. If the offer, under this form, is rejected, baptism is a curse and not a blessing; but if, on the other hand, it is received, then it is the sacrament of regeneration, or as the Scriptures say, the washing of regeneration and the washing away of sin.

The Passover was the other sacrament of Judaism, and accordingly the type of a Christian sacrament. Like circumcision, it was also a sign of the covenant to which it belonged. It differed from it, however, in this, that whilst circumcision was the sign of initiation, and could, therefore, be celebrated only once, the Passover was the sign of the believer's continuance in the divine covenant, and was, therefore, to be celebrated repeatedly and to be observed from generation to generation. It signified that the Jews, who observed it, were determined to abide by its provisions, and accordingly those who neglected it, showed that they despised the covenant itself and had actually fallen from it.

The sacrament of the Lord's Supper is also the sign of our continuance in an order of divine appointment, and on Christian ground it is the counterpart of the Passover, its sum and substance. Jesus Christ is the true Paschal lamb, slain for our redemption, not from Egyptian bondage, but from the more terrible bondage of sin and death. Here too blood is sprinkled upon the lintels of our doors, and when the angel of vengeance passes over our houses, he spares us, because a propitiation has been made for us. But Christ, as the true Paschal lamb, was not only slain for us; as thus sacrificed he becomes a feast to the soul, the bread of everlasting life. This, in the first place, is represented to us emblematically in the Lord's Sup-

per. The emblems of his broken body and shed blood testify to the fact, that he was slain, and is now the true sacrifice for the sins of the world. But then, as these emblems are given to each believer and are received by him into his own body, in accordance with the Saviour's command, "Take, eat, and drink ye all of it," no one ought to doubt, that the sacrament is a real and not merely a typical participation of the Saviour's life, of his body, of his flesh and his blood. If this be denied, we have nothing left but a sacrament that is of no higher character than the Jewish Passover, which was a sign of blessings that were to be received, and not of those already enjoyed. Thus, all those who deny the Saviour's presence in the Supper, throw themselves back upon Jewish grounds, and rest in a mere shadow, denying the presence of the reality. But what then becomes of the marked difference between the two dispensations, according to which we are to regard the one as the mere shadow, the other the real substance that reflects the shadow? Then, too, what becomes of the Saviour's words, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets: I am not come to destroy but to fulfill?" If the relation between the two economies be such as it is represented to be, then there can be no doubt, that the Christian sacraments are real transactions, and infinitely superior to their types. This is, without doubt, the true state of the case. It is very much overlooked in our day, and men show a disposition to reduce them to mere empty ceremonies and forms. Yet the word of God cannot be changed, nor his truth divested of its power.

The whole subject, which has been discussed, is one of much importance. It is also encompassed with many difficulties. Whilst some are disposed to deny the typical significance of the old dispensation altogether, others run into the opposite extreme and get entangled in a host of their own fanciful analogies, that have no foundation in the nature of the case. A sober interpretation of the old types and ceremonies would tend very much to confirm and illustrate the truths of the Gospel, and perhaps aid us very materially through the mazes of our present difficulties and distractions in the Church.

Lancaster, Pa. T. A.

ART. VII.—SHORT NOTICES

GEOGNOSY, or the Facts and Principles of Geology against Theories. By *David N. Lord.* New York: Franklin Knight. 1855.

This is a thoroughly infidel book. In saying so we do not mean that it is written by a professed indfidel, or with the intention of inculcating infidel tendencies. Far otherwise. Mr. Lord is *the* grand self-constituted defender of the faith in these latter days. He would fain take the whole battle into his own hands, and, armed at all points, vanquish, not only every species of foe which in his opinion is assailing Christianity, but also every fellow defender who does not fight with precisely the same weapons. He is the Don Quixotte of orthodoxy: if he cannot find a foe he will make one.

But what we mean, by calling the book infidel, is, that it puts the defense of the inspiration of the Scriptures on a wholly false foundation, makes wholly false and untenable issues, stakes the character and veracity of the Scripture narrative upon a test which it can never stand,—a test which he wholly fails to make good in its behalf—and must leave the impression upon the mass of its reflecting readers (so far as they may be influenced by it) that the narrative in Genesis is wholly indefensible upon the side of science. More than once has Christianity had occasion to exclaim, "Save me from my friends."

Let us sketch briefly the platform on which Mr. Lord places the religion which he professes to defend; and on which alone he declares it defensible. (1.) The record in Genesis is a literal, consecutive, and complete, (or exhaustive, as to the main features) narrative of facts in the order of their occurrence, supernaturally and infallibly communicated to the mind of Moses. He will allow in it no intervals, no metaphors, no figurative uses of terms, no allegories. (2.) The events detailed in this narrative commenced about six thousand years ago. (3.) All the geological phenomena of the earth's crust, (which phenomena of strata, fossil remains, &c., Mr. Lord admits as facts) must be brought within the compass of this period. (4.) The supposition of indefinite periods, represented by days, or of the great-

er age of the earth prior to the formative process or period described in Genesis, convicts the record of falsehood, destroys the possibility of its inspiration, and with it that of the whole Pentateuch, because of the reiteration of the verity of this narrative in the giving of the law, and with the Pentateuch that of the whole Old Testament, and with the Old Testament, that of the New, and with the New Testament destroys the whole fabric of Christianity—and there is an end. Such is the platform; and to the Herculean task of defending it, Mr. Lord boldly, and with no fear of consequences, betakes himself in the volume before us. The third item above, which is the great item in a scientific view, he disposes of in the space of one hundred 12mo. pages; for only the last hundred pages of the book are of an affirmative character. We know of no literary or scientific undertaking in modern times to compare with it—save the recent ones of Dr. J. J. Janeway.

Mr. Lord occupies the first half of the book in showing that the received theories of geology, as to the age of the earth, are utterly and hopelessly irreconcilable with the literal interpretation of the Scriptural record. And in this he is successful. He makes out a strong case; indeed he spends upon it an unnecessary amount of labor; and to nine-tenths of those among his readers who have any considerable amount of scientific attainment, and who accept his theory of literal interpretation, there will be no escape from infidelity of some sort. The bold dogmatism of this part of the book is only equalled by the absurdity of its logic. Assuming the infallibility of his theory of inspiration and interpretation, the author constantly insists upon the statements in the first chapter of Genesis being taken as geological, astronomical and meteorological *facts*, and to be treated and disposed of as such by all geologists who would make any pretensions to science. And to bring into any reasonable harmony the statements of this (literal) narrative, he is obliged to call in a series of displays of supernatural, divine power, which, in their conception, are not only extraordinary but ridiculous; such, for instance, as that the separation of the land from the waters, (v. 9,) or in other words the elevation of continents and islands was not produced by any secondary causes, such as volcanic agency, but by the direct instantaneous act of Omnipotence; and why? because in the former case it would have required several days or weeks for the water to drain off, whereas the whole process was confined to *one day!*—and, again, as that the earth and all the planets must have been created at a much greater distance from the sun than they now are, and each with its axis at right angle

to the ecliptic, and that for three days they were all by the force of gravity dashing on headlong, to plunge into the sun, the earth already with a copious freightage of vegetation, (v. 11–12,) and that on the fourth day—the sun and moon on that day being set *for seasons*, &c. —the mighty momentum of each planet was suddenly annihilated, and being adjusted to its ecliptic, it was sent whirling round in the mystic dance!—and such, again, we may add, though Mr. Lord strangely overlooks it—as that the light of some of the fixed stars must have been created myriads of miles on its way towards the earth, at the same moment that the star itself was created in the depths of space. These are specimens of the modest conjectures of a man who delights to remind geologists of the necessity of a rigid adherence to facts.

In the succeeding chapters he refutes the commonly received doctrines of geology as to the source of the materials of the strata, and in the concluding chapters he gives his own theory, at which we must glance briefly. The Garden of Eden, (despite its location, Gen. 2 : 10–14,) and the antidiluvian races of men had their existence upon a large island somewhere in the Indian Ocean, which island exhibited no stratified rocks or geological phenomena, but was composed of a primitive and supernaturally prepared soil for the use of its occupants. A surface of the same nature covered all the exposed portions of the earth. The water perforating rapidly through this, soon reached the vast storehouse of material below, with some of which it generated powerful chemical action, and set in operation vast projectile forces, which shot up numerous jets of the various substances, some of them soft mud, others burning lava, of which the stratified rocks were composed, and superimposed upon the primitive soil which was crystalized into granite. The same forces heaved the mountains, raised and depressed the continents, secured the deposition of the coal, chalk and fossils, and in short did everything needful to be done to make the present continents what they are, in the short space of eighteen hundred or two thousand years, preceding the deluge. None of these forces, however, were at work beneath the Paradisiacal island, which would have made it an unsafe residence. At the deluge this island was forever submerged beneath the waves—hence no human fossils—the other continents permanently elevated, and made habitable; and man began a new history. With regard to this western world, he thinks the volcanic process went on much longer, and that many of the stratified and fossiliferous rocks of the United States are the product of several centuries subsequent to the deluge—which we suppose he inferred (so often does he seem to go by the rule of con-

traries) from the almost entire *absence* of volcanoes, dead or alive, in the United States. And this is *Geognosy*—the "*knowledge of the earth.*"

C.

THE PROTESTANT THEOLOGICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA: Being a condensed translation of Herzog's Real Encyclopedia: With additions from other sources. By the Rev. J. H A. Bomberger, D. D., assisted by distinguished theologians of various denominations. Parts I. and II. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1856.

Some notice of this work, as in contemplation, was taken in a previous number of the Review, in connection with the publication of a few articles in advance of the first Part, as samples of its general manner and style. We are glad to find, that what was then promise only for the most part, has since begun to take the form of vigorous execution; and that notwithstanding the greatness of the undertaking, it is now in a fair way to be carried through with full and entire success, as rapidly as the nature of the case will allow. We have before us Part II, completing the amount of 256 large octavo pages, and bringing the alphabetical course of subjects down to the article *Arminius.* This is to be followed very soon by Part III, which is now in the course of passing through the press; and both the enterprising spirit of the publishers and the known diligence of the editor, furnish reason to presume, that the American work will continue to follow hard after the progress of its German prototype, so as finally to overtake it and come out nearly even with it in its conclusion.

Of the importance and value of the original work, it is not necessary here particularly to speak. No one can make any question of its great merits, who is simply informed of its plan, and made to understand the character of the illustrious authorship from which it is known to proceed. This includes, along with Herzog himself, the names of more than one hundred contributors, including, as the list at once shows, the ripest scholars and most approved divines of Germany. Among this great literary corps, the subjects are distributed with due regard to their several forms of previous qualification and taste, and as a matter of course, the articles are the result of their best judgment and most careful research. This arrangement leaves room indeed for some diversity of excellence, as regards both matter and manner. It is not to be imagined, that so many men of learning and piety should

think always precisely alike, or be able to write all with just the same ability and power. Such difference, however, holding within proper bounds, and growing as a matter of necessity out of the very nature of the case, cannot be considered to detract at all from the general value of the work. It may even add to its interest, and render it more suitable for the purposes of instruction than it would be found to be under a more uniform character; and it is certain at all events, that the division of labor in such a case, as we have it here, must be productive of a result much more perfect and complete as *a whole*, than we could have any right to look for from any other plan of construction.

The translations read smoothly for the most part, and bear evidence of having been executed with judgment and care. Altogether the work bids fair to reflect lasting honor on those, by whose diligence it is in the way of being offered to the American public; and we may already very safely assign it a place among the most important contributions yet made to the theological literature of our country.

N.

TYPICAL FORMS AND SPECIAL ENDS IN CREATION. By Rev. James McCosh, LL. D., and George Dickie, A. M., M. D. Carters, New York. 1856.

DR. McCOSH by his work upon the "Divine Government, Physical and Moral," published some five or six years ago, took at once a position among the most profound and careful thinkers of the age. And the reputation which he thus won for himself prepared the public mind for the favorable reception of any thing further, in the same general line of thought, from his pen. In the North British Review for August, 1851, an article appeared on "Typical Forms," to which public attention was called, in a lengthened notice, by Hugh Miller of the Edinburg Witness, as "an article at once the most ingenious and suggestive," with an intimation of its authorship by Dr. McCosh, and a hope that the author would expand it into a volume. This he has done in conjunction with Dr. Dickie, Professor of Natural History in the Queen's University in Ireland, who, by his studies and acquirements was admirably fitted to supply the scientific element which such a volume needed. The work is designed to supply a desideratum in the line of argument from the facts and phenomena of nature in behalf of revelation, and it may be regarded as an expansion, or further pushing on into new regions, of the line of argument so ably

pursued in the Analogy of Butler,—an argument which is not in itself sufficient or exhaustive, but which is valuable as an adjunct or auxiliary. It is the purpose of the work to show that there are in every department of nature, a general order, and a special adaptation,—a general order having as its basis a specific type or model, and a special adaptation, consisting in modifications of this type to adapt it to various circumstances and uses. Some of the correspondences which are thus traced, are equally singular and startling, and many of the scientific facts developed are such as must, in due time, work great changes in the methods of scientific investigation in many departments of nature, and in the conclusions drawn therefrom. And the book, in its concluding chapters, attempts to show that this doctrine of types and special adjustments, as found in nature, has its analogy in the typical system and gradual outgrowth of revelation. In this part of the work, the theological student will perhaps experience a little disappointment, owing to the brief and meagre manner in which the subject is treated, and the indefiniteness in which it is left, so far as any tangible argument in behalf of revelation is concerned. A great deal is left to be inferred, and there are occasional hints of a great idea looming up before the minds of the authors, but which it seems to us they have not been prepared fully to grasp and work out. To the amateur student of science the work is a charming and suggestive aid, and will lead his delighted feet into "fresh fields and pastures new."

One noticeable feature of the work is that it admits, without any hesitation, the geological doctrines of the great age of the world, and of successive creations and destructions long anterior to the existence of man, and also certain doctrines closely allied to Oken's theory of development, which in other quarters have been pronounced rank heresy. And yet it has been generally endorsed by the theological public, and it thus marks a great step in the path of concession to the claims of science in which the theological world is steadily traveling. Whither it will lead remains to be seen.

C.

SERMONS AND ESSAYS BY THE TENNENTS AND THEIR CONTEMPORARIES, compiled for the Board. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. pp. 374.

The pioneer ministry of the most of the different Churches in this country, were men of sterling merit. They gave evidence of this, not

only by their learning and talents, but also by their great devotion to the work in which they were engaged. They labored in season and out of season, and submitted to every kind of sacrifice and self denial, for the purpose of advancing the cause of their divine master. Their pulpit efforts, so far as they have come down to us, were of the more sober and solid cast, abounding in instruction and in pungent appeals to the conscience. We find this to be especially the case, with those who represented the churches of the Presbyterian order. The volume, the title of which is given above, embodies sermons and essays to the number of twelve, on as many different topics, such as, The Justice of God, The Divine Mercy, The Grace of God, &c., from men of the particular period and cast of mind, to which we have referred. They carry in them intrinsic evidence of their belonging to the age in which, and to the men by whom, they were written. No one can read them carefully and prayerfully, without being instructed and profitted.

F.